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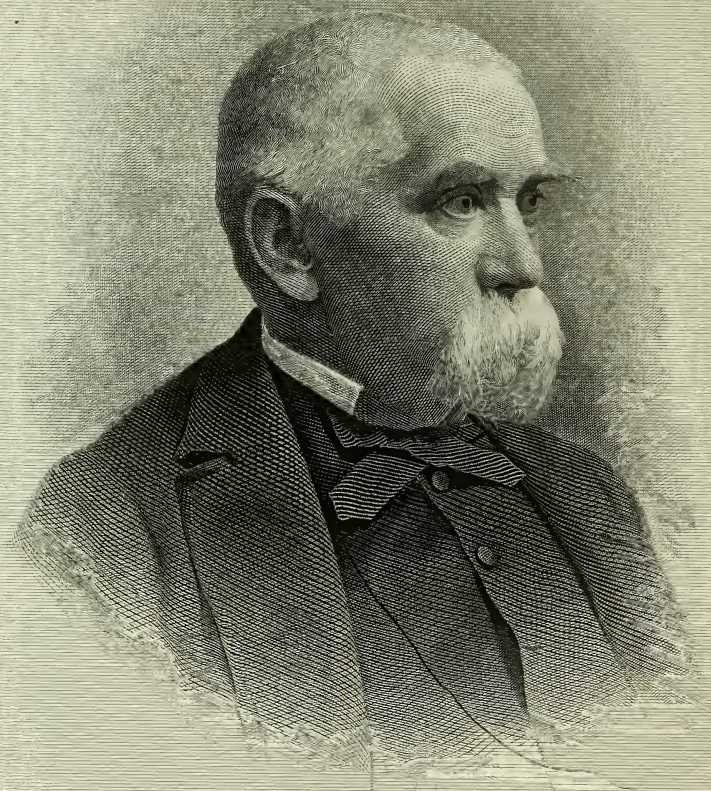
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MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY.

W. J. Wallers

Magazine of Western History.

Vol. X.

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No. 1.

THE WALTERS ART COLLECTION AT BALTIMORE.

VERY many leavening forces are at work to-day upon the purely aesthetic, as well as the generally intellectual, side of the American mind, ever plastic and rich in latent possibilities of sympathy and growth and accomplishment, and they are those which no man can as yet fully appreciate, and the value of which cannot for some time be estimated, even approximately. And yet it is none the less true that a great and constantly increasing influence is being exerted in the cultivation of the popular taste and in the matter of art education. And it is because of the widely ramifying channels in which this influence flows out that it is at once most effective in result and most elusive of detection and definition. We have no great schools of art, no masters working surrounded by pupils, not as yet even a great number of art collections, and those for the most part not of the highest order of excellence, but it is to them, such as they are, that we must look for the dissemination of ennobling ideas, of suggestion and in-

centive, and from every one of them according to its worth and influence is going forth as silently but as surely, as pervadingly and as beneficently as the odor of flowers goes out upon and mingles with and savors the atmosphere; or, to vary the simile a trifle, to make it truer, let us say as the pollen of the flower floats unseen to do its gentle but potent purpose in fertilizing other blooms. We see but little of the slow process of growth in either case, but we behold its results finally when the formative period is succeeded by flower and fruition.

It would be interesting indeed if we could know all the results that are to spring into life in ten, fifty or a hundred years, through the agency of a meritorious gallery of pictures, generously thrown open to the public as is the Corcoran gallery at Washington, several in New York, and the superb Walters collection at Baltimore, with the character of which it is the purpose of this article to slightly acquaint some people, who, not having

seen its beauties, may be stimulated to do so by reading of them.

The Walters gallery, which in the estimation of many good authorities is really the finest collection of paintings—the most informing—in this country, represents only one, though the greatest and completest, achievement of a gentleman whose love of art has prompted him to numerous acts for its patronage, for the encouragement of art education and the elevation of the public taste. It has unquestionably an incalculable effect in promoting an activity in art, thought and endeavor, for it is thrown open to the public generally, and with certain special privileges to connoisseurs, serious art amateurs and students (a small fee being accepted from visitors which forms in the aggregate a considerable fund each year for the poor), and the privilege is eagerly taken advantage of not alone by Baltimoreans but by strangers in the city, including many foreign tourists who know the gallery by reputation, and especially by people sojourning in Washington, who regard it in fact as a kind of an annex to the places of interest in that city, and frequently form parties for the especial purpose of visiting it.

The collection is handsomely housed in a spacious, well lighted gallery communicating with Mr. Walters' residence on Mount Vernon Place, which is itself rich in art treasures. The handsomely adorned Mount Vernon Place with its stately Washington monument, impressive alike through its mere massiveness and the grace of its proportions,

seems an appropriate location for the home of the art lover, and in turn Mr. Walters' tasteful house seems to form a peculiarly proper entrance to the gallery. Just over the threshold from the porch, commanding a view of the little park with its tasteful grass plots and fountains and superb Barye bronzes, is a marble statue of rare beauty—"The Woman of Samaria"—one of the most perfect works of the famous Baltimore sculptor, Rinehart. All about are objects of beauty such as one is accustomed to see in well ordered houses where wealth and taste go hand in hand, not obtrusively asserting themselves in opulent profusion or bizarre effects, but harmoniously combining to produce a general atmosphere of elegance and ease, of gentle restfulness. Several rooms of the residence, not seen by all visitors, have been chosen for special studies in furnishing and decoration, and present rarely faithful examples of certain schools or eras of design. There is the Louis XVI. room, a charmingly chaste and bright combination in white and blue and gold, containing the bedstead and hangings, the tapestry, dressing table and varied articles of ornament belonging to the court of Marie Antoinette; and not less attractive though widely different, the Nuremberg room with a wealth of quaint antique furniture, rare old plaques and its quiet richness of forms and colorings, while still another apartment is devoted to Oriental embroideries and hangings. A suite of spacious rooms which form the approach to the gallery of paintings,

are crowded with a profusion of rare porcelains, vases of a hundred forms, plaques, lacquers, jades, arms and armor of various nations and periods, massive bronzes and elaborate, patiently wrought sculptures, in ivory, each of which must have employed for years the deft hands of some conscientious Indian or Japanese artist. The art-crowded capitals of the Old World and many out-of-the-way places of India and the Oriental countries have been discriminatingly ransacked and a vast deal of time and taste and money expended to bring together this collection of objects that are beautiful and curious, and which exhibit the highest of human attainment in their several lines.

Among the treasures is the Angelica Kaufman cabinet, and a superb assortment of Viennese porcelain vases, plates and glassware, some so delicately engraved that the lines can only be seen by holding them in a strong light. Somebody has said of the porcelain room that "it is like a picture taken out of the Arabian Nights." The collection is historically perfect from the old Korean down through the Chinese, Japanese, Indian and other periods of wonderful and curious workmanship, to the most dainty triumphs in modern ceramics. There is a whole case of peach-blow vases, any of which are superior to the of late much mentioned Morgan vase, and there is among the recent additions to the curios a cup of transparent enamels modeled after a representation of one said to have been owned by Benvenuto Cellini, and built

up by a process of innumerable firings extending over a period of many months. The collection consists of over three thousand pieces, all properly classified and arranged, but presenting in their vast variety, richness, beauty and often entirely unique character an almost bewildering treasure from the art centres and the far corners of the earth. And yet, the apartments which are lined and crowded with these costly and curious gems, are merely the purlieu of Mr. Walters' palace of beauty.

Perhaps, however, to style the place instead of a palace a *temple* of beauty will better suggest the atmosphere—the spirit—that pervades it, for, in all seriousness, there is that about the character of the gallery which compels the thought that these pictures were brought together, not by a mind having a dilettanti interest in the cleverness of art, but a deep love and true reverence for the beauty of all nature, and for the aspirations which lead men to study, to copy and to create anew under the spell of the great teacher, to lift human thought into the highest level it can possibly attain, at least while held a captive to the earth. The idea impressed upon one who sees these pictures is that, however familiar to the knowledge of their collector are such matters as the execution, the style, the school of art—and the results of the most thorough feeling in these matters, and the highest aesthetic culture are everywhere apparent—his foremost and dominating regard is for the sentiment, the pathos, the poetry

that is the informing spirit of every true incarnation of the beautiful. Hence, one finds here not only excellence, but purity and dignity. The effect is as if two stern and vigilant sentinels had stood at the portals of the great chamber, one representing a broadly catholic but severely critical knowledge of the art, and the other veneration for the sweetness and sanctity of the beautiful, and that these guardians had prevented the passing of any object trivial or unworthy, and of anything that might not be in sympathy with the lofty serenity of its surroundings. And hence, it happens that there are here, as one critic puts it, "no dark spots of mediocrity . . . no space that might better have been left unfilled." The collection stands as an outgrowth of long obedience to the injunction, "Prove all things; hold fast that which is good," and its excellence represents not merely years of getting but repeated judicious prunings, for although Mr. Walters never in his long career purchased a picture to sell, he has, as a matter of fact, sold twice as many as are now upon the walls of his gallery. Through all he has held steadfastly "that which is good," and there is not one picture here which the most fastidious art admirer or even the most captitious critic would have removed. One of the first impressions produced upon the observer is the absence of the old masters, but if Michael Angelo, Raphael, Correggio, Titian, Murrillo, Ruebens, Rembrandt and their cotemporaries are not here, there is certainly a glori-

ous array of the works of Delaroche, Delacroix, Meissonier, Millet, Millais, Detaille, Decamps, Diaz, Corot, Couture, Rosa Bonheur, Fromentin, Rousseau, Troyon, Clays, Gallait, Munkacsy, De Neuville, Breton, Boughton, Riviere, Dupre, Daubigny, Fortuny, Henner, Bonnat, Ziems, Leys, Achenbach, Cabanal, Alma-Tadema, Gerome, and scores of other eminent latter-day painters.

Mr. Walters has been the partisan of no particular school, but has gathered impartially the finest works of the French, English, Belgian and German artists now living or recently deceased, and has with perhaps few exceptions the best representations of each school and individual. Each picture has been chosen for its own sake and stands on its own merits, and collectively they represent and inculcate the best principles of modern European art in its various phases. The Paris exhibitions of 1867 and 1878 and the Vienna exposition of 1873 were closely studied by the collector, and he had also the advantage of living abroad for a term of years and becoming intimately acquainted with all the chief treasuries of art and leisurely making selections from them. One general idea which rises irresistably in the mind of the observer is that Mr. Walters' pictorial riches form pre-eminently what the French call a "*serious*," that is, an *earnest* collection, and it is by reason of this quality that it possesses its great value to students and people generally of cultivated taste. It is not the col-

lection of a specialist, nor one made in a spirit tainted by commercial thrift, nor by a lover of the curious, or the historically interesting. The primary consideration in selection has been that of the beauty of a picture—beauty, pure and simple — and all other forms or features of value, as of history, or the glamour of a great name have in themselves weighed as nothing. It is because of this fact that the gallery has gained its great celebrity among the truest critics, of whom one says enthusiastically that it “comes near being the realization of a connoisseur’s dream,” and another — the eminent authority upon all art matters, M. Durand Greville—exclaims: “Too much riches—and such incomparable riches!”

The place of honor in the gallery, at the entrance end, has been awarded to what is commonly conceded to be the greatest of all Corot’s pictures, the “Martyrdom of St. Sebastian,” which is the largest in the collection, occupying a canvas eight feet high by half as many in width. This is a truly wonderful picture in which art is made to serve in a mystic way, as the handmaiden of religion and the vernal forest in which the saint is about to close his eyes in the agonies of death, seems etherialized and spiritualized by the supernal light which is flooded down to welcome the coming of a great soul liberated from sore suffering. As an example of lofty conception of a sublime subject and of masterful treatment for the production of a sense of the mysterious and supernatural, the picture is a

revelation of the painter’s power, to express the subtlest, the most elusive and abstract of ideas.

The picture which is perhaps the most famous one in the gallery, is Delacroche’s “Hemicycle,” the original finished study painted for the semi-circular salon or hemicycle of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, representing a distribution of prizes to successful students in the presence of a throng of the most distinguished painters, sculptors, and architects of the world, and thus possessing a high historic as well as artistic interest. It exhibits picturesque fancy, a masterful command of accurate drawing, delicacy of color, and fineness of treatment. The picture is about eight feet in length by sixteen inches in height, and contains about a hundred portraits, of which the subjects are indicated by a key. This priceless treasure was obtained at great peril during the reign of the commune at Paris, and lay for a long time at Marseilles before it could be safely shipped to this country, and should Mr. Walters care to relinquish it to the French he could set his own price upon it, for Paris possesses a copy of it only, and that not by the master’s hand, but by a pupil, under his direction.

That celebrated masterpiece of Meissonier’s—“1814”—is not hung with the other pictures upon the walls, but stands alone upon a cabinet in the centre of the gallery. It is a very small canvas representing Napoleon, mounted on a white horse—his favorite Marengo, was it not?—standing upon a knoll sur-

veying the field of the coming battle. It is a marvellous portrayal of the "man of destiny," at an hour when the portending shadow of disaster has fallen upon him. The dreary landscape, the lowering, leaden clouds, the very atmosphere appear burdened with the aura of the swift coming, certain catastrophe, and there is a weirdness in the fatalistic effect which chains the attention and causes one to temporarily overlook the wonderful technique, the almost microscopical minuteness of the great artist's execution. There is more imagination in it than in Meissonier's other works, and it stands upon a higher artistic plane than the more ambitious pictures in the New York Metropolitan Museum. It was this picture which, when all of the artist's works were brought together for a supreme exhibition of his powers, stood out by itself as the highest attainment of his genius. Albert Wolff long ago said of it that it was "the most poetical and finest of all Meissonier's works," and the eminent critic, Laffan, in a long eulogy says it is "the most complete and masterly expression of Meissonier at his best, with all his technical excellences in their unclouded exercise, while there is joined thereto a sense of absolute inspiration in respect to subject and execution, that does not easily obtain in any of his other pictures."

These three paintings have been grouped by the writer for the reason that he supposes them to be the ones which would lay strongest claim upon the average lay observer, and they are, in

fact, the most notable ones in the collection, but he must confess that there are many others which he, individually, more admires—among them, Gerome's "Christian Martyrs," which, we are told, was upon the artist's easel twenty years and repainted three times, superbly and sternly depicting human emotion and passion at supreme tension. The scene is a Roman amphitheatre, in the arena of which a throng of Christians, old men and young, and maidens, are huddled together awaiting the onslaught of the starved and ferocious lions and tigers just liberated from their dens, while other martyrs, smeared with pitch and stretched upon crosses at regular intervals around the race course, are being set afire to light the hideous spectacle that is about to be presented to the gaze of the Romans sitting tier above tier round about. There is something subtle in the hold this picture has upon the mind which, it seems to me, lies largely in the idea that is awakened of absolute helplessness and the awful solemnity of inexorable fate, emphasized by the utter indifference, the pitilessness of the on-looking multitude. There is much, too, of this strange, strong suggestiveness, so elusive of expression in words, in Briton Riviere's "Night Watch," in which a company of lions are stalking stealthily and alert among the massive moonlit ruins of an ancient temple, with the eternal stars shining from a serene sky upon the scene of desolation. It is a sermon—an intense symbolism—of the seeming slow, but always swift muta-

tions of time in the affairs of men and nations and all things finite.

Of Geromes there are three others, among them the much discussed "Duel after the Masquerade," "Diogenes" and "On the Desert," and of Fortunys five, of which the "Rare Vase," of the Morgan sale, and the "Hindoo Snake Charmers," formerly of the A. T. Stewart collection, are the most conspicuous.

The latter, which would be remarkable for the sorcery of its color alone or for the luxurious sensuousness of the lounging Orientals, is often the subject of study and wondering remark by reason of another quality—the deep sense which it produces of the mysterious or of occult influence.

Three masterpieces in the interpretation of nature, hanging side by side, evidently unlike, but possessing some qualities in common, are Rousseau's "La Givre," representing the hills of Valmandois, near the artist's home, as seen across the River Oise on a winter day—a picture exhibiting immense power and originality, which sold in 1830, when the painter was at his best, for only \$100; Daubigny's "Sunset on the Coast of France," one of the most beautiful pictures of the gallery; and Millet's famous "Sheepfold by Moonlight," one of the One Hundred Masterpieces of 1883 (a distinction belonging to several other pictures in this collection), which is probably the finest work of that artist, and not presenting as formidably as do some of the others the mannerisms of his coarse execution.

It is a little picture—only 24 x 18 inches—and yet as Albert Wolff says, "Poetry penetrates and solitude invades the fancy so completely that we think no more of the size of the picture. It becomes immense like nature." It is in fact an inspiration of nature. There are at least half a dozen other Millets, among them being "The Potato Harvest," "Breaking Flax" (oils), the famous "Angelus" in black and white, and two pastels, "The Sower" and "The Shepardess," with which the public has been familiarized by engravings.

Among the subjects of religious inspiration are two superb paintings by Delacroix—called by Wolff "The Shakespeare of Art"—"Christ on the Cross," and "Jesus on the Sea of Galilee," both of the One Hundred Masterpieces; and "The Assumption," by Diaz, who has several others of widely different natures, of which "The Storm" is a work of superlative grandeur, and "The Forest of Fontainebleau" and "Effect of Autumn," both works of delicate loveliness.

Breton is represented by several fine examples, and his much-praised "Returning from the Fields" is unquestionably one of the most attractive of modern figure paintings. Of Dupres there are three—two exquisite landscapes and a poetical marine, while of the great Munkacsy there is but a solitary picture, "The Story of the Battle." Troyn's "Cattle Drinking," another of the One Hundred Masterpieces, is near the three pictures by Millet, Daubig-

ney and Rousseau, already spoken of, truly worthy of their company and in sympathy with them. It is a luminous, luxurious page from Nature's book, full of the gleam of sunshine, the glistening of waters, the rustling of rich foliage, the joyousness and loveliness of light and warmth and life.

A very small canvas by Henner, a "Nymph," is notable by reason of its charming qualities and because it is the solitary example of the nude in this gallery.

One of the most serious as well as most celebrated pictures is Baron Ley's "Edict of Charles V.,"—an elaborate study of physiognomy, having an historic value—which received one of the eight grand Medals of Honor at the Paris Exposition of 1867.

Very many other pictures and artists, especially of the French and Spanish schools, not even mentioned in this article, are fully as worthy, perhaps, as those it has been endeavored to give slight impressions of, but there are such things as limitations, and the writer of these notes is subject to their check. A word, however, in regard to the few portraits in the collection. Cabanal's Nilsson is here, and there are four by Bonnat, including one of the great animal sculptor Barye, several of whose works in bronze presented to the city by Mr. Walters adorn Mount Vernon Place.

The English School is represented by a number of works already mentioned, but most conspicuously by a group of

Alma-Tadema's, who appears to be a great favorite with Mr. Walters. Nearly all are large and important works and of the first rank as to quality, fully illustrating the painter's intense vitality, purity of coloring, brilliancy of illumination, grace of design, careful finish and archæological accuracy. His "Sappho" and "A Roman Emperor—Claudius"—in which the Praetorian soldiers discover the frightened youth, Claudius, in his place of concealment behind a curtain with the murdered emperor, Caligula, lying at his feet—are the most striking and dramatic illustrations of Tadema's art, and, of all his pictures, probably best combine and epitomize his various high qualities.

A few only of the goodly company of beautiful creations congregated here have been enumerated, but enough has been said to convey, it is hoped, some idea of the character of the collection and the mission it is serving. It is a great group of sincere teachers, silent, yet giving eloquent expression to all that is lovely and tender and sublime in human experience and in Nature, as revealed to those whose eyes are most eager in search and readiest in recognition. And he who will may sit under the influence of this culturing company. It is doubtful if the money and time which this collection has cost could have been, in any other way, as effectively expended, for the advancement of art education in America, as in that which Mr. Walters has chosen.

ALFRED MATHEWS.

WILLIAM T. WALTERS.

As has already been said, this superb collection of paintings represents but one item in Mr. Walters' services for art encouragement. The story of what he has done for art has not yet been told, nor has the time come for the adequate telling of it. He has himself said that with the first five dollars that he ever earned he bought a picture, and we know that from the time he devoted a portion of the proceeds of his first year's business in Baltimore, now nearly fifty years ago, to the purchase of the best pictures he could then procure, an ever-increasing love for the beautiful dictated, as a constantly growing financial ability has permitted, larger and larger outlays in the direction of art patronage.

While primarily a man of business and of affairs, his methods of management and dispatch have been such as to reach the maximum of accomplishment in the minimum of time, and instead of permitting commercial interests to enslave him, as a great proportion of successful business men unfortunately do, he has made them minister to his own and other people's tastes, enjoyment and education. Thus, though he has made his own way in the world, and carried on for long years an active business of much magnitude, and been the chief promoter and executive head of several large enterprises—in fact led a commercial career,

such as would monopolize the time and strength of any man less forceful, quick and sympathetic, he has been enabled to give more attention to study, travel and the various influences tending towards general culture, than do most men who inherit wealth. And above all, he has ever been alert to aid individuals in whom he has perceived aptitude, and also to benefit the public. As an example of his generous exercise of the former trait may be mentioned his early recognition of the genius of Rinehart, and the fostering influence with which he surrounded it, giving it opportunity to mature and blossom. William H. Rinehart, who was a native of Carroll county, Maryland, began life as a stone cutter, and very soon displaying a taste and capability for sculpture he was urged by Mr. Walters to go to Rome for study, and the art patron who freely opened his purse for that purpose remained his life-long friend. With the facilities thus put within his reach, his powers were quickly and strongly developed. He gained distinction as one of the greatest American sculptors, and many noble works, not alone in Baltimore but elsewhere in the United States, attest his genius and unremitting labor. Among the finest is his "Woman of Samaria" in Mr. Walters' home, the bronze doors in the capital at Washington, a monumental figure in bronze over the grave of Mrs. Walters

in Green Mount Cemetery, a most pathetic expression of grief in the loss of a revered woman; and the colossal bronze statue of Chief Justice Taney in front of the capitol at Annapolis, which the state was induced to commission the sculptors to make through the endeavors of Severn Teackle Wallis, Esq., and Mr. Walters; a copy of which has been presented to the City of Baltimore by Mr. Walters and placed in Mount Vernon Place, Baltimore. With these should be ranked the noble "Endymion," which, as executed in bronze, has been placed by Mr. Walters over the sculptor's tomb as a last memorial and tribute to the artist whose successful career he had made possible. Rinehart left his estate of some fifty thousand dollars for art purposes in Baltimore, appointing his old friend and benefactor and Mr. B. F. Newcomer as trustees of the fund. Kindly, encouraging acts, similar to that cited in relation to Rinehart, have, according to common report, been frequently performed by the liberal patron of art. He has not only recognized talent and genius when in the course of events they have appeared before him, but has sought them out and given them counsel, stimulating appreciation and vital succor.

As to his public benefactions in the art line (beyond the greatest of all of them, the opening of his collections to all who may care to avail themselves of the high privilege) may be mentioned his munificent donations of statuary to the municipality, so placed that it lies in

the daily walk of thousands. He has erected in Mount Vernon Place the colossal "Lion in Repose" by Barye, four groups by the same great French sculptor, and the splendid statue "Military Courage," by Du Bois, all in bronze, which collectively make this little park one of the most richly embellished with sculptures in this country.

To an inherent love for art and beauty in all forms, Mr. Walters has brought the ripening, refining influence of fifty years of devoted study under the best of advantages. Not only has he had a long familiarity with all that is best of art in this country, but he lived in Europe for several years, the greater proportion of his time being passed in France, and he there enjoyed prolonged visits to the most famous art treasures of the world, and became the intimate companion and friend of eminent continental and English painters, sculptors and art critics. The high esteem in which his art culture has been held was indicated some years ago by his selection as one of the permanent trustees of the Corcoran Art Gallery in Washington, an honor made still more conspicuous by the fact that he was the only non-resident of the Capital given a place upon the board, and emphasized by his election as Chairman of the Purchasing Committee. He is also a trustee of the Peabody Institute in Baltimore, a member of several of its committees and the chairman of the Committee on Art. In these positions it is safe to say that he exerts a stronger influence upon the criticism, cultiva-

tion and elevation of pure art than does any other man in the country.

In the creation and development of the aesthetic qualities, ancestral endowment and favorable environment of nature and conditions seem usually about equal potent factors, and this broad generalization has an apparently apt illustration in the formation of our subject's mental individuality. Happily favoring circumstances seem to have attended his birth and circumscribed the formative period of his youth. William T. Walters sprung from a sturdy strain of Scotch-Irish blood, and was born in the year 1820 in the lovely region of the Juniata river in Pennsylvania, where his ancestors settled considerably more than a century ago. His father, Henry Walters, was a merchant and banker, and his mother, whose maiden name was Jane Thompson, was a descendant of that hardy, honest race which early emigrated from the north of Ireland and became prominent in the vanguard of pioneers whose strength was the important element in pushing westward the boundaries of civilization, notably in Pennsylvania and to a lesser extent in her sister colonies.

Inheriting the vigor, the indomitable will and the steadfastness of the Scotch, with the emotional, responsive nature, the nerve and verve of the Irish blood, he passed his childhood and early youth amid the picturesque surroundings of his home, in which a susceptible nature could not fail to receive the lasting impress of beauty and of grandeur; and upon the other hand,

the sturdiness and resoluteness of his character were early given full development by the nature of the employments which engaged him as soon as he was of sufficient age to begin his active career.

Foreseeing the era of canal and railroad building which must soon ensue as an inevitable outcome of the recognition of Pennsylvania's vast mineral resources, and the demand that would consequently arise for educated energy in this direction, young Walters' father educated him as an engineer, and though in early manhood he adopted a different calling, it is not to be doubted that his training for and brief experience in this profession were of considerable value to him in many ways. The arduous duties he performed had their effect in physical and mental invigoration and he had the benefit of familiar acquaintance with nature in all her aspects and moods, while traveling the wild region of central and western Pennsylvania. Such was the confidence that he commanded, by his energy, alertness, sagacity and managing ability, even before he had attained his majority, that he was placed in charge of a furnace at Farrandsville (now in Clinton, but then included in the bounds of Lycoming county) where, under his management, in 1838, was successfully produced on a scale of commercial importance, the first iron that was ever manufactured in the United States by use of mineral (bituminous coked) coal. He went afterwards to Pottsville, where he was identified with the first furnace

—the Pioneer, owned by Burd Patterson—in which was made anthracite iron in this country, an accomplishment which led to the speedy development of the colossal anthracite iron industry of eastern Pennsylvania.

In 1841, when he was only twenty-one years of age, he removed to Baltimore and established a general commission business, at once making a favorable impress upon the commercial community and obtaining a leading position in the trade, especially in the line of Pennsylvania produce, the handling of which was greatly facilitated through the opening of the tide-water canal to Havre de Grace, and the Baltimore & Susquehanna railroad, (now the Northern Central). Desiring a wider field for the exercise of his energies, he established, a few years later, the mercantile house of William T. Walters & Co., which grew to the enjoyment of a commercial credit without limit, and has been regarded as one of the strongest houses in the country. From this business he only retired in 1883 to more fully devote his remaining years to great interests which had been developed under his control.

The marriage of Mr. Walters occurred not long after his coming to Baltimore (in 1845), his wife being Ellen, daughter of Charles A. and Anna D. Harper of Philadelphia, whose death in London, in 1862, was the great bereavement in a life otherwise most smoothly flowing and enjoying unusual freedom from mutation. She left two children, a son Henry who, after graduating at George-

town College and subsequently taking a special course in science at Harvard University, became associated with his father in business projects—and a daughter Jennie, who married Warren Delano of New York.

Reverting to the commercial career of Mr. Walters, we find it outside of his special business, so large, so crowded with multifarious enterprises, that but little more than a general statement of what he has accomplished can be undertaken. It may be said, to commence with, that his energies have been chiefly devoted to the establishment and operation of lines of transportation both by water and rail, varied in their special purposes, but nearly all having the general and the grand object in view of opening and making tributary to the southern seaboard, the commercial, agricultural and mineral resources of the Southern, Western and the Midland country; of extending to these regions the mercantile and manufacturing advantages of Baltimore, the natural gateway of the South, and of benefitting both and the country as a whole, by knitting them together by the iron bonds of traffic. It was very natural that so enterprising a business man, beginning his career just at a time when railroads were coming into practical vogue, should become prominently interested in them. His initial enterprise in railroads, however, took other direction than those to which allusion has been made. It was aimed towards the North. At an early day he became a controlling director of the Northern

Central Railroad, representing not only private stock, but the city and state, and it was largely through his energetic actions in connection with his life-long friend, the late Col. Thomas A. Scott, that what had been merely a local road, was rebuilt, re-equipped, reorganized and extended so as to make tributary to Baltimore the produce of that territory to the northward, through middle Pennsylvania, which naturally trends toward it by the laws of topography, or the "lay of the land." Through the arrangements of connecting lines to the Lakes and the West, the improvement of its terminal facilities in Baltimore and Canton (a suburb) and its union with the Pennsylvania railroad system, this line has been made a great power in binding Baltimore to the North and West, and securing a trade which has incalculably added to the wealth of the city.

He has been prominently identified with the organization of nearly every line of steamers sailing from Baltimore. He was president of the first line between that port and Savannah, and a director in several other companies. After the close of the civil war he recognized the importance and insisted upon the reorganization of those lines and the establishment of new ones.

The greater work of opening southern and southwestern railroad lines and organizing them into a system, which has been one of more recent years, has come nearer monopolizing Mr. Walters' time and attention than any or perhaps all of his other undertakings. It has

been the crowning accomplishment of his commercial career. In carrying out this vast project he has, for himself and others, expended millions of dollars and he has given it unremitting and most zealous attention—the fruits of his mature judgment, based upon long experience in the management of many other large and successfully accomplished undertakings. He had for many years held that it would be practicable and profitable to unite the great lakes and the Gulf of Mexico by a continuous line of railroad of straight line and easy grades, east of the Allegheny Mountains, and as has been heretofore noted had early brought about the establishment of the Northern link in such a system by pushing to its greatest potentiality the railroad now known as the Northern Central. Firm of faith in the future prosperity of the South, which has now come, he was one of the leaders who, by their foresight, energy and willingness to venture large sums of money, helped to hasten that same splendid future and to control interests of colossal magnitude, which were alike factors in it and destined to be favored by it. Acting for himself, for his firm, and as a trustee for others, he purchased many hundreds of miles of continuous and tributary Southern railroads. The combination was duly effected, and under the title of the Atlantic Coast Line is controlled by himself and his associates. They have the majority interests in the roads from Baltimore through Washington, Alexandria, Richmond,

Petersburg, Weldon, Wilmington, Florence, Charleston, Savannah and Jacksonville, Florida, aggregating fully one thousand miles, and they control in the same way lateral railroads, tributary to the former, consisting of perhaps a thousand miles more, while they have also vast western and southwestern roads, penetrating to Atlanta, Georgia, Memphis, Tennessee, and St. Louis. All of these roads reach the Atlantic by continuous lines at Norfolk. This imperial railway combination, which by its widely spreading network of lines concentrates the products of nearly a score of states at the seaboard for home consumption and shipment aboard, and in return by its almost innumerable ramifications places at thousands of points within these states the manufactures of the sea-coast cities and of the whole producing world, was made up of more than a dozen distinct corporations, in each of which Mr. Walters was a managing director, and now all are under one control, exercised by a company—the Atlantic Coast Line—of which he is president, and his son Henry has been for several years the general manager. Of the latter, it may appropriately be added that, although young in years, he has had a large experience and has already acquired the reputation of being one of the best educated, most intelligent and practical railroad men in the country.

The value of faith as resting upon foresight and so strongly buttressed by it as to allow of no swerving under the worst of temporary disasters, was ex-

hibited when the panic of 1873, in the opinion of many, threatened with ruin that vast enterprise the Texas Pacific Railroad. Mr. Walters was firm in his convictions of the ultimate success of this project, and time has vindicated his judgment. He stood firmly by the heavy investments of himself and friends, and with unflagging zeal pushed the work ahead, and to his untiring enthusiasm and ceaseless, sagacious energy, more than to any other one man's, belongs the credit for the consummation of the great work. Throughout the progress of this enterprise he was the chairman of the company's executive committee and he now holds that position.

While Mr. Walters is pre-eminently a business man, as this sketch indicates, one can never lose sight of the fact that his intellectual activities are as versatile, as varied in direction, as his taste in art matters is catholic. This reflection is particularly suggested to the writer by the occurrence just here of the thought that it was this same giant in general commercial affairs and the control of huge corporations, the promoter of vast projects—this same cultured art connoisseur, whose gallery is famous in this country and in Europe—who has the credit of an important work in an entirely different direction, and also be it said one of great value to the country. This was no other than the introduction in America of the celebrated and noble Percheron horse, whose superlative practical value as a draft animal is generally acknowledged. The horses

of this splendid breed are now very numerous in the United States, both in town and country, but there are probably none finer than those at the country homestead of their pioneer importer. Very many instances of this versatility of taste and varied acts in Mr. Walters' busy life might be cited, and the mere mention of this one, so different from those on which the biographer has dwelt, suggests at least one other form of his activity and characteristic of his mind, viz., his love for literature, especially that which may increase appreciation for those things which he has found good and beautiful. Only a year or so ago he published in most elegant and chaste style for private distribution a treatise on the Percheron horse which he translated from the French of Charles Du Hays, and prefaced with a valuable chapter of his own introducing, as typical illustrations many superb photographs, printed upon silky, Japanese paper, of his own horses. The book is truly a beautiful one, and possesses a character which is in all respects worthy of the sumptuous way in which it has been clothed. This is by no means the only service which our subject has rendered to literature. Within the last few years the lovers and students of art have been indebted to him for a convenient hand book upon Oriental art, for a book upon Barye, containing authoritative criticisms by French writers, and a rarely beautiful work called "Notes upon Certain Masters of the Nineteenth Century," trans-

lated from the French by Albert Wolff, and embodying his comments upon the "One Hundred Masterpieces," exhibited in Paris in 1883.

This sketch, which opened with consideration of the æsthetic side of our subject's character, has, without any deliberate intention, come also to its conclusion with mention of art matters, but that is perhaps not inappropriate, for one who meets Mr. Walters must be struck with the thought that his ideas follow a somewhat similar cycle from art, through the various prosaic duties and strivings of everyday life, back again to art—that his first thoughts and his last are alike of the beauties of art and of nature.

One solitary negation or negative quality in his character arises almost in the nature of a relief. He is not—has never been—an aspirant for public place, although he did once serve the city with great acceptability as a member of its Finance Committee, at a most critical period, and his counsel has been often sought by the holders of official positions of honor and responsibility.

His faculty for leadership and government has been bestowed upon large enterprises of only semi-public interest, and on them has been exerted the great power of his influence for the good of the city and country and the people generally, while the humbler deeds of personal kindness, of humanity and charity, have not been lacking.

In character, he has been bold and aggressive, but cool, and prudent and

painstaking; prompt and exact; a model of propriety and probity, holding his verbal promise in all things as an absolute obligation; and these qualities, combined with his knowledge of men, instant intuition of character, quick appreciation of capacity in any calling, power to inspire personal attachments, his sagacious penetration of the future with regard to its possibilities and probabilities, and above all his absolutely tireless energy, have made him a leader among men, and enabled him to accumulate, not through speculation, but by process of steady growth in the

legitimate avenues of business and commerce, one of the largest fortunes of the times.

He stands out among his fellow men as a rugged, massive nature, yet of finest fibre; a strongly active man, yet possessing a vast resource of reserve force, a most vigorous and virile personality, well-equipped and nobly endowed; an intensely vivid and real mentality, of variform qualities symmetrically developed and held in happy equipoise for the performance of the highest duties and the realization of the highest enjoyments of life. A. M.

HENRY REED: AN AUTHOR OF A PAST GENERATION.

Those of us who can look with the eye of memory into the now too placid waters of yesterday, see mirrored there the faces of many who wrought well for their generation, and passed away certain of having made some lasting impress upon their times,—men whom the world has not forgotten, and cannot well forget, but of whom the younger generations know too little, confused or amused as they too often are, by the loud-voiced and froward who occupy the stage of events to-day. It is to recall the outlines of one whose personality was so intense, whose genius so profound, and learning so varied, that he was one of the foremost men of his day, and has embalmed his memory forever in our early American literature, that these few pages are written.

Henry Reed, as has been eloquently said, indeed lived a life "too short for friendship, not for fame."

While circumstances due entirely to his environment, led him in the early years of his career to undertake the life of a barrister, nature and the sure voice of his genius called him into another path; a path which I have no doubt would have led him into the highest temples of literary fame, had not death ended his career before the promise of his early days had been made secure. I do not feel this statement to be extravagant; that which he was able to do was surely an earnest of even better things to come.

In that equipment of intellect which comes from a strong ancestry, Henry Reed had an unusual chance, born, as



DRAWN BY G. WALTER FILLIS

HENRY REED.

he was, grandson to that Joseph Reed, known to fame as first president of Pennsylvania. His early days were passed in Philadelphia, where he was born on July 11, 1808. A well-known classical school of the day prepared him carefully for college, and in the fall of 1822 he entered the sophomore class of the University of Pennsylvania, from which he graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Arts, three years later. In accordance with the purpose he had formed before his powers had been fully tested with reference to their best uses, he entered upon the study of the law, in the office of his uncle, Hon. John Sergeant, and was admitted by the Philadelphia District Court in 1831. But he had by this time held sufficient commune with himself to read the truth; and he closed his legal career in its beginning, and gave himself to a more congenial pursuit. He accepted the position of assistant professor of English literature in the great institution which had so recently conferred upon him his degree. In a few months he was asked to also fill the chair of professor of moral philosophy; and in 1835 was given the chair of rhetoric and English literature.

His nature was such, and the thirst for knowledge "was so desperately upon him," that he learned as well as taught, and while forming the minds of others, broadened his own, and sought all open ways towards a true knowledge of the science to which his life was pledged. A thousand cords of desire drew him toward the older sources of intellectual

development upon the other side of the sea; and at last his long-held desire was made good, and he obtained leave of absence from his duties, and sailed for Europe. It was indeed a season of which he made good use; and the messages that came back from time to time were freighted with evidences of the growth and expansion of his mind, of the congenial atmosphere in which he lived, of the inspiration that had come for better work when he should return to his own. He naturally sought those whose hearts and labors were in the same direction as his own; and among the friends he formed were Wordsworth, the Coleridges, Thackeray, Henry Taylor, and others of that group who made their period one famous in the literary history of their land. His intimacy with them was close, while their appreciation of him and kindness toward him were such as to warm the heart of a stranger in a strange land and call forth the most profound expressions of his gratitude; and the last words he ever penned may be found in a letter written on date of September 20, 1854, to the venerable Mrs. Wordsworth thanking her and her friends for all they had done to make him welcome, and his visit one of pleasure.

On the same day he set his face toward America, entered ship and left England, filled with new aspirations for work, new strength for its accomplishment, and abundant material of the richest kind out of which new fabrics were to be wrought. But the power that overrules man and rules the

sea to all its purposes sent death out upon the waters; and on seven days after the good ship *Arctic* sailed away from Liverpool, she went down into the abyss, and but few of the three hundred souls upon her lived to tell the tale. The life-work of Henry Reed was ended, and the tears and heavy sorrow of the thousands who knew him in his personality or by his works had no power to call him back to carry on the work he had so well begun. We of the older generation can well remember the shock this loss involved, and the gloom that fell in so many American homes when the sad loss of the *Arctic* was made sure.

Viewed from the literary standpoint, we place Henry Reed in that school of writers who received their first impressions from the genius of Wordsworth and Coleridge; "a school characterized by sound conservatism, conscientiousness, and a reverent spirit."* He worked under the direct leadership of those great masters of English verse, assisting Wordsworth in the prepara-

* In this connection the reader will be reminded of Coleridge's portrait of Wordsworth, as drawn in the "Biographia Literaria," condensed for this occasion: "An austere purity of language; a correspondent weight and sanity of the thoughts and sentiments; the sinewy strength and original lines and paragraphs; the perfect truth of nature in his images and descriptions as taken immediately from nature; a meditative pathos; a union of deep and subtle thought with sensibility; a sympathy with man as man; the gift of imagination in the highest and strictest sense of the word"—a poet, indeed, upon whom any writer, in prose or verse, could well be modeled.

tion of an American edition of his works, for which he wrote a preface; and supervising the American edition of the "Memoirs of Wordsworth," published by the poet's nephew, Christopher Wordsworth, D. D. He was also, through correspondence, enabled to win the esteem and friendship of Sir John Taylor Coleridge, as an evidence of which may be cited the remark made by Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, his son, while in America in 1883, and in an address at a banquet given by the University of Pennsylvania: "He was a friend of Henry Reed, too soon, too early lost—a scholar, philosopher, and perfect gentleman. He was known in England as well as here; of whom it might be said, his life too short for friendship, not for fame."

The chief productions of Henry Reed's pen appeared in the form of lectures, of which, as older readers will remember, a collection was published after his death by his brother, William B. Reed. This publication occupied three volumes, comprising his "Lecture on English Literature, from Chaucer to Tennyson," "Lecture on English History," and "Tragic Poetry, as illustrated by Shakespeare," "Lecture on the British Poets." A lecture on the American Union was published at the same time. These works were eminently successful, passing through several editions both in America and England, and covering many topics of moral and social philosophy, history and biography, criticism, etc.

Mr. Reed also edited or prepared a

number of works, among which may be mentioned an edition of Alexander Reid's "Description of the English Language," one of G. F. Graham's "English Synonyms," with an introduction and illustrations; the American reprint of Thomas Arnold's "Lectures on Modern History;" and Lord Mahon's "History of England, from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Paris." In 1851 he edited the poetical works of Thomas Gray, for which he prepared a new version, written with his characteristic critical power and discernment. He delivered an oration on "True

Education" before the Zelosophic Society of the University of Pennsylvania; and he was also the author of the Life of Joseph Reed, his grandfather, published in Sparks' Series of American Biography.

These works carry with them so many evidences of power and promise, and so suggest that the labor of a later day would have been even richer in fruition, that one cannot fail to realize that a great loss befell American letters when the life of Henry Reed came to an ill-fated close.

GEORGE GORDON HART.

JOHN BROWN AS A POET.

I AM led to add a line to the brief article already furnished, concerning the old hero, John Brown. In the pioneer cemetery, in Richfield, Summit county, Ohio, side by side upon a modest lot, rise four small mounds of turf, which mark the resting place of four children of John Brown, and his wife Mary. The children died in September, 1843, and within four days of each other, of a disease which was epidemic at the time. Their names are given on the stone above the grave; Charles, Austin, Peter, Sarah. Under these names are rudely carved a few lines, which the old abolitionist warrior himself composed for the purpose:

"Through all the dreary night of death,
In peaceful slumbers may you rest,
And when eternal day shall dawn,

And shades and death have passed and gone,
Oh, may you then, with a glad surprise,
In God's own image, wake and rise."

In an address delivered by Hon. Thomas Russell, who was with Brown during his final hours, I find these words: "I remember his saying 'I have no kind of fault to find about the manner of my death. The disgrace of hanging does not trouble me in the least. In fact I know that the very errors by which my schemes were marred, were decreed before the world was made. I had no more to do with the course pursued, than a shot leaving a cannon has to do with the spot where it shall fall.'"

This may be pure fatalism, but it is borne out as a practical belief in John Brown's every act.

JOHN KEITH.

DESERTED.

HENDRIK HUDSON.—1611.

Still to the fragile boat between us and the turbulent ocean
 Cling we, as frightened children cling to the powerless bosom
 Of the mother when danger is threatening. Thunderous voices
 Of ever-hungering billows roar above shrieks of the storm, and
 Sharp on my ear, through all the rage of the wind and the waters,
 Come the heart-heavy moans of my men in this awful desertion.
 Was it for this that we suffered the long and pitiless winter
 Horrors of death with the chill at our hearts and the clamorous hunger?
 Keen were the arrows shot from the bow that twanged in the icy
 Hand of the spirit who rules in these Arctic, desolate regions,
 While over ice-fields that stretched away, glistening and limitless, stalked the
 Spectre of Famine with mirror uplifted our faces reflecting,
 Multiplied copies they seemed of her hollow, death-sharpened visage.
 Why did we not arise, like Samson against the Philistines,
 Striking our enemies dead though we had perished beside them?
 Pitiful cowards all when death was the cost of submission!
 Helpless, I watched ye cling to the ship in your mad desperation--
 Cravens! could ye do naught but shriek, and beg for compassion?

Brothers, forgive my distrust; for me alone have ye suffered;
 I was the burdensome Jonah, the Pariah, scorned and accursed!
 God! to turn back when I stood on the uttermost brink of achievement;
 Reach for the star of success, and withdraw my hand ere I gained it!
 This was the glittering dream that unceasingly haunted my boyhood,
 This in my manhood the goal to which I was steadily climbing.
 Tossed toward the threatening sky in arms of the furious tempest,
 Then gathered back to the breast of the frozen, implacable ocean,
 Yet like a feather fallen from wing of the wandering sea-bird,
 Ever afloat on waves which greedily sought to engulf us--
 And if my men had not failed me, had persevered till we reached it,
 Kept but a tithe of their courage!--Mayhap, not a league to the westward,
 Waited the passage, priceless, long-looked for, waited to greet us,
 Triumph where others have lost, success where they have met failure.

Had you told me existence could hold a moment more bitter
 Than the one when reluctant I steered toward the harbors of Europe,
 I should have laughed you to scorn. No pain had foreshadowed the hour
 When the stiletto keen in crafty Treachery's fingers
 Pierced my too-trusting heart with the hate-sharpened blade of betrayal;
 This is the sting of death, the bitterness born of betrayal.

Henry! Between us the ever-widening leagues of the ocean
 Sweep all too narrow; they reach not the flight of the hate that pursues thee;
 Over the universe stretches its shadow, darkening and growing!
 Pitiless thou as the sea to whose frozen mercy thou left me,
 Hark! O, betrayer of friendship! I send my curses to reach thee,
 Slaying my love at a blow!

Because my faith in all manhood
 Died with my trust in one; because over all have I loved him
 Clung to his truth as to Heaven's, and he has mocked my reliance;
 Speed o'er the ocean, my Curse, and linger not till thou find him!
 Loose the hounds of the tempest through night and the shuddering darkness;
 Whisper thy wrath to the winds till they hollow his grave in the ocean;
 Bid the foam-maidens weave a wet, white shroud for his wearing;
 Open the gates of Death that his lie-deformed spirit may enter!
 Should he escape from the dangers sown on the storm-furrowed ocean,
 Speed o'er the waters, my Curse! Take port before him and greet him;
 Bid the dungeons stretch their insatiate arms to receive him;
 Close against him the doors of his kindred; wandering homeless,
 Outcast, and scorned, and deserted, let there be none to befriend him!

Seize on his soul, my Curse! Content thee not with the body,
 Lest as the serpent sheds his supple, glittering armor,
 Springing free from the past, so the traitor thwart and elude thee.
 Bring his evil deeds to confront him; let his accusers
 Be the thoughts of his faithless heart; Remorse be his comrade.
 Nestle close to his breast when at night on his pillow he lieth,
 Longing to die there; drive the spirit of Sleep from his eyelids;
 Mock him with moments of slumber's forgetfulness, only to wake him
 Sick with the hatred of life; o'erwhelm his ambition with failure;
 Give him the wind for his portion; dazzle with radiant visions
 Of the divine, of love, and of beauty, ever denied him;
 Teach him the friendship of traitors; let Love be the tempter to lead him
 Into the fruitless, feverish paths of tempestuous passion;
 Give him the wasting of want and the weariness wed to possession;
 Spare not his soul from Death and thrust God afar from his spirit;
 Multiply evils unto him, because his deceit has polluted
 All the world to my soul!

“All the world” do I say? My remembrance,
 Dulled by my passion, betrays me. One by might of unswerving
 Love, all manhood redeems. When they thrust me into the shallop,
 One of my sailors protested against the inhuman desertion,
 Scorned to consort with traitors, though oft had I wilfully wronged him,
 Leapt to my side in the boat and demanded to share in my sentence—
 Philip! Thou givest me back the faith that scorpion murdered!

How this sunlight burns through my dazzled brain, and the icebergs
 Glare in my weary eyes! Is it days or weeks we have drifted

Over this weary waste ! Suspense and uncomfoting silence,
Phantoms of vanished hope, keep ghostly pace with the hours,
Luring us on to despair.

My mind has been wandering happy
Back to those golden days when I sailed up the glorious river ;
Through the enchanted banks where but savages journeyed before me.
Into the footless shade of the sombre, slumberous forests,
Deep sank my wandering feet in the grass and the velvety mosses ;
Where the wind sighed his amorous prayers to the echoing branches,
Where the water-fowls jeered at his love from their nests in the rushes.
Dreaming I lay by the stream, while beautiful Indian maidens,
Lithe and tall as wands of the swaying, tremulous willows,
Slender-limbed, beguiling, with dusky passionate faces,
Brought me sun-ripened berries and grapes, amethystine, delicious ;
Dreaming I rested among them while one with the wild-flower's beauty,
Pillowed my head on her shoulder and dropped bewildering kisses
Soft on my answering lips through the odorous shade of her tresses,
And as the grape vine clung to the oak with its wantoning branches,
So about me she wreathed her arms as she sung a wild rhythm,
Full of the ripple of waters and sound of murmuring breezes :—

“ My beloved ! My beloved !
Long I waited for thy coming,
As the earth awaits the showers,
List'ning ever, thirsty, yearning,
For thy footsteps toward me turning ;
Heard them in the partridge's drumming,
Felt thy sweet breath from the flowers,
Heard thy voice through woodlands ringing
In the bluebird's joyous singing ;
My beloved ! My beloved !

“ My beloved ! My beloved !
As the lilies, snowy, slender,
Lift their cups for dewy blessing,
So I lift my heart's white flower
For thy love's refreshing shower.
Clasp me in thy arms so tender,
Thrill me with thy lips' caressing,
Fervent as the West-Wind woo me,
All my soul lies open to thee ;
My beloved ! My beloved !”

Like a breath from the odorous forest, resinous, thrilling,
Sung out from dreamland, that voice fills my soul with joy half-forgotten,
Strange that a dream so sweet should visit me here in my sorrow !
Vanish and haunt me no more, pale ghosts of the passionate gladness
Burning in luminous eyes and lips that quiver in meeting !
Cold are the arms that embrace me, for Death is my passionless wooer ;

Chill is the kiss of the Bride, yet she draws brave men to her bosom.
 Were it not better, my comrades, since Death is certain to gain us,
 Boldly to leap to her arms, than to drift to some desolate region,
 Where we may drag out the years of a dreary, hopeless existence?
 Better a peaceful grave in the sea, can despair have a choice,
 Than to be tortured, perhaps, at the hands of some murderous savage,
 Till our fugitive spirits leap from our agonized bodies.
 Shudderest thou, my son, who has braved all dangers beside me,
 As a slender sapling the storm 'neath the oak tree's protection?
 Bowed is my lofty head as the oak tree's stricken by lightning;
 Well may the sapling fear when the thunderbolt striketh so near it.
 Pray boy! Surely thy mother taught thee some simple petition,
 Surely some merciful saint will listen to thy supplication,—
 Pray! boy, pray! see thou not the Bride approach to embrace us?
 Crave we thy grace at the bridal, O piteous Mother of Sorrows!

JESSIE F. O'DONNELL.

"At length the late and anxiously expected spring burst forth, but it opened in vain for Hudson. Provisions were exhausted; he divided the last bread among his men, and prepared for them a bill of return, and 'he wept as he gave it them.' Believing himself almost on the point of succeeding, where Spaniards, and English, and Danes, and Dutch, had failed, he left his anchoring place to steer for Europe. For two days the ship was encompassed by fields of ice, and the discontent of the crew broke forth into mutiny. Hudson was seized, and, with his only son and seven others, four of whom were sick, was thrown into the shallop. Seeing his commander thus exposed, Philip Staffe, the carpenter, demanded and gained leave to share his fate, and just as the ship made its way out of the ice, on a midsummer day, in a latitude where the sun, at that season, hardly goes down, and evening twilight mingles with the dawn, the shallop was cut loose. What became of Hudson? Did he die miserably of starvation? Did he reach land to perish from the fury of the natives? Was he crushed between ribs of ice? The returning ship encountered storms, by which he was probably overwhelmed. The gloomy waste of waters which bears his name is his tomb and his monument,"—*Bancroft's United States.*

THE FRENCH OCCUPATION IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

I.

ONE of the most romantic chapters in the history of the West relates to the attempt of the French to hold possession of the western portion of Pennsylvania. This enterprise was undertaken with the view of connecting their acknowledged territory in Canada with that which lay along the Gulf of Mexico, by way of the Ohio and Mississippi, and thus forming a vast empire, reaching out westward to the unknown regions that lay beyond.

They had been very active in the ex-

ploration of the region that lay along these great rivers. The Jesuits had taken the lead in this matter. With a zeal that knew no bounds, and courage that quailed before no danger, they had pushed their barks out over unknown lakes, and sought portage over untried fields, and re-embarked on unexplored rivers, seeking only to discover new territory, and find new fields of adventure in the work to which they were called. They feared neither winter's cold nor the miasma of swamps, nor

the fierce cry of the savage, nor the assaults of the beasts of the forest. The vows of God were on them. They owed allegiance to their order. Heart and soul and body had been consecrated to the one service of the church, and to this they gave themselves with a constancy that admitted of neither rest nor reservation.

There was a freedom and an abandon in roaming at their own sweet will over these almost measureless wilds that had a wonderful attraction for these men, who had separated themselves from the ties of home and who had renounced the attractions of society. In these boundless realms and on these magnificent rivers they found free scope for adventure; and the very perils that surrounded them added to the romance of their adventures. And to their religious sense there was a very strong attraction in the work. There was a prospect of bringing all these mighty nations of savages to the religion of the cross. They hoped to plant the cross of Christ and the fair lillies of France throughout the entire western portion of the New World.

La Salle and Marquette had found their way up the lakes and across the head waters of these great rivers as early as 1669, the latter finding a resting place for his bones on the bank of the river that still bears his name in 1675, the former extending one of his voyages down to the Gulf of Mexico, and finally meeting a violent death in 1687. With wonderful zeal, and enterprise, and self-denial, they had

pushed forward their work until the entire valley of the Mississippi had been explored and claims set up for its ultimate possession.

There is no doubt that at this early day these explorations looked to the ultimate possession of the whole western country. The enterprise was political as well as religious. Nor was this an unreasonable expectation from their point of observation. They claimed priority of discovery; they had set up their standard in the King's name. As the anointed of the Lord the heathen, with all this goodly territory, were their just and righteous spoil.

That the intention of the French was to join Canada to Louisiana and make the entire western portion of the continent a vast French empire, is evident from the French writers of the time. We have this from Father Hennepin, in the fourth chapter of his book:

“I plainly perceived by what relations I had of several particulars in different nations that it were not a matter of great difficulty to make considerable establishments to the southeast of the great lakes, and that by the convenience of a great river, called the Ohio, which passes through the country of the Iroquois, a passage might be made into the great sea of Florida.”

This, also, from the journal of Charlevoix:

“There is not in all Louisiana a spot better adapted for an establishment than that, viz.: the river Ohio, nor where it is of more importance to have one. Besides the communication

thence with Canada is as easy as by the river of the Illinois, and much shorter."

Time passed with various attempts to acquaint themselves more thoroughly with the New World until nearly an hundred years had rolled by, when the first organized attempt was made, on the part of the French, to take actual possession of the valley of the Ohio. Previous to this there had been difficulties in the way of active measures in this direction. The respective claims of France and England had not been definitely settled. Disturbances had existed at home. Yet when these had been settled by the peace of Ryswick in 1697 no definite arrangements had been made as to American claims. The same was true in regard to the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, and that of Aix la Chappelle, signed October 1, 1748.

We find, however, by reference to the inscription on the leaden plates of Celoron's expedition, that the French based their claims in part, on these very treaties, as well as actual possession. This appears farther from the summons of *Cocartecœur* for the surrender of the fort in process of erection at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela, by Capt. Trent:

"Sir:—Nothing can surprise me more than to see you attempt a settlement upon the lands of the King, my Master; which obliges me now, sir, to send you this gentleman, Chevalier Le Mercier, captain of the Bombardiers, commander of the Artillery of Canada, to know of

you, sir, by virtue of what authority you are come to fortify yourself within the dominions of the King, my Master. This action seems so contrary to the last Treaty of Peace concluded at Aix La Chapelle, between his most christian Majesty and the King of Great Britain, that I do not know to whom to impute such a usurpation, as it is incontestable that the lands situated along the Beautiful River belong to his christian Majesty."

According to the Colonial Records, the French had erected trading houses on the Ohio, against the remonstrances of the Indians, as early as 1730. This was mentioned by the Six Nations at a council in Philadelphia, in 1732. But the actual claim the French set up, was the possession of the entire region west of the Allegheny mountains. Bancroft says: "Not a fountain bubbled west of the Alleghenies, but was claimed as being within the French Empire. Louisiana stretched to the springs of the Allegheny and the Monongahela; the Kenawha and the Tennessee."*

But the actual outcome of events proved that it was the stronger battalions of England that finally won the day, rather than the right of discovery, or the force of treaties and the arrangements of diplomacy.

Thus matters progressed until we find an expedition organized to take tangible possession of the country west of the Allegheny and Ohio. This was in 1749. It was in charge of Celoron De Bienville a chevalier of the order of Saint

*Vol. III., p. 343.

Louis. His detachment consisted of eight subaltern officers, six cadets, an armorer, twenty soldiers, one hundred and eighty Canadians, thirty Iroquois and twenty Abenikis. A priest called Father Bonnecamps, was an important personage in this expedition. He styles himself "Jesuite Mathematicien" and was possessed of no small amount of scientific knowledge, as the map of the entire country traversed by the expedition, from Lake Erie to the Ohio, constructed by him is reasonably correct, as compared with the geography of the present day. Another officer of the expedition was Contracœur, at one time in command at Fort Niagara, and afterwards at Fort Du Quesne. This expedition was organized by the Marquis de Galisoniere, Governor of Canada, with orders to pass through Lake Erie, to a point near the head waters of the Ohio, then to descend the Ohio and take possession of the country in the name of the King.

The facts in regard to this expedition and the route taken, have been but recently brought to light through the discovery, in Paris, of the manuscript journals of Celoron and Father Bonnecamps, and the map of the latter, by Mr. O. H. Marshall, of Buffalo, New York, through whose labors much of the light has been drawn pertaining to this branch of the subject.

The party was supplied with leaden plates with inscriptions, that were to be buried at important points along the route, to serve as future evidence of the formal possession of the country. The

plates were all of the same form, being fourteen inches in length, nine in width and one-eighth of an inch in thickness. The inscription was in capital letters, with blanks for the insertion of names and dates adapted to the places of deposit. The margins were rudely ornamented with the lillies of France, and on the reverse was stamped the name of the artist—"Paul La Brosse, *Fecit.*"

One of these plates soon after came into the possession of the English authorities, through the instrumentality of the Indians. It had not probably been actually buried, or brought into actual service, yet it affords us an idea of the appearance and general inscription of those that were deposited. The following is a copy, as found in the American Archives :

"In the year 1749, in the reign of Louis XV., King of France, we, Celoron, commander of a detachment sent by Monsieur, the Marquis De La Galissoniere, Governor-general of New France, to re-establish tranquility in some savage villages, have buried this plate at the confluence of the Ohio and Chadakoin, this 29th of July, near the Ohio, otherwise Beautiful River, as a monument of the renewal of possession we have taken of the said river of Ohio, and of all those which empty into it, and of all the lands on both sides as far as the sources of said river, as enjoyed, or ought to have been enjoyed by the Kings of France, preceding, as they have there maintained themselves by arms and by treaties, especially those of Ryswick, Utrecht and Aix La Chapelle."

The expedition came from Canada by the way of Niagara, and the southern shore of Lake Erie, a distance of fifty miles from the latter place, and landed on the 16th of July, at the mouth of Chautauqua creek. Thence they carried their impedimenta up the steep ascent to Chautauqua Lake, distant some seven or eight miles. This portage was made with incredible labor and pains. Chautauqua Lake is at an elevation of seven hundred and twenty-six feet above Lake Erie, and the way in much of the distance is steep and precipitous, making the entire ascent over one thousand feet. Up this rugged slope, without pathway, save as it was cut out by their own pioneers, everything was borne on the shoulders of men that was necessary for a voyage of many months. There was not only personal baggage, and camp equipments, with military stores and cheap merchandise the French found so necessary in all their dealings with the Indians, but the very boats in which they expected to glide down the La Belle Ohio. After many discouragements and toil of six days they succeeded in reaching the banks of the Chautauqua, or Chadakoin, as they called it. Launching their boats on this upland lake, the highest navigable body of water on the American continent, and passing down to the outlet, a distance of twenty miles, and by the way of Conawango creek, they at last entered the Ohio, or Allegheny, at what is now Warren, Pennsylvania. This point was reached on July 29th.

They had now reached the La Belle Oyo, the great river of their hopes, and proceeded with all due ceremony to deposit the first of the leaden plates that were to convince all coming generations of the reality of their claims to the actual possession of the country. The record of the event in the "Proces Verbal" is in the following words: "At the foot of a red oak on the south bank of the Ohio river, and opposite the point of a small island, at the confluence of the two rivers, Ohio and Kanaaugon."

At the burial of each of these plates a formal ceremony took place in the way of taking possession of the country. The officers and men were drawn up in battle array, the commander proclaiming in a loud voice, "*Vive La Roi!*" and that they had by this act taken possession of the country in the name of the King. A leaden plate, bearing the King's arms, was also appended to the tree, and a regular "Proces Verbal" drawn up, signed and witnessed, declaring the event.

The party then passed down the river, tarrying for a little time at Broken Straw to hold a council with the Indians, whom they found strongly inclined to favor the English. The interpreter on this occasion was Joncaire, a Frenchman, but an adopted son of the Indians, whose father Charlevoix characterizes as "Having the wit of a Frenchman and the sublime eloquence of an Iroquois." In these respects the son was worthy of his sire.

The results of the council were not

wholly satisfactory. In spite of the presents of French calico and scalping knives from the commander, and the honeyed discourse of the wily Joncaire, the chiefs were disposed to be non-committal as to any co-operation, or even encouragement. Evidently the strangers did not meet with the welcome they had expected, nor the encouragement that was so desirable. Still, pledging the Indians in a cup of brandy, they resumed their voyage.

Passing down, they left the "River Aux Boeufs" * on the right and landed at a point nine milès below, where the second plate was deposited. And this is the record of the matter, "Aout, 3me, 1749. Enterre une plaque de plomb sur la rive merioionale de la riviere Oyo, A 4 lieues, au dessous de la riviere aux boeufs vis-a-vis une montagne pelle, et aupres d'une grosse pierre, sur laquelle on voit plusieurs figures assez grossierement gravees."

"August 3, 1749. Buried a leaden plate on the south bank of the Ohio River, four leagues below the river Aux Boeufs, opposite a bald mountain, and near a large stone, on which are many figures rudely engraved."

This point is the celebrated "Indian God Rock," a fine view of which is found in Schoolcraft's work on the Indian tribes, † drawn by Capt. Eastman of the United States Army. The rock is about nine miles below Franklin, Pa., by way of the river. It is twenty-two feet in length and fourteen

in width, resting in an inclined position with its face toward the river. It is rather wedge-shaped, with the thin edge reaching down to the water, and the thick end about ten feet in height. The whole face is covered with rude hieroglyphics representing men and animals, and bows and arrows; recording according to Schoolcraft the triumphs of some chieftain in hunting and war. These hieroglyphics have become dim in modern times, through the action of ice and water, during the time of spring floods.

It is not at all strange that the attention of Celoron was attracted to this immense boulder, as a place of deposit, raising itself up by the river's side and presenting its gorgeous array of mysterious characters to the curious passer-by. It was perhaps the most conspicuous monument in the whole course of the voyage where the plate could be securely buried, and yet readily found, should occasion call for its disentanglement. And in modern times this rock has always been an object of interest to the inhabitants of the surrounding country as a landmark reaching back into the misty past; and now that it has been connected with the romantic history of the French occupation a new interest clusters around it that will make it famous for all time.

A party of gentlemen from Franklin, Pennsylvania, recently made a thorough exploration of the ground around this rock but found no traces of the plate. It was not probably buried at any great depth, as the object was merely a tem-

* French Creek, the site of Franklin, Pa.

† Vol. VI., p. 172.

porary one, and high waters had washed around the old monument until very little soil was left, and the search proved fruitless. Its present appearance, too, would indicate that the action of the high water, reaching to fearful floods at times, has somewhat undermined the great rock so that even its huge proportions have changed their relative position, as compared with Capt. Eastman's drawing, taken some forty years ago. The bald mountain is still there, the only one in that region of the country, looking down upon the opposite side of the river and keeping solemn watch over the place, and bearing witness to its identity, but the coveted plate has disappeared, perhaps, forever.

Four other plates were deposited between this and the mouth of the great Miami, making six in all. Thence the expedition went up the Miami to a convenient point, thence by portage to the Maumee, thence into Lake Erie, and so back to Canada; all of which is faithfully recorded in the map of good Father Bonnecamps.

Of these six plates two have been found, one at the mouth of the Great Kenawha, in West Virginia, and one at the mouth of the Muskingum, in Ohio; in both cases they were washed out of the bank by the inroad of the river. The latter was brought to light in 1798; but before its value had been ascertained a portion of it had been cast into bullets by the utilitarian boys who had discovered it. It is now in the possession of the Antiquarian Society

of Massachusetts. The other plate was found in 1846.

It was formerly supposed that one of these plates was buried at the mouth of the Venango, or French Creek, at Franklin, Pennsylvania, but the discovery of the map and journal of Bonnecamps by Mr. Marshall has corrected the error. The mistake probably arose from the inscription on the plate found at Marietta, which states that it was buried at Yenangua Konan. From this Mr. Atwater, Gov. Clinton and other historians supposed it had been buried at Venango from the fancied resemblance to the name.

In regard to the plate that came into the hands of Colonel, afterwards Sir William, Johnson, there is this theory: It was stolen from Joncaire on his way to the Ohio by the Senecas, who were on friendly terms with the English. They had a suspicion that what they called the "devilish writing" on the plate contained some secrets that might work to their injury and wished to have the language interpreted. It is not said in any place that it had been buried, but seems to have been supernumerary and left to the care of Joncaire. It was probably designed to be buried at the mouth of the stream putting into the Ohio at Warren, and supposing this was the Tchadacoin, leading out of the lake of the same name, they had prepared the plate before reaching the mouth. Afterwards finding their mistake they prepared a new plate with the proper inscription, "Mouth of the Kanaaiagon."

There is still a difficulty, inasmuch as this plate has the precise date on which the party reached the Ohio, and the same as on the plate deposited there, according to the journal of Celoran. The blanks may have been filled in by a subordinate, and on further consultation and reflection the commander have determined to adopt a more correct phraseology, when a new plate was prepared and deposited.

It is really amazing the knowledge these Frenchmen had of the country at this early day. The courses of the streams, the general topography of the country, the dividing ridge between the Lakes and the Gulf, all seem to have been almost as well known to them as to the people of the present day. And this knowledge is particularly wonderful when we take in the immense sweep of territory that is involved. From Northern New York to the Mississippi, everything in the way of natural resources seems to have been explored as though they had a bird's-eye view of the vast, illimitable wilderness. And these plans appear to have been judicious. The Ohio river was a natural boundary; it was therefore important to reach it at a point as high up as possible; hence this first expedition by the way of Lake Chautauqua and the Conawango. Finding the portage from Lake Erie to Chautauqua practically impossible, a new route was selected by way of Presq' Isle and Le Boeuf, farther south, but at that day quite practicable, and open for all their purposes; having a portage of fifteen miles, but over a smooth, level country,

and a much larger stream in the Venango than the outlet of Chautauqua Lake.

Nearly four years from this time we find the French Government entering upon active preparation to hold, by the strong hand of power, what they had been so long claiming by words and symbols. On the 3d day of January, 1753, an expedition was dispatched from Quebec to enter upon the work of fortifying the line of the Ohio river. We have the information from the deposition of Stephen Coffin, an English prisoner among the French, who had obtained permission to become a member of the party. His narrative is given in minute detail, and is believed to be entirely accurate. He tells us that the expedition consisting of three hundred men made its way over the ice to Fort Niagara, and thence by boats along the southern shore of Lake Erie, to the mouth of Chautauqua Creek, and commenced the work of erecting a fort at that point. From this it is evident that the line of defense was designed at first to be the same as the route taken by Celoron in laying down his leaden plates by Lake Chautauqua and the Conawango.

But better counsels prevailed. In a short time Monsieur Moran came up with a reinforcement of five hundred men and twenty Indians. The site did not please him. There was no harbor. There was a direct ascent of more than seven hundred feet from Lake Erie to Lake Chautauqua, and the portage was most difficult. A new site must be selected and a new line of defense adopted.

Work was abandoned, and the whole party moved up the lake to what is now the site of Erie, Pennsylvania, where they found a good harbor, and at once set to work in the erection of the first fort. This new departure was with reference to fortifying by the line of the river Au Boeuf, or French creek, and striking the Ohio, or Allegheny, some eighty miles lower down, than by Celoran's line by the Conawango. This change of base seems to have been made at the order of Du Quesne, as we find in a letter from him to Rouille, dated August 20, 1753:

"You will see the reasons that determined to prefer landing the troops at the harbor of Presq' Isle, on Lake Erie, which I very fortunately discovered, instead of at Chatacouit, where I informed you I would begin my posts. The discovery is so much the more propitious as 'tis a harbor which the largest barks can enter loaded and in perfect safety. I am informed that the beach, the soil, and the resources, were the same as represented to me."

Coffin describes the work on Lake Erie, as: "A square fort of chesnut logs, squared and lapped over each other to the height of fifteen feet. It is about an hundred and twenty feet square—a gate to the southward, and another to the northward, not one port hole cut in any part of it when finished." This work was called Fort Presq' Isle, from the peninsula forming the harbor.

As soon as this work was finished they moved southward, cutting a wagon road through a fine, level country, a

distance of twenty-one miles, to the river Aux Boeufs, leaving Capt. Derpontency, with an hundred men to garrison Fort Presque Isle. Here commenced the work of erecting the second fort that they called Fort Le Boeuf. It was at the present site of Waterford, Pennsylvania. It is thus described in Washington's Journal: "It is situated on the South or West Branch of the French Creek, near the water, almost surrounded by the creek, and a small branch of it that forms a kind of island. Four houses composed the sides; the bastions were of piles driven into the ground, standing more than twelve feet above it, and sharp at the top, with port holes cut for cannon, and loop holes for small arms. There are eight six-pound pieces mounted in each bastion, and one four-pounder before the gate. In the bastions were a guard-house, chapel, surgeon's lodgings, and a commandant's private store."

Coffin's narrative thus continues: "From this place an officer and fifty men were sent down to a place called by the Indians Ganagarrahare, on the banks of the Belle Rivierre, where the Aux Boeufs empties into it. Meanwhile Moran had ninety large boats made to carry down the baggage and provisions to said place."

Thus far, Coffin's narrative. This Ganagarrahare was, no doubt, one of the Indian names for the town on the site now occupied by the city of Franklin, Pennsylvania; yet we do not find the name occurring elsewhere. The usual name at this time was Weningo.

Coffin tells us that there were sent up in all, to these forts, fifteen hundred men. From the same source we learn that the project of a fort at the mouth of the Aux Boeufs, met with opposition from the Indians. There was a lingering loyalty to the English that could not be easily overcome. They were persuaded, however, by that most wily of all Frenchmen, Joncaire, that it was to be a trading house for their special accommodation. The work was then commenced late in the autumn of 1753.

There was living at this time, at the present site of Franklin, a Scotchman named John Frazier, a gunsmith and Indian trader. Edward Shippen, of Lancaster, writing in 1753 to Gov. James Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, says of him and of this place: "Wenango is the name of an Indian town on Ohio, where Mr. Frazier has had a gunsmith shop for many years. It is situated about eighty miles up the said river, beyond Logstown."

When Joncaire came in the fall of 1753 to commence his fort, he drove John Frazier out of his house and took possession. For years this honest Scotchman had been located here, tinkering up old muskets for the Indians in exchange for furs, and doing a thriving business. But he had no rights that a Frenchman was bound to respect, so he took 'hasty' leave, and moved down and took a new position on the Monongahela, at Turtle Creek. We shall find him again in connection with the seizure of the fort commenced by Capt. Trent, on the part of the English.

Meanwhile news reached the Southern settlements of the encroachments of the French. Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, the boundaries of which were supposed to extend over what is now western Pennsylvania, wishing to learn the true state of affairs, commissioned George Washington, then in his twenty-first year, to go up the Ohio, and examine the military works said to be in progress there, and inquire as to the intentions of the French in their undertaking. Furnished with official papers, and minute instructions as to his conduct, the brave young man set forth on his mission into the wilderness accompanied by the celebrated Christopher Gist, as guide, Jacob Van Braam, as interpreter of French, and John Davidson as Indian interpreter. At the rendezvous, at Logstown, on the Ohio river, some eighteen miles below the present site of Pittsburgh, he secured the services of several Indian chiefs, and was soon on the way to Venango, which place was reached on the 4th day of December.

The fort at that place was not then finished, for he tells us in his journal that Joncaire was then living in Frazier's house, and had the colors of France raised over it. In this interview the Frenchman was thoroughly outgeneraled by the young American. Whiskey was produced, probably with the intention of getting the Indians and their young leader under its influence. But the results were that while the Indians and the Frenchman partook freely, Washington remained perfectly sober,

and picked the brains of the half drunken officer of all their secrets referring to their plans and resources.

From this place Mr. Washington passed up the shore of French Creek to Fort Le Boeuf. Here he found Legardeur St. Pierre, a Knight of the Military Order of St. Louis, in command. At the gate of the fort his letters and commission were presented; and whilst the officers hesitated and debated, and endeavored to tamper with his Indians, the young Virginian kept his eyes open and took in a full view of the fort and everything that pertained to it. His conclusion was that the men numbered about one hundred, with a large proportion of officers. His men reported to him that there were drawn up in the creek fifty birch bark canoes, one hundred and seventy of pine, besides many others in process of construction.

Having completed the object of his mission the greater portion of the men were sent back by land, and the young leader with the remainder floated down the creek to Venango, and from thence, with very serious difficulties and perils, to his home in Virginia.

The sites of these old forts and the creek that flows between have been forever consecrated by the footsteps of

Washington, and this his first effort in the public service of his country.

In the meantime active measures were inaugurated to arrest the progress of the French. The mission of George Washington had left no doubt in regard to their designs. His journal was published and had the effect of arousing the popular mind. A party of men was sent under the command of Capt. Trent, with orders to erect a fort at what is now Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The party reached the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela, on the 17th day of February, 1754, and at once commenced work. But in two months' time a sudden check was put to the work by the appearance of Contrecoeur, with the demand for the unconditional surrender of the unfinished work. Resistance was hopeless. Capt. Trent was absent. John Frazier, the old Indian trader, who had resided in Venango, had been driven from his home by Joncaire, when he came to build Fort Machault, had gone to his home at Turtle Creek, up the Monongahela. The work was in charge of Ensign Ward, and the whole number of men amounted to but forty-one. The fort fell easily into the hands of the French.

S. J. M. EATON.

CHARACTERISTICS OF RICHARD MOTT.

THE last time the author of this sketch saw Richard Mott was at a wedding reception, on an evening in the holidays of 1887. The July previous he had passed his eighty-third birthday, yet was his eye undimmed and his alert mentality unabated. As usual, on such occasions, he was the centre of an admiring throng; his tall, stately figure towering above any but the tallest in stature. His benignant face, with its clear, boyish coloring, rimmed with a silken silver of hair and beard, suggested the aspect of hopeful youth, rather than that of the seamed octogenerian, who had wrestled with the practical problems of an eventful life. His hand was warm, his manner gracious, his sympathies palpable. Childhood's trustful charm, manhood's masterful grasp, humanity's engirdling breadth; all combined to invest him with the vigor of perpetual youth. An atmosphere exhaled from him, whose radiance was reflected in the kindling thought and kindlier feeling of all who came into his presence.

The question of Bacon's authorship of the Shakespearian dramas and sonnets was the theme of conversation. Mr. Mott, reasoning from cause to effect, was earnest in his opinion that it was Francis Bacon, scholar, philosopher and wit, masquerading behind a strolling player. To him there was no royal

road to learning; no Aladdin's Lamp to lead the way to success. The man who labors is the man who achieves; literary production has its season to sow as well as to reap. Invention, discovery, inspiration, are but manifestations of law applied to human endeavor. The genius, the poet, the philosopher, the statesman, are the exponents of law. The keys of the kingdom are in the hands of the obedient.

Such was Richard Mott at eighty-three, a man whose whole life was a commitment of his ways to law—the higher law. This to him meant temperance, thrift, frugality, industry, community of interest; patience, perseverance, contemplation, deliberation, reciprocity.

The charm of a little child is its unconscious recognition of the universality of life. The Man of Galilee had this in mind when He held up the truthful babe as a type of immortality. It was this quality in Richard Mott which gave him his peculiar drawing power. A beast, a shrub, a creeping thing, awoke in him a tender interest. "Father never put a stick of wood in the fire," said his daughter, "but he gave it a little tap, fearing he might destroy some harmless insect." It pained him to see a thoughtless youth switch the bushes with his cane as he passed along.

It was this quality which enlarged

his sympathies, kept him in pace with the ameliorating forces of the age, and enabled him to penetrate the future with seerlike vision and anticipate the processes of evolution in human affairs. This spiritual nature was pervaded by the divine essence.

The child who sat on his knee; the young man who sought his counsel; the explorer into the mysteries of things seen and unseen; the poet, the scientist, the political economist, the man of affairs, each was drawn to him by the inevitable law of like seeking like. The weak found in him a protector and the strong a mentor. An unpopular reform was essentially his own. As one who shared in his advice expresses it, "In him the slave, the woman, the dumb beast found an advocate and friend."

A Quaker by birth and practice, Richard Mott's creed was summed up in the Golden Rule. His gauge of conduct was his oft repeated question, "Is it just?" The rule of action required of himself he exacted of his associates, of the state and nation. He believed in individual responsibility and the right of the humblest. His theory of government was that the full exercise of every factor makes the sum total of human good. The rich and the poor; the educated and ignorant; capital and labor; brain and brawn; male and female; science and superstition; each found in him a fearless champion or a patient guide. To ignore a class, or hamper the individual was to disarrange the machinery of government. He was a democrat of democrats, and his

theory of the distribution of power he summed up in the aphorism, "The ballot for everyone who can read it. Viva voce voting for those who cannot." "Do not prefix 'Hon.' to my name," he wrote to a friend, "it seems so much like a farce."

In business Richard Mott was thrifty and prosperous. Though through sweeping reverses, at the age of fifty, he gave up his entire property to his creditors, he speedily rallied and died possessed of a handsome competence. For twenty years ending with his death he was the president of the Toledo Savings Bank, which he organized May 1868, and devoted eight hours a day, gratuitously, to its service. Yet with all this he found ample time for books, his reading covering every domain of history, biography, poetry, philosophy, travel and belles lettres. Seated in a large rocking-chair, in a cosy study, which he called his "Snuggery," he spent long, restful hours in the society of his silent friends. Among the privileged guests who were sure of a welcome there, were the children whose merriest clatter seemed but a rippling accompaniment set to the music of his thoughts. In the winter he rose with the sun, and when the days were short, while it was yet night. Often of a winter morning his daughter found him reading under the gaslight though the sun had begun to stream in at the window. He was the best exemplar of his favorite adage, "Work as if to live forever; live as if to die to-morrow."

Richard Mott was a strong connect-

ing link between the post-Revolutionary days that began the century and the post-Rebellion days in which he passed away. His vigorous memory was rich in a fund of incidents and anecdotes of the Revolution, as related to him in his boyhood by those who were actors in the stirring scenes enacted along the shores of Long Island Sound, his paternal home. Some of these, heightened by the gentle humor, which lent a charm to all his speech, he has left in manuscript form, entitled "Second-Hand Reminiscences." Of the war of 1812 and the British blockade of Long Island he was rich in personal memories and was an eye-witness of the unsuccessful attack of the American fleet, from Sand's Point, on the British blockading ship "Atlantic."

The Mott family is of French origin, and early adherents of the Society of Friends. Like many well-to-do Colonial families they held slaves, but these were emancipated by the Quaker act of 1770. Among the slaves belonging to Richard's grandfather were "Billy Banjo" and his wife, "Aunt Ginny," who lived with the family until their death at an advanced age. From their pitiful accounts of their capture in Africa and transportation to New York on a slave ship, as well as the sufferings of his grandfather from the "Cow-Boys" and the "Hessians" of the Revolution, Richard learnt his earliest practical lessons in abolition and patriotism.

In his boyhood slaves were held in all the states except Vermont, most num-

erous in New York and New Jersey. "Our home," he writes in his reminiscences, "had always been one of the stations where the hunted fugitives from slavery found temporary shelter and a speedy expediting on the way to safety. Sympathy could not be held from the frightened faces peering out from the various hiding places, sometimes under the garret rafters, sometimes from behind the potato bin, or from under the hay, in cow-shed or stable."

When a lad of sixteen, disguised in his father's clothes, according to the Quaker fashion of the day—broadbrimmed hat, topped boots, knee breeches, an improvised wig, made by untwisting a few strands of Manilla rope, to look like his father's white hair—Richard conducted a fugitive woman, dressed in his mother's drab cloak and black scoop-shovel bonnet, safely to a departing boat, thus outwitting the spies set over his father's suspected house. His teacher, to whom he related the circumstance, laid down the axiom, which his pupil ever after followed: "The breaking of man's law, in aiding the poor woman's escape was but obeying another law above all statutes—the higher law of the Almighty." This was thirty years before Seward's Higher Law speech in the United States Senate quickened the ferment that rose to civil war.

At Mamaroneck, N. Y., the paternal home of the Mott family, July, 1804, Richard, son of Adam and Anne Mott, was born. He was reared on the farm, but being fond of the water he

became an expert as a swimmer and in the management of a boat. The latest summers of his life he spent among the scenes of his boyhood, enjoying the handling of the sails and giving his young companions object lessons in somersaults in the water and other feats of bathing. When nineteen years old he found an East Indian ship lying at Hell Gate without a pilot, and conducted her safely past the rocks and rapids until she found clear sailing to New York. The monotony of his boyhood evenings was varied by an occasional visit with "Uncle Banjo" to a country dance, where he looked on while the old centennarian furnished the music on a gourd banjo of his own make.

His father, who was a miller, suffering financial stress from the embargo policy of 1807-13, Richard was taken from the Quaker boarding school where he had been placed and put to work on the farm: but he embraced every opportunity for study, and at sixteen began school teaching to put himself through college. He failed in this, but the studious habits then acquired led to widest self-culture, not only in English but in French and Spanish, in which he became proficient, some of his translations being very felicitous.

In 1824 he removed with his father to New York City, receiving a clerkship in the Bank of New York, which he held for twelve years. At twenty-four he married Elizabeth M. Smith, daughter of Capt. Elihu Smith, of New Bedford, Mass., also of the Society of

Friends. She was a woman of great personal beauty and lovely character, and, until her death in 1855, their union was in all respects ideal. Two daughters were given them, Mary, who grew to beautiful womanhood but died in 1860 and was laid beside her mother at Rochester, N. Y., and Caroline, the presiding genius of her father's hospitable home, an officer of the Protestant Orphans' Home and member of numerous philanthropic and reformatory societies.

Richard Mott left New York and became a resident of the pioneer town of Toledo, Ohio, in the winter of 1836, arriving in a stage, *via* Columbus, over the frozen Black Swamp. He represented the large land interests of Gov. Washington Hunt and the Hicks family, and brought four thousand dollars of his own savings for investment. He entered at once into the business and social life of the primitive community; was a patron of the first debating society and of the first schools and was for years first-lieutenant in the volunteer Fire Company.

He was a pioneer railroader, and was one of the builders and operators of the Erie & Kalamazoo railroad, running from Toledo to Adrian; serving as president from March 15, 1838, to April 30, 1839. "How this road got into operation and kept up without money or credit," says Mr. Mott, in his reminiscences, "can never be fully explained, and perhaps not entirely understood, except by the parties whose energy and pluck—with possibly some little assur-

ance—carried it along through years of difficulty and embarrassment.” Mr. Mott, who was a clever draughtsman, has left illustrations of the first train, with its rude locomotive, run over the road; bringing wheat from Michigan and returning bread-stuffs from Toledo, at the rate of ten miles an hour.

He was the pioneer in grain hauling, and built the first warehouse, with a horse-power elevator, in 1838; burned in 1839 and rebuilt in 1840, with the horse tramping under the peak of the roof.

Richard Mott had been a Democrat, like his father, and was first to last an out and out free trader. But the party lash had no terror for him, and in 1838 his strong anti-slavery convictions led him into the Whig convention, at Columbus, for choosing delegates to the Presidential convention, Daniel Webster being his first choice, and Henry Clay the second. November 30, 1841, following the death of Harrison, and Tyler’s abasement before the slave powers, we find him acting as a delegate in the Democratic state convention.

In 1844 he made the canvass for State Senator on the Independent ticket, and the same year he was elected Mayor of Toledo, and re-elected in 1846. From 1848 to 1852 he resided at Buffalo; supported Martin Van Buren, the Free Soil candidate, for President, against Lewis Cass, the nominee of the Democratic party, and was instrumental in getting up the Buffalo convention of 1848.

At Defiance, September 16, 1854,

during the excitement attending the attempt of the slave power to repeal the Missouri Compromise, prohibiting slavery in the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska, he was nominated for Congress on the Anti-Nebraska ticket, and elected by nearly three-fourths of the entire vote cast. He actively assisted in the formation of the Republican party in Ohio, and in electing Salmon P. Chase to the Governor’s chair. The first meeting for organization was held in his parlors, and the platform penned by him.

In 1856 he was elected to Congress on the Republican ticket, against Hon. A. P. Edgarton, late of the United States Civil Service Commission, an early friend and associate. Illustrative of his frank, honest methods, the story is told, that meeting Mr. Edgarton, he asked if he was going to run against him; the answer being in the affirmative, he replied: “Then I myself will see that thee is defeated.” And he did, making his canvass often on foot, and, although no orator, winning the support of his hearers by his earnest appeals to their sense of justice and reciprocal rights. The canvass on both sides was so conducted that the life-long friendship was never impaired.

In those stormy times in Congress, the quiet self-control of the Quaker radical was potent for peace. Once his tall form intervened to prevent the rising blows of the wrathful champions of North and South. As a political organizer, and a factor in the evolution

of the Republican party, Richard Mott may be justly ranked with Giddings, Wade, Sumner, Wilson, Lovejoy, Julian, and other intellectual giants of the most important period of our legislative history. A disinclination for public life led to his retirement after his second term in Congress, but his interest never waned, and he expressed his latest party preferences by enrolling his name in the Silver Grays, a Republican club of the Presidential campaign of 1884.

In the Congressional campaign of 1862, when the Toledo District had two candidates in the field, James M. Ashley, radical, for re-election, and Morrison R. Waite, afterwards Chief Justice, conservative,—the issue being immediate and unconditional emancipation,—Mr. Mott supported Mr. Waite, his deliberative judgment according with the more cautious policy of Abraham Lincoln. But he at all times favored a vigorous war policy; was a member of the first district military committee to promote recruiting; and through all the exciting years of 1861 to 1865 was foremost in every public demonstration to support and strengthen the army at the front.

A practical philanthropist, Mr. Mott did not believe in encouraging the idle and vicious by prodigal almsgiving and blind benefactions, but he lent substantial aid in establishing and maintaining the Protestant Orphans' Home, Home for Friendless Women, Industrial School, Humane Society, Protestant Hospital and Temperance Association. He was an earn-

est advocate of manual training in our public schools; and his name was coupled with every enterprise for the common weal. "Oh, yes, the world is getting better," was his frequent remark in reviewing the ameliorating influences of advancing civilization.

In 1869 he assisted Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton in the formation of the Toledo Woman Suffrage Association, and during the life of Lucretia Mott, wife of his elder brother, James, he lent her ready counsel and advice. In 1876 he assisted in the formation of the New Century Club, devoted to a discussion of literary and timely topics; was made a life honorary member, and served as president for the year 1885.

Richard Mott passed away January 22d, 1888, 7.30 P. M., at his Toledo home, and on the 26th the silent service of the Society of Friends was solemnly observed by a large concourse assembled, broken only by the reading of his favorite hymn, "How Blest the Righteous when he Dies," by Clarence Brown, preceded by a tender eulogy and followed by the singing of Whittier's hymn, "With Silence as their Benediction God's Angels Come."

Before me is a heap of manuscript, productions of his latest years, written in the firm, open hand, characteristic of his epistolary correspondence and business details. They treat of the most potent questions of our time and country: Free Trade, Woman Suffrage, The Higher Law, as applied to society and government. "As a man thinketh

in his heart so is he," and the following extracts will give a better idea than can otherwise be conveyed of his terse idiomatic English and strong sense of equity and moral truth.

MOTT MAXIMS.

The primary law for everyone to achieve business success is to live within his income.

When outgo exceeds income the game is desperate, the fate inevitable. The two per cents crush all in the end.

To render a country thoroughly prosperous requires the industry of all the people.

No person can be idle and unemployed without danger. He will become effeminate in body or mind, frivolous or useless.

Our normal condition is work. It is one of the highest laws of nature that a human being must sustain himself; a nation must sustain itself.

Occupation of both body and mind is indispensable. Better the toil be grave than none. Better be overtasked than undertasked.

The standard of equity is the only one from which to view questions of human duty.

The degradation of any one class practically debases the others.

Political liberty is the right, not only of the entire community, but of every individual composing it.

Universal, untrammelled and equal suffrage and frequent elections afford the best and only lasting security to civil liberty.

There is more danger from the mil-

lionaire than from the impecunious classes; from gigantic, entrenched monopolies than imported ignorance and superstition.

Excessive wealth carries with it excessive poverty, both injurious to private virtue and public good. To diminish these evils is an important but neglected branch of moral legislation.

The strength of government must have its permanent foundation in equity. Absolute justice and perfect equality form the enduring base on which it must rest.

Suffrage in a Republic should be held as a right, not as a privilege. If the latter, it can be taken away by the same power by which it was conferred.

Equality of citizenship, its rights, duties, responsibilities and privileges, should be the first question of the day and should have precedence in all legislative bodies, till all humanity be placed on the same political plane.

The retrogression from democracy through oligarchy to decay can be traced to the influence of the specious sophistry teaching the necessity of placing the governmental management in the hands of the educated and well-to-do classes, who have leisure to think for the masses. We read of distinguished men who had no early advantages, who were early compelled to severe labor. Such men have actually the best advantages; the petted children of effeminacy really less.

Progress is a positive law. Individual education and culture are pursued in promotion of this law. Legislation

contemplates the same beneficent end; but it must be elevated above political squabbles and petty larceny scrambles for office.

It is the observance of vital and pervading truth, instead of local and special phenomena, that distinguishes the Galileos and Franklins among people of science, the Stephensons and Morses among mechanics, and the Jeffersons, the Hamiltons, the Pitts and Cavours among statesmen.

If anyone assume to regard himself while living as independent of his fellows and holds himself aloof from all their trials and exertions, of course, living or dead, the world owes him nothing but reciprocal contempt, and his own doctrine carried to extremes would leave his own carcass unburied when the breath left it.

The many wrongs complained of as being manipulated in primary political meetings could be mainly prevented were two elections to be the rule. The first a preparatory, or nominating, one and the two names receiving the greater

number of votes should be the candidates at the second and deciding election. This would prevent ill-judged caucus management.

Through the co-education of woman she has become the peer of man in intellectual culture, and will at no distant day be found in her proper position as his peer in political rights—a position which is hers inevitably—thereby softening our discussions, and with her clearer intuition becoming a useful co-laborer in our legislation.

Right inspiration is to know little and care less, for all the differences of dogma between church and church, and to look at all people as subjects to join in the enjoyment of that social, broad religion, which matters not what notion of Christianity, consistent with morality, is accepted by it.

He inculcates the higher law of practical religion who teaches his listeners to manifest the genuineness of their love of God by elevating their fellow men.

KATE BROWNLEE SHERWOOD.

A VIEW OF CHICAGO IN 1848.

The *Gem of the Prairie* was one of the early ventures of Chicago, and for some eight years after its founding in 1844 it made weekly visits to a limited circle of readers who hoped—even though they may not have believed—that it would become one of the great literary and educational influences of

the time. But although its distinctive Western name was not long retained, its career was by no means short-lived, as it was gradually merged into the weekly *Tribune*, and as such finds a place in American journalism of to-day.

I have been permitted to make use of a file of that pioneer journal for

1848, for the collection of the random facts and suggestive incidents recorded below; premising the selection, however, by the following statement recently made as to the condition and position of Chicago in the year named: There was no railroad to the city then, nor even for part of the year a telegraph wire; there were no paved streets, and hardly any sidewalks; it was a rickety city of frame shanties clustered from Washington street on the south to Michigan street on the north, and divided by the main branch of the river; it was a small city of pushing, hustling, lively people, shut off, as one looks at it now, from half the privileges and enjoyments that make life endurable. But it was evidently a stirring year for Chicago—was 1848. The anti-slavery agitation was absorbing a good deal of interest; and cases of kidnapping of colored men, with much indignant comment thereon, were frequently recorded in the papers. It was in that year that the Illinois and Michigan canal was opened—that, indeed, was the great event of the year in Chicago—and it was also in that year that plank roads began to be built, that the first telegram was received in the city, that the Board of Trade was organized, that the first bit of railroad was constructed, that Clark street houses were first numbered, that the first city building—the market building—was erected, and that the cholera epidemic struck the city.

The *Gem of the Prairie* boasted of eight pages of five columns to the page,

and measured twenty-one by sixteen inches. The matter was as miscellaneous as the most diversified patronage could desire—original poetry, stories, literary selections, editorials, local and political news, and advertisements. Glancing through these pages, one gains a very good idea of the condition of the times in Chicago, with some idea of the progress of events in the world at large. It was a day when the possibilities of steam were being rapidly demonstrated; while those of the telegraph were yet in the suggestive stage. Of the latter we find an account, in April, of the first connection of Chicago with the East by the electrical wire, headed with the welcome announcement that “time and space” have been “annihilated.” By June 17th Milwaukee sends greeting over the new means of communication, couched in these boastful words:

“Milwaukee, with her fourteen thousand inhabitants, sends greeting to her fair sister Chicago, with her seventeen thousand, and requests her to clear the track to allow her to pass!”

It would not have been Chicago if a response fraught with all the promise of the future had been wanting. Here is the cheerful message that was flashed back:

“Chicago, with her seventeen thousand inhabitants, will soon have her railroad tracks East to the Atlantic, and West to the Mississippi* clear, so

* How many then supposed that the word “Pacific” could have been truthfully inserted here?

that the fourteen thousand citizens of their sister city can have every possible facility for passing."

The wonders of steam do not go unrecognized. Touching the expected opening of the new canal at Bridgeport, then some distance from the city, the *Gem* discourses as follows:

"The aggregate steam-power of the works at Bridgeport is equal to four hundred horses, when all the boilers are in use. Mr. Guthrie informs us that only about half this power will be needed for permanent use in supplying water to the canal, and that the other half, equal to two hundred horses, can be at once applied to the propulsion of machinery of various kinds. This will, of course, make quite a manufacturing place of Bridgeport, aside from the business of the canal. Two or three large flouring mills might be at once erected there, and perhaps a cotton and woolen factory or two. Bridgeport is a most capital point for manufacturing purposes. It is just a convenient distance from the city. The mills, factories, etc., would stand right alongside the canal, with every advantage of taking in wheat and other raw materials, and shipping off the manufactured products of the country. Is not here a field worthy the attention of manufacturers and capitalists generally? Chicago is bound to be a great manufacturing point, and we know of no spot in the vicinity of the city which offers greater present advantages than Bridgeport. Very soon it will be only a suburb of the town."

The fact that slavery was yet one of the peculiar institutions of the country, is vouched for by the *Gem* which contains an account of the kidnapping of a mulatto named Ross, a fugitive from slavery, followed a few days later by this warning: "Look out for man-thieves! A number of graceless wretches from the South are now in the city, we understand, prowling around for an opportunity to repeat the experiment which proved so successful a few days since. We warn our colored citizens to be on their guard. Let them barricade their doors at night, after having provided themselves with efficient means of defense inside. It is impossible to tell whose turn will come next. Villains who are of so desperate and abandoned a character as to become man-hunters, would as soon carry off a free man as a slave." And again: "Sunday evening a large crowd was collected in front of the court-house to hear some speaking in reference to the project of forming an association to prevent the recapture of runaway slaves."

The triumph of telegraphic communication is celebrated in verse, by some effusive contributor:

"From far Atlantic shores,
To where the waters of Lake Michigan
Lave the proud Western soil, a message came.
No echoing post-horn 'mid the distant hills,
No sounding coach-wheels on the pavement
rough,
Announce its near approach."

But it is as a measure of Chicago's advance and development as the future great city of the West, that the *Gem* is most valuable, and by far the most in-

teresting. The information thus safely preserved, is taken at random here and there from the various issues of the year. Under the general heading "City Improvements," we are carefully informed as to one important section of the present city. "We had neglected," says the reporter, "until yesterday, for a year back, a regular tour of observation on the west side of the South Branch, and were agreeably surprised at the improvements which had been made in that section of the city. The canal draws houses, stores, machine-shops, planing-mills, etc., toward it as a magnet does iron filings. A very large number of buildings have been erected in that neighborhood during the year, and among them we could not fail to notice particularly the very handsome and spacious public school-house, as a stream of children were issuing from it by hundreds. It was gratifying to think that where a few years since, the flat and desolate prairie was the only object to greet the eye, a noble edifice dedicated to the culture of the rising generation, has arisen, and the daily hum of a multitude of youthful voices is heard."

"First brick warehouse in Chicago. Mr. R. C. Bristol is about building a large brick warehouse, seventy by seventy-five, and four stories high, on Market street, between Lind's block and the opposite corner. It is designed to have steam elevators for receiving and discharging freight on the wharf. A portion of the materials are on the ground."

"The coal trade. The warehouse that was towed up the South Branch a few days since has been landed a few rods south of Foss & Brothers' planing mill. It has had a story put under it, and been furnished as a storehouse, and will be occupied by James & Harmon, who are making preparations for an extensive business in coal. They will have a large coal yard on the river at that point, the supplies for which will be brought from the beds now being opened along the line of the canal."

"We are informed the surveyors, under authority of the canal trustees, have been for some days engaged in surveying the line of a projected continuation of the canal from Bridgeport to the city. The citizens of State street appear to be fully awake to their interests. The construction of a large market with a city hall caused business men to look that way, and now that they are to have a bridge also, we may expect that part of the town to become very soon a great business mart. . . .

In the common council Friday evening the committee on Streets and Alleys reported in favor of planking Randolph street. The report was accepted, and a committee appointed to assess the property in the street. . . . William E. Jones, Esq., is now engaged in erecting a substantial and elegant dwelling on Clark street, in Bushnell's addition to Chicago, the estimated cost of which is \$7,500. The north side of the river possesses advantages over any other portion of the city as the location of private residences, and we confidently

predict that within a few years large numbers of wealthy citizens will take up their abode there for the purpose of avoiding the dust and noise of the business portion of the city."

But there was already a Board of Trade, and the business men of Chicago were apparently as active and wide-awake within the limits of their opportunities and means as they are to-day.

"A Board of Trade has been organized," we learn from the issue of April 22d, "in this city, by our principal merchants, shippers and business men. Mr. Thomas Richmond has been elected president and Mr. W. S. Whiting secretary. Rooms have been fitted up in a large, fireproof block on South Water street, and the trading community can now have an agreeable place of resort to collect information regarding commercial and other matters and to chat away leisure time. But the great good that the Board is destined to effect is of a moral nature. One of its objects is to settle by arbitration all litigation among merchants, mechanics and traders, and thus do away in a great measure with the many lawsuits that ordinarily arise from men of business. We therefore hail the institution as a valuable accession to our community. In connection with this we desire to say to traders in other cities or in country villages that Secretary Whiting is a general agent for the purchase or sale of produce, as well as contracting for shipments, and, as he keeps himself well advised of the state of trade, any business intrusted to him

would be as well attended to as by any other business man in our city."

In March we find a review of the annual statement of the city treasurer, which gives us something of Chicago's financial condition at the time:

"We have given the financial report a hasty glance, and find that the total receipts of the treasury for the last fiscal year from taxes, licenses and all other sources have been \$31,170.63. The total expenditures during the same time have been \$33,650.84, making the expenditures greater than the receipts by nearly \$2,500. The indebtedness of the city is about \$20,000. The assets to meet this are only about \$10,800, and part of this cannot be made available for the present. The entire excess of liabilities over resources is something more than \$9,000. This is a small sum when we consider the rapid increase of taxable property, and can soon be liquidated if we have a board of good, practical, common-sense councillors, who will act for *public* instead of *party* good. But there is one thing in the report that should be looked into. The entire amount of road tax collected in the north division only amounts to \$214.50, out of nearly a thousand voters, while the salary of the street commissioner alone, P. Duffy, is set down at \$252.04! thus paying the said commissioner all the money he collected for the street tax, and voting him nearly \$40 additional from the treasury for such valuable services! We hope the citizens of the north division see to this. There is either a mis-

take in the report or the street commissioner has been guilty of a neglect of duty that is in the highest degree censurable."

From a source other than the *Gem* we are able to look at the conditions and prospects of Chicago as viewed from one standpoint—that of the real estate man—the following extracts being taken from a circular issued by one of that fraternity toward the close of 1847: "There is no speculative demand for Chicago property and has not been for ten years; and, though prices have been and are steadily advancing, it is a healthy growth. Sales are now continually making, but they are almost wholly for investment. Lots can be bought at the central business part of Chicago, yielding a ground rent of six to nine per cent. I know of a lot, for instance, held at \$2,500, for which the owner is offered, for a five years' lease, \$200 per annum and the taxes. The lessee wishes to erect a good brick building, conditioned that at the end of the lease the lessor, at his option, shall renew the lease at seven per cent. on the value of the lot, or purchase the building at an appraisal, the value of both lot and building to be fixed by three disinterested men. The building would cost about \$2,000, and would rent for \$450, perhaps more. These lots, twenty feet front by one hundred and fifty deep, which are among the best in the city, have been under lease for ten years past at \$250 each, and the leases are renewed for the present year at \$300. The lots are worth \$4,500

each, and for a five year lease we could get \$350 per annum, nearly eight per cent. Another lot I could have bought a short time since, and perhaps can yet, for \$3,000, which is under lease for seven years at \$270, or nine per cent., with no conditions to renew or buy the buildings. Good brick stores, four stories high, and well furnished, costing about \$3,000, will rent for \$800 to \$850, in the best localities. When we have fifty thousand inhabitants if rents are worth as much here as in cities of corresponding size and business, such stores will be worth at least \$1,200 per annum; and as \$500 will be an ample allowance for the building alone, \$700 will be left for the lot, from which deduct \$100 for taxes, and it will then pay six per cent. on \$10,000. This you may reasonably reckon upon *in ten years*. New channels are to be opened, widely extending the range of country tributary to this market. But with no increase from abroad, business in all departments must enlarge and extend, and very rapidly in a country of early tillage. But the population of Illinois, particularly of the northern portion, which trades here, never was increasing so fast by immigration."

Thus does the eager real estate man lead the hopes of the people into the rosy future; but even with all the spirit of prophecy that may fall upon the most gifted of his class, could he have foreseen one-half the greatness and numbered one-half the people who make Chicago their home and the theatre of the immense commercial operations of to-day?

LUTHER VAN DORN.

ORIGIN AND HOMES OF THE WASHINGTON FAMILY.

CURIOUS REMINDERS IN THE DENVER PUBLIC LIBRARY.

A CITIZEN of Denver, while recently in Europe, visited Sulgrave Manor House, Northamptonshire, England, and while there made drawings of the Washington Coat of Arms; of the effigies of John, Laurence, Robert and Elizabeth Washington and children carved upon the walls; and also copied inscriptions upon the monuments in Brington Church. These curious and interesting reminders of the ancient home and burial place of the founders of the Washington family may be seen in the Public Library rooms of Denver. The sight of them one day suggested what follows:

We are told that when Henry VIII., dissolved the monasteries, A. D. 1528-9, he gave all the lands in Sulgrave, with other estates near Northampton, lately belonging to the priories of Canons Ashby and Catesby, to "Laurence Washington, of Northampton, gentleman."

Here eleven children, sixteen grandchildren (including John and Laurence, the emigrants) and fourteen great-grandchildren were born, descendants of Laurence, the favorite of Henry VIII.

It is situated almost in the center of England, in a quiet, rural neighborhood. Washington Irving visited it

and his description will be recalled. He says: "The house stands at the eastern extremity of the village, in its own grounds, and is approached on the west by a pretty green croft separated from the almost encircling road by a hedge. The northern walls are ivy-mantled. The entrance was through a fine old Tudor doorway of brown stone, with its square-headed moldings and depressed arch ornamented by the Washington Coat-of-Arms, and the well-known motto—so characteristic of Washington, 'Excitus acta probat,' 'Actions are tested by their results.' There can be no question," says Irving, "that the three red stars and the two red stripes furnished the idea of the American flag." This old manorial homestead is not only an illustration of the antiquity of the Washington family, but is also associated with the origin of our flag. The stars and stripes were carved upon its now moldering stones, and were charges upon the Washington escutcheon two hundred and fifty years before the final adoption of our national emblem, with its alternating red and white stripes and its stars argent on an azure field.

Three generations of the family lived here. Robert and Laurence, being obliged to sell, sold to a nephew, Laurence Makepeace, about 1625. They

retired to Brington, in the same county, where we are told they lived under the protection of the Spencers. The house in little Brington is still shown. Over the door is the inscription: "The Lord giveth, the Lord taketh away. Blessed is the name of the Lord."

The depression of their fortunes was but temporary. They recovered wealth by the marriage of Sir William Washington with a half-sister of George Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham.

In Brington Church near by is a memorial tablet containing this inscription: (a copy of which is in the Denver Library):

"Here lies interred ye Bodies of Elizab Washington, widowe, who changed this Life for immortallitie, ye 19 of March, 1622. As also ye body of Robert Washington, gent, her late husband, second sonne of Robert Washington, of Solgrave, in ye county of North, Esq., who depted this life ye 10 of March, 1622. After they lived lovingly together."

Cave Castle, Yorkshire, was the home of the Washingtons during the commonwealth. From this place Col. John Washington, the great-grandfather of George, emigrated to America in 1657 or 1659.

The brothers, John and Laurence, sons of Sir William Washington (who married Eleanor Harrison) owing to the turbulent times under the rule of Cromwell, came to Virginia, bought a thousand acres at Bridge's Creek, on the Potomac, in Westmoreland county,

and became planters. John relinquished Cave Castle, and Laurence, a student at Oxford, his professional career, for an humble home between the Potomac and the Rappahannock rivers. John married Miss Anna Pope. Their son Laurence married Mildred Warner, whose son, Augustine, marrying secondly, in 1730, Mary Ball, became the father of GEORGE WASHINGTON who was born on the old plantation homestead upon Pope's Creek six miles from where it empties into the Potomac.

The birthplace was destroyed by fire one morning in April, 1735. While servants were burning brush or refuse matter it took fire from the flying sparks, which fell upon its low pitched roof.

In June, 1815, this spot was identified and marked, A memorial stone was placed there by George Washington Custis, foster son of the General. Accompanied by a party of Revolutionary soldiers, he sailed from Alexandria in his own little vessel, and taking this tablet, wrapped in the American flag, and inscribed with these words: "Here the 11th of February, 1732, George Washington was born," placed it upon a foundation constructed of a few bricks taken from the ruins of the ancient chimney. It is the first monument erected to Washington. Contrasted with the towering shaft at the Capital, from the top of which this locality may be seen, it befittingly illustrates the growing affection for his memory in the hearts of his countrymen.

The family were immediately removed to an adjoining estate in Stafford

county, nearly opposite Fredericksburg. There the father had built a residence almost exactly like the one which had been burned. It stood upon the left hand of the Rappahannock, upon a steep slope, in sight of the town. It is known as "Washington's residence, near Fredericksburg." There the father of Gen. Washington died in April, 1734, and was buried in the old family vault at Bridge's Creek, by the side of his grandfather, Col. John Washington, the emigrant.

In this old Stafford homestead Augustine and Mary Ball Washington lived eight years, and there John, Augustine, Charles and a daughter, Mildred, were born.

Upon the death of the father an ample estate was left to "Mary, the mother of Washington," and her children. Laurence took the lands afterwards known as Mount Vernon, and George the old homestead near Fredericksburg. The military career of the accomplished Laurence terminated in his death, age 34, July, 1752, in this house, soon after a voyage to the West Indies in pursuit of health, accompanied by his favorite half-brother, George, who had a bad case of small-pox while absent.

Through the death of the daughter of Laurence without issue, Mt. Vernon passed to General Washington, according to the terms of the will of Laurence. In 1742 Laurence erected the first mansion at Mt. Vernon.

In honor of the gallant Admiral Vernon, with whom he had served in the wars in South America under the English flag, Laurence called his home Mt. Vernon. Here he lived with Anne, his wife, the beautiful daughter of Hon. William Fairfax.

George Washington, soon after his marriage to Martha Dandridge Custis, in 1750, moved to Mt. Vernon and lived in this old house until he enlarged it to its present dimensions, in 1785. The old building was not disturbed until the additions were completed, when it was modified and retained as a part of the present mansion—the whole the work of Washington. Here our first President lived until his death, December 14, 1799.

Two generations afterwards this home of the Washingtons in America passed, by purchase, to the Mt. Vernon Ladies' Association, and now and forevermore, Mt. Vernon belongs to the women of the United States.

HENRY DUDLEY TEETOR.

A PIONEER JOURNALIST; OR THE FOUNDER OF THE ROCKY
MOUNTAIN NEWS.

THIRTY years ago—April 19, 1859—William Newton Byers arrived in the Pike's Peak country. In the April number of this Magazine, (1889) Mr. Byers writes:

"I reached Denver on horseback on the 19th of April, on the night before the celebrated stampede began which carried back, or turned back on the plains, four-fifths of all the people who that year set out for the promised land. On the 21st of April the press arrived, and two days later, in the midst of a driving snowstorm, the first newspaper was printed."

With some curiosity the writer sought the original files of this now widely influential journal and read the first editorial written by Mr. Byers, under these discouraging conditions for founding such an enterprise. They are cheerful words indeed in view of the facts—a driving snowstorm and the stampede of four-fifths of his prospective subscribers. Here it is:—

SALUTATORY.

"With our hat in our hand and our best bow we this week make our first appearance upon the stage in the capacity of editor.

"We make our debut in the far west, where the snowy mountains look down upon us in the hottest summer

day as well as in the winter's cold; here, where a few months ago, the wild beasts and wilder Indians held undisturbed possession—where now surges the advancing wave of Anglo-Saxon enterprise and civilization; where soon, we fondly hope, will be erected a great and powerful state, another empire in the sisterhood of empires.

"Our course is marked out, we will adhere to it with steadfast and fixed determination, to speak, to write and to publish the truth and nothing but the truth, let it work us weal or woe.

"Fondly looking forward to a long and pleasant acquaintance with our readers, hoping well to act our part, we send forth to the world our first number of the *Rocky Mountain News*."

It appears from this that Mr. Byers did not come as a seeker of gold and silver—unlike the surging, thronging thousands of that early day. His singular purpose and ambition is revealed in the words—"where soon, we fondly hope, will be erected a great and powerful state, another empire in the sisterhood of empires." And then looking forward, not backward—

"That way madness lies,"

and hoping to act well his part, he entered upon his journalistic career which has accomplished his design in

assisting to achieve a glorious statehood for Colorado, and a long and pleasant acquaintance with his readers.

As the preparation of this paper occurs upon the thirtieth anniversary of his arrival in the now state of Colorado, it occurs to the writer to regard Mr. Byers as one of the many human peaks which constitute the mountain range of Colorado history. He came first in 1852, when her majestic mountains had snow as now for a perpetual covering for their lofty heads, while at their feet no white man dared to walk unarmed. He first crossed them as a surveyor, looking upon them simply as mighty corrugations upon the brow of the continent—not as masses of mineral wealth in reserve for the millions who have gathered around their bases since he first sighted his compass across these plains, or stretched a chain over their now railroad-traversed sides and summits.

The robe of azure which then partly veiled the foothills has been transformed almost into a "customary suit of solemn black" by smoke from their miners' camps, many a smelter, and thousands of locomotives fed by coal disemboweled from their sides. While all this has occurred under the eye of Mr. Byers he has not simply been a "looker-on in Vienna." As the publisher of the *News* and its editorial writer for more than twenty years, he has had more to do and to say concerning the building of this state than any other living or dead pioneer.

A "History of Colorado" says:

"Not only was the *News* the first paper in the entire Rocky Mountain region, but, under Mr. Byers' management, it maintained its place in the very front rank of American journals. During all the varying fortunes of Colorado, the *News* was always faithful to its interests, while the face of its editor was a familiar one in every miner's camp and settler's cabin in the territory. He thus became familiar with the various interests of Colorado, and, while the press of the East denounced him as a falsifier, he continued to publish to the world, through the columns of his paper, the wondrous resources of the territory, its vast mineral wealth, its boundless agricultural and stock-growing facilities, and the marvelous salubrity of its climate. He undoubtedly knows Colorado better than any other man, has always had great faith in its future destiny, and has done more than anyone else, with his pen, to attract the attention of the world to her magnificent possibilities and make Colorado what she is to-day."

There is an air of romance about the biography of this pioneer surveyor and journalist. Solomon Brandenburg¹ was the last of the electors of the long-standing family, the last of the local governors of his electorate, whose estates were confiscated for political reasons by the crown. Brandenburg Castle, once his manorial seat, is now occupied by Prince Herbert Bismarck, and is the subject of legal proceedings now pending between the heirs of Solomon Brandenburg (of whom Mr. Byers is a lineal descendant)

and the crown of Germany. His son, William Housen (of the House) Brandenburg, was the father of Mary Ann Brandenburg. Mr. Byers' father was a descendant of Thomas Byers of Scotland, who, for conscience sake, left his native land, settled in Ireland for a period, where the family fought for religious freedom, taking part in the siege of Londonderry. Thomas, Samuel and Andrew came to America. Andrew located in Pennsylvania in 1771. His son James moved to Ohio in 1806, bringing a son one year old, Moses Watson Byers, who married, December 3, 1828, Mary Ann Brandenburg. Their son, William Newton Byers, was born February 22, 1831, in Madison county, Ohio—the Scottish and German blood at last uniting in his veins in the valley of the Ohio, centuries after the confiscation of ancestral lands under despotic Germany, and generations after his paternal ancestor fled from Scotland because of religious persecution.

The origin of the Byers family is as remote and reputable as that of the house of Brandenburg. In a work, "Gentleman's Arms during the reign of Charles I.," are recorded "Arms on a monument in Greyfriar's Churchyard to John Byers, dean of guild and treasurer of the city of Edinburgh, who died in 1639."

The motto was "Rule be one"—a reference, doubtless, to the disputed question of the Divine right of kings to rule.

In 1850 the father removed to Iowa.

Two years afterward young Byers engaged in Government surveying and by the time he was of age had crossed the continent. He followed his profession as surveyor in Oregon and Washington territories; from there he went to California, returning to the States in 1854. He settled in Omaha when it had but one house, and, as county surveyor, made the survey of much of that city. He surveyed a large portion of Eastern Nebraska; was a member of the first Territorial Legislature of that state; took an active part in laying the foundations of Omaha and the state of Nebraska. He was a citizen of Omaha when the Pike's Peak excitement broke out. It was at this period that he determined to come to this country to engage in journalism, the interesting particulars of which are narrated in the article above mentioned: "Early Journalism in Colorado."

Mr. Byers married, at Muscatine, Iowa, November 16, 1854, Miss Elizabeth Minerva Sumner. Her father, Horatio Nelson Sumner, and her mother, Minerva E. Lucas, were married January 15, 1829—the mother being a daughter of Hon. Robert Lucas, Governor of Ohio, and afterwards Governor of the territory and state of Iowa, and the father of the same family that gave to Massachusetts Gov. Increase Sumner and Hon. Charles Sumner, and to the United States Army, Major-Gen. E. V. Sumner—all the descendants of William Sumner, of Dorchester, Massachusetts, A. D. 1636.

The children of Mr. and Mrs Byers

are Mary Eve, who married William F. Robinson, Esq., residents of Denver; and Frank Sumner Byers, who married Miss Mary Winifred Sullivan, an eastern lady. Mr. Frank S. Byers superintends the Byers Ranch, consisting of about five thousand acres in Grand County, or Middle Park. The famous Hot Sulphur Springs are situated upon this land, while Mt. Byers, rising nearly fourteen thousand feet high, overlooks all the beautiful natural park beneath—its pleasure resorts, its forests, abounding with game, and its streams alive with speckled trout.

When Mr. and Mrs. Byers came to Denver in August, 1859, their first place of abode was a half mud and half log cabin, situated upon the present site of the Franklin school-house in West Denver. It had an earth floor, and a roof through which the water dripped for days after any considerable rain, giving rise to the saying "It rains one day outside and ten days inside," the leaking through the roof generally continuing about that long. Their present home is a beautiful one in the midst of cultivated grounds upon the corner of Thirteenth avenue and south Fourteenth street.

In the accomplishment of the change from the first to the last home, much could be said in praise of the part taken in the long and sometimes doubtful struggle—the rough and toilsome jour-

ney—by the faithful pioneer wife. It is just to say that Mr. Byers owes his triumph over all obstacles to her wifely devotion in the midst of privations and misfortunes, "enough to break a royal merchant down," which Mr. Byers experienced both in Omaha and Denver. Not a seeker of gold or silver; not a fortune-hunter in the sense that so many were, but engaging in an enterprise to build a state, while earning his daily bread—his adventure was fully as problematical, without any chance whatever of "striking it rich." His career, therefore, illustrates the power of the press as a factor in the speedy upbuilding of a state, while it demonstrates, at the last that he possessed the elements of a successful journalist, overcoming and overcoming, until the place rightfully assigned Mr. Byers in the history of this commonwealth is that of Founder of the Press of Colorado.

With his name, however, should be associated that of the true and honorable *companion without whom, constantly at his side, the husband, journalist and business man would not stand to-day upon that historical eminence. Just as many another unheralded pioneer wife and mother, she nobly acted her part,

Propped by ancestry,
Whose grace chalks successors their way.

H. D. T.

BANKS AND BANKERS OF COLORADO.

II

JOHN LLOYD M'NEIL.

THE McNeils, or MacNeills, are one of the most ancient clans in the West Highlands of Scotland, and at a very early period divided into two great families, one in County Argyle, the other in Inverness.

The common ancestor was Torquille McNeill, Keeper of Castle Sween, before 1449. Malcolm McNeil was chief of the clan in 1493. In the history of this Highland family appear many honorable names, during the lapse of the centuries, down to the present. We meet with the often-recurring names of Malcolm McNeil, of Colonsay and Oronsay; Archibald McNeil, whose lands passed to his cousin John McNeil; Alexander McNeil, who left sons Archibald and John; John McNeil, again, who left sons John and Malcolm; the latter left a son, Archibald McNeil, writer of the Signet.

The family crest is an arm in armour embowed, the hand holding a dagger; motto, *vincere aut mori*—to conquer or to die.

About two hundred years ago Archibald McNeil emigrated from Scotland and settled near Stratford, Connecticut. The old homestead yet stands which he built and occupied. He sought our shores as a refuge from the civil and religious convulsions of that age,

and thereby transferred to American soil a limb from the family tree that had grown for centuries upon the beautiful, trampled hills of Scotland. It was as if a branch had been torn by these storms from the ancestral trunk, and, borne by favoring winds across the Atlantic Ocean, had found new earth and air and sky in which to take on a new growth. This was the mission of Archibald McNeil, the colonial ancestor of John Lloyd McNeil.

Upon the maternal side Mr. McNeil descended from John Brownson, of England, who settled at Hartford in 1636 with Thomas Hooker and removed to Farmington in 1641, where he was one of the "Seven Pillars of the Church," organized in 1652. His son Samuel was one of the first twelve settlers of New Milford, Connecticut; was the first Justice of the Peace and Judge of New Haven county, also a member of the Governor's Court; was the first deacon of the first church, and one of the most widely known men of his time.

John Lloyd McNeil was born in Owego, Tioga county, New York, May 8, 1849, being the eldest son of Stephen McNeil and Mary C. Goodsell. The present number of this MAGAZINE appears almost upon his fortieth birth-

day. Within the years signified Mr. McNeil has achieved the distinction of being a successful financier, and the history of Colorado banking would not be complete without mentioning him. He is the efficient and popular president of one of the safest and best banks in the city of Denver. He had the advantages of a common school education, finishing at the village academy, an institution then of some note as a preparatory school.

Added to these were reading habits and close observation of men and affairs. In this way he acquired a practical education which fitted him for the remarkably successful career which he has led. He came to Denver May 1, 1870, and entered the Colorado National Bank, serving as teller, both paying and receiving for that prominent bank until January, 1876. This was most valuable experience. At the expiration of the time he went into business as banker at Del Norte, in company with Alvin B. Daniels (now deceased) and Messrs. J. F. and J. S. Brown, and William and Moritz Barth, under firm name of Daniels, Brown & Co., the partnership being unlimited—a fact that evinced the great confidence these shrewd capitalists reposed in Mr. McNeil. The firm of Daniels, Brown & Co. was stronger financially than any bank or business house then doing business in the territory of Colorado. After four years the bank was moved to Alamosa, where it still exists under the name of the First National Bank. A branch was established at Durango,

Colorado, in 1881, and is doing business there now as the First National Bank. Mr. McNeil retains large interests in these institutions.

When the bank was established at Del Norte it was one hundred and fifty miles from the nearest railroad terminus, and was the only bank in Southwestern Colorado, and furnished banking facilities for all that scope of country lying west of the Sangre de Cristo Range and south of the Arkansas river, as well as the northern counties of New Mexico. Its deposits ten years ago were \$600,000. Mr. McNeil has also extensively invested in lands and cattle in the San Luis Valley, and is vice-president of the La Jara Creamery Company in the same locality.

September 3, 1883, Mr. McNeil removed to Leadville, and organized the Carbonate Bank of Leadville, taking position of cashier. This bank was started under very adverse circumstances, as may be inferred, following the disastrous end of the Leadville Bank, and the failure of two others soon after. Confidence was shattered. Banking business was being diverted elsewhere. His adventure under these conditions required unusual courage, capacity to manage, and magnetic personal qualities to restore confidence in the banking business. These requirements were met with in Mr. McNeil, whose success is now a matter of history, as the Leadville bank, which he founded, has been in successful operation ever since and is now regarded as one of the most reliable institutions in Colorado. But

the strain upon his nervous system, in that altitude (10,200 feet above the sea level) became greater than he could endure, and necessitated his resignation as president in January 1887, after serving for two years in that capacity. He removed to Denver and, in April 1888, bought an interest in the State National Bank. The management of this institution represents a banking experience of twenty years. The volume of business has increased to three times the amount it controlled when Mr. McNeil became its head. He frequently has been offered positions of trust and responsibility in political affairs but always refused. His reputation as a conservative banker, who never speculates, results from this devotion to his profession.

He is a member of the Central Presbyterian Church, and was trustee from 1872 until 1876, when he went to Del

Norte Upon his return in 1887 was again elected trustee. He is now chairman of the Finance Committee of the Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade. He represents the Pennsylvania Lead Company of Pittsburg, negotiating its purchases of silver, gold and lead bullion to the extent of millions of dollars annually.

Mr. McNeil has been successful in all his business career. Something of the favorite sentiments of the McNeils of Scotland, *vincere aut mori*, has actuated him with corresponding results.

Personally, he is held in high estimation. His genial disposition makes friends of all who come in contact with him. Manliness and kindness as a companion, and firmness and promptitude in business relations, are leading characteristics, rendering him at once the successful banker and the complete gentleman.

THE BAR AND BENCH OF DENVER AND COLORADO.

III

SAMUEL H ELBERT.

ELBERT is a surname reaching far backward into antiquity. It is identical with Albert in origin and meaning and is a contraction of the old Saxon Eth-Elbert, signifying bright.

The immediate ancestors of Judge Elbert were colonial settlers of Virginia. It is a professional family. Both his father and grandfather were eminent in the medical profession. The highest honors within the gift of the

University of Pennsylvania were bestowed upon his father; the late Dr. John D. Elbert. He removed from Kentucky to Ohio at an early period, and located in Logan county, where Judge Elbert was born, April 3, 1833. In his fourteenth year he entered the Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1854. The Master's degree followed *in cursu*.

While upon the Supreme Bench of Colorado the same University conferred the honor of Doctor of Laws, being the second instance of the kind in the history of the College. He prepared himself for his profession both at College and afterwards in the law office of Gen. N. B. Walker, at Dayton, Ohio. He was admitted to the bar in 1856; soon after removed to Iowa where he began the practice of his profession. The next move was to the territory of Nebraska, where he built up a fine practice and in 1860 he was elected to the council of the territorial legislature. It was at this period that Mr. Elbert was elected a delegate to the Chicago Republican Convention that nominated Abraham Lincoln. Two years afterwards he was commissioned by President Lincoln Secretary of Colorado Territory, Hon. John Evans being appointed Territorial Governor about the same time. This official relationship resulted in closer personal friendship by the marriage, in 1865, of Secretary Elbert to Miss Josephine, the daughter of Gov. Evans. The death of Mrs. Elbert and their child at an early period in their married life cast a shadow over the heart of the husband which has never been lifted. Hence Judge Elbert has never re-married. Evans Chapel, Denver, was built in remembrance of the departed daughter and wife—Josephine Elbert—whose Christian character and endeavors for the good of others are thus effectually memorialized, while her life is hid with Christ in God.

When his commission expired as

Territorial Secretary, Gov. Elbert formed a law partnership with Hon J. Q. Charles. This firm commanded a large practice, and made prominent the qualifications of Governor Elbert for the Bench. He was in the Territorial Legislature of Colorado in 1869, and in 1872 was chairman of the Republican Central Committee. In 1873 he was appointed Governor of the territory upon petition of citizens thereof, and discharged the duties of his office with signal ability and universal satisfaction, for a time.

Unhappily, however, the clamor of Washington politicians prevailed against the voice of his fellow-citizens, and Gov. Elbert was superseded. He then went abroad, spending about two years in foreign cities, improving the time by close observations, taking copious notes of his travels.

The closing sentences of Gov. Elbert's message to the General Assembly in 1873-4 are given: "With these recommendations my duties cease and yours begin. The demands upon you are of no ordinary character. Our territory is just entering upon what, we hope, will be no limited career. In its present there is everything to inspire patriotism, enthusiasm, courage and faith. To foresee its destiny, we need no prophesy of genius or vision of seer. The first fruits of her soil and the broken seals of her mountain coffer reveal the possibilities of the future. In the purple of its dawn stand a young and vigorous people eager for the conquests at hand. Imbued with the spirit

of our institutions they seek victory on fields where victory is grandest. Around and about us, upon this hand and upon that, in the hum of contending industries, are heard the first notes of the opening battle. Their appeal to you is not for sword, or bayonet, or cannon, but for the mightier helps of good laws and good government. To this end they have committed to your keeping for a time the sacred ark of the laws. The economics of trade, the rights of man, the duties of citizenship, the truths of political economy, the nature and methods of constitutional liberty and constitutional government are the vital questions with which you must deal. To successfully mould and direct them, as agencies administering to the strength and intelligence, the broad purpose and high endeavor of this people, is the achievement of that noblest of human labors, the establishment of a state, when law and liberty co-exist, and mutually conserve the highest interests of man.

“To this end, upon your labors I invoke the blessing of God.

S. H. ELBERT,

Governor of Colorado.”

His character and services as Chief Justice of Colorado are set forth in the following letter addressed to the writer, by a distinguished lawyer, as a contribution to the history of the Bar and Bench of Denver and Colorado:

“When upon the admission into the Union of Colorado as a state in 1876 Judge Elbert was called to the Supreme Bench then just organized, it was with

an undoubted confidence and expectation on the part of the bar and the people that he would discharge the duties of his high office to the utmost satisfaction of all. In this neither bar nor people was disappointed. To say that his career upon the bench was universally acceptable is not, as I have every reason to believe, in the least to over-stretch the truth; for when, in 1882, it became necessary to elect a successor to his place, the feeling and expression was widespread and general that he should again become a candidate, and, after it was publicly known, that for considerations of health and other causes he peremptorily declined, expressions of regret on every side were heard. Again in 1885, upon occasion of an election to fill a judicial term commencing in January, 1886, the same unlimited confidence was exhibited. As is well known, being influenced by like considerations which induced him to decline in 1882, it was on that occasion only after the most urgent solicitations of many people, and especially of many members of the legal profession, that he consented to resume a position upon the supreme bench. Such consent was followed by his triumphant election and return to the office, but only to meet with further public disappointment when towards the close of the year 1888 he was again compelled to withdraw from the laborious duties of the position. His resignation was generally looked upon as a serious public loss, and particularly so by and among the lawyers at large

who had been chiefly instrumental in procuring his return to the bench."

The foregoing facts ought of themselves to be a sufficient commentary upon Judge Elbert's ability and usefulness as a judge of the highest court of state, and that too at the outset of a new and independent form of government when so much depended upon the proper administration of its laws and moulding of its institutions at the hands of a wise, able and fearless judiciary. These facts sufficiently attest the possession of those superior qualities which originally commended him for such public service and in which, but for the unfortunate circumstance above alluded to, he would still have been retained. They attest the sense of the bar and people of the state and their appreciation of those qualities, and of the public services which he could render and has rendered in the position to which he was called. And the force of his example, the value of the lesson of his judicial life as shown by these facts, is very greatly strengthened when it is considered that he never sought the office but that the office invariably sought him. In these times, when we have most deplorably degenerated far below the high and noble spirit of modesty and decorum which actuated our republican fathers in the matter of judicial office, when aspirants do not wait to be called, but adopting the ignominious methods and devices of seekers for mere political office or preferment often of the lower grades, openly avow their candidacy and push and strive and

bargain for influence to obtain the place, such an example is most invaluable. Unmoved by the slightest imputation of that kind, it may be truly said of Judge Elbert as has been said of one of England's most eminent judges: "He has shown us that real merit will make its own way without any assistance, without any little arts or assiduities, and that the only certain method to have a good reputation is to deserve it. Such men are not only a blessing to the age in which they live, but to succeeding generations, by their being incentives to a similar behavior to posterity." His life, both official and personal, has never been tarnished by any stain nor darkened by any reproach. An upright, firm, decided, impartial, patient and learned judge, he was always regarded as a necessary complement to the court in which he sat and over whose deliberations he for three years presided. His judicial opinions by which he will be longest known and remembered, are characterized by a clearness, directness and force of thought and reasoning, as well as an ease and simplicity of language, which are in sharp contrast with too many of the productions of the modern bench. There is nothing long, nothing unnecessarily labored, nothing tedious or tiresome in them. They are always to the point and unusually free from discussions of matters not demanded by the case before him, in this last particular also most favorably comparing with what is otherwise too much the fashion and tendency of the times.

Obiter dicta is not a feature of them. In these respects, as well as others, they are well set and excellent models of his successors to work after and to follow.

“Many other things might be said of the judge, of his dignified and impressive manners and bearing, of his kindness, affability and complaisance to young and old alike, of his purity and generosity in all the relations of private life and of a citizen, of his social qualities and characteristics which have so endeared him throughout the large circle of his personal friends and acquaintances, and of his broad intelligence and general learning, but time and space forbid. In conclusion it may, without exaggeration, be said that his career has been not only one of great honor to himself but of great benefit to his adopted state which has delighted so much to honor him.”

Another eminent jurist says: “In the Supreme Court, of which he was twice a member, Judge Elbert rendered his best public service. The distinguishing qualities of a good judge which are not often conspicuous at the bar or in political life here found appropriate expression. Chief among these qualities is that exquisite discrimination which discovers the true principle of justice in every guise and however it may be perverted or obscured by fallacious reasoning. In the law as in morals the line between truth and error is often narrow and in some minds indistinct. It is plain enough to one who is endowed with a clear sense of justice

and is faithful to it. He is not hampered by the most arbitrary rules of law, for recognizing the law as the true exponent of justice, every will yields to her supreme authority. And so in his high office Judge Elbert was always the true minister of justice who could find the right and wrong of every case and maintain the right with implacable obstinacy. And this was done with a grace of diction and brevity and force of reason which beguiles and convinces the reader. Opinions of courts are not often found to be light or agreeable reading, and every lawyer has great satisfaction in such as are neither prolix nor obscure.”

The following excerpt from one of the decisions of Judge Elbert will illustrate the foregoing. It is taken from the case of the People *v.* May, December term, 1886, of the Supreme Court of Colorado. Chief Justice Elbert said: “It will not do to say that an actual existing antecedent mischief is essential to support a constitutional limitation, or an intent to limit; or that the absence of such an actual mischief excludes an intention to limit. On the other hand it is safe to say that whenever there is a power liable to be abused there is to be found a legislative motive for restraint. The multitudinous restraints of all constitutions proceed largely against possible mischief. To leave powers unlimited where there is a great temptation to abuse is to invite abuse. . . . Rules of construction have for their object the discovery of the true intent and meaning

of the instrument to be construed. If applicable, they are supposed to lead to the truth; if not applicable, and are notwithstanding applied, they lead astray. If we reject any of the many rules appealed to in this discussion, it is not because they are unsound but inapplicable.''

As has been stated, in 1885 he was again elected to the Supreme Bench, much however against his inclinations. He served three years and then voluntarily resigned.

Judge Elbert's name is often mentioned in connection with offices of still higher trust and honor. The ardent wish of many of his friends is that his great abilities, long experience in public life and high character, public and private, may once more be available in promoting the interests of a state of which he is deservedly proud, much of the past prosperity being traceable to his official connection therewith. Judge Elbert has also been very active in promoting the railroad interests of the state, notably in the construction of

the Denver Pacific, Denver & South Park, and Denver, Texas & Gulf.

Mount Elbert, 14,352 feet high, was thus named in honor of the Governor by the miners of the San Juan region of the territory. The Washington authorities, pending the difficulties between the miners and Indians, had determined to expel the miners from the Indian reservation. Gov. Elbert's intercession with President Grant resulted in the appointment of a commission to treat with the Indians. A peaceful solution was reached. The Indians departed and the miners remained. Subsequently, when the Government made the survey of the country, a party ascended the mount in question to make triangulations. Upon reaching the summit a pile of stones was found which covered, as a protection, a bottle containing a written statement to the effect that the mountain had been thus named by the miners in grateful remembrance of Gov. Elbert for securing to themselves and other settlers the peaceable possession of the mountain and the surrounding land.

H. D. T.

KANSAS CITY AND MANIFEST DESTINY.

II.

THE great step cityward was taken by the town of Kansas in 1853, when it grew tired of the swaddling clothes of infancy, and determined to assume a municipal garb adequate to its ambitions, and available for a free

play of its purposes. A charter was obtained from the state legislature, although there was the inevitable protest from those whose fear of an increased taxation overweighed all chances of public or personal good. In April the

first municipal election was held, and the new machinery set in motion; although it was soon discovered that the elected Mayor, William S. Gregory, could not hold the office because he had not been a resident of the place long enough to be eligible under the terms of the charter. Dr. Johnston Lykins, the president of the Council, therefore filled the office for the remainder of the term—so acceptably, it may be said in passing, that at the end of the year he was chosen his own successor.

The earliest journalistic venture into a field that has since become so enterprising in a journalistic way, was made in 1851, when R. V. Kennedy established the *Kansas Ledger*, who carried it on for some fifteen months, when he sold out to one Epperson, who continued it for the same length of time; until it was removed to Independence, and blossomed forth under the name of the *Western Reporter*. In September, 1854, the *Kansas City Enterprise* arose to take the place of the departed, and from thenceforth the pioneers of that locality were not without an organ and an exponent of their own.

Gratifying signs of material development were by no means wanting. In 1856, the Board of Trade sprang into being. It was not, at first, an ambitious affair, but rather an informal gathering, where the business men met to discuss affairs, and to plan for the general commercial weal. In 1857, it was decided that a regular organization would be beneficial in various ways, and

accordingly the Chamber of Commerce was chartered by the state legislature on November 9. The list of incorporators will recall to the people of Kansas City the names of some of their oldest business men: Dr. Johnston Lykins, John Johnson, M. J. Payne, W. A. Hopkins, Thomas H. Swope, S. W. Bouton, Kersey Coates, Joseph C. Ranson, E. C. McCarty, H. M. Northrup, H. H. King, J. M. Ashburn, William Gillis, Dr. Benoist Troost, John Campbell and R. G. Stephens. The work this organization performed in many ways, was effective in advancing the interests of the little town; and although it became a thing of the past in the disorder and loss of civil war, its influence reached over into the better times of peace, and was felt in various beneficial ways.

The first bank of the city made its appearance during the peaceful and hopeful season that lay just before 1861. In 1859, branches of the Mechanics' Bank and of the Miners' Bank, of St. Louis, were established here to supply the increasing demands of business.

Nor did the railroad excitements of the decade of 1850-60 leave this remote point untouched. "It was a favorite dream of its earliest citizens," we are told, "encouraged by such men as Senator Benton, Gov. Gilpin and Gen. Fremont, that here would be a great distributing point, where the products of the North would meet the tropical products of the South; where the products of the manufactories of the East would meet the metallic wealth of the West, and the silks and teas of China

and Japan be exchanged and distributed throughout the world."

The first movement towards the twenty odd railroads that now focus their radiating lines at Kansas City, was made in a meeting held in 1856, the purpose of which was to pledge the funds needed for a preliminary survey of the Kansas City & Keokuk road, projected between the points named, which was to be a part of the great line toward Chicago and the East. The fact that the line did not spring suddenly into being as was hoped and expected, was neither the dearth of ambition nor the end of hope. Manifest destiny was still at work, but it was backed by determination and an exhibition of pluck and energy that kept rivals in defeat, and forced all purposes to success. Listen to the prophecies as voiced by the local press as early as 1858: "When the Kansas City & Keokuk road, the Pacific road, the Galveston road, with its branches into the mineral regions of southwest Missouri, the road to Santa Fe, New Mexico, the Kansas River Valley road, with its net work of branches over that great producing domain, the Platte country road, and the great national railway from the mouth of the Kansas to the Bay of San Francisco—when all these roads are constructed, Kansas City will then have a system of railroads, as complete and more extended than that of Chicago.

"She will then be the center of something—and the iron horse will be bringing here the products of the plains and mountains."

And again: "It is now a conceded fact that Kansas City is to become a great commercial city, controlling for years to come, the trade of the great Southwest. The discovery of gold upon the mountain branches of the Arkansas and South Platte, will fix, as additionally certain, Kansas City as the starting point to these gold regions, and places our city directly upon the line of travel from the East to the gold placers. New York must be assumed as the great focus of commerce on the Atlantic coast, and San Francisco that on the Pacific. With whatever of departure from these two great points we may have to contend, the main facts will be sustained, and the proper and natural effect of trade will be upon and along the thirty-ninth parallel of latitude. To induce, then, the location and construction of a great trunk road along this parallel should, with us, be a matter of the first importance, and engage our most cautious and diligent consideration."

Passing along in this general retrospect over that period which closed with the beginning of war, we discover many isolated points indicative of the condition of the city and the temper of the time. The first recognition by the general government of the needs of the inhabitants for postal service came in 1845 when a post-office was established. William M. Chick was the first postmaster appointed, and upon his decease, a short time thereafter, his son, W. H. Chick, became his successor. There was little of an official

character to engross his time, the mail coming but once a week, via Westport. The office was kept open all the day, and if the postmaster did not happen to be in, the patrons of the mail assorted out their own possessions and those of their immediate neighbors and carried them off, leaving what remained to be claimed as those to whom it was directed came along. The first office was kept in the warehouse on the southeast corner of Main street and the Levee, and in 1847 was removed to the store of Silas Armstrong a few doors to the east. Mr. Chick was succeeded by Daniel Edgerton, who carried the office to the northwest corner of Main and Fourth streets on the hill. It there remained until again removed by Samuel Geer, who carried it back to the Levee, between Main and Walnut streets. J. C. Ranson was the next postmaster, who allowed the office to remain where it was, a pigeon-holed case some three feet square supplying all the space needed to take care of all the mail received. George W. Stebens served from 1858 to 1860, his office being located on the Levee, just east of Walnut street.

The judicial growth of the city followed the various pioneer stages. Jackson county, in which Kansas City is located, took on legal form in 1826, Independence being selected as the county seat. On November 20, 1855, a special act was passed by the Legislature establishing a Court of Common Pleas at Kansas City, the growth of the place being such as to demand more

convenient facilities for the transaction of legal business. The bar that practiced before this court was filled with men of ability and character, many of whom have made their mark upon the judicial and general history of the West. The jurisdiction of the court was at first extended to Kaw township, but was afterwards enlarged to include range thirty-three and to the whole county in the matter of attachments. Its first term was held in January, 1856, with William A. Strong upon the bench; Joseph A. Finlay, clerk; and Joseph P. Howe, marshal, in a building on the Levee, between Main and Walnut streets. The subsequent history of this court has been thus outlined: Judge Strong was succeeded in August, 1856, by Lot Coffman, who held the October term; E. M. Sloan, clerk, and Howe, marshal. Judge Coffman was one of the pioneers of the city, and his name is permanently identified with the early history of the city and county as school teacher, county and city surveyor, justice of the peace, and finally judge of the Court of Common Pleas. He was a true type of the enterprising Yankee, ready to turn his hand to anything that offered to make an honest living and faithful in all the trusts reposed in him. Judge Coffman was followed by J. K. Sheely, who held his first term April 10, 1859. Howe, who was also city marshal, was succeeded by Francis M. Barnes; and E. M. Sloan, clerk, by John S. Hough, who was clerk to 1860, when he was succeeded by Charles F. Smith, who held

the office until 1863. The next in the order of judges was Jacob S. Boreman, in 1861, followed by J. W. Jenkins in 1867, who was the last. Barnes was succeeded as marshal by Jonathan

Richardson, and Smith, clerk, by Charles H. Vincent, who retained the office until the court expired in 1871.

EDWARD L. EAMES.

SMELTING AND REFINING IN COLORADO.

EDWARD ROYAL HOLDEN.

An original parchment pedigree in the possession of Col. Henry Holden, of Holden House, Lancaster, England, commences with Robert de Holden and deduces the descent in an unbroken line from John Holdene de Holdene A. D. 1189. The family held manors in County Chester, time of Edward the Confessor, as evidence by Domesday Book. The name, according to Whitaker, is from two Saxon words—Hold and Dene, Dene signifying a dale, valley, or manor. The family motto, inscribed upon the Holden Coat of Arms was and is—*Et teneo et teneor*—"I both hold and am held," alluding to the tenure by which they held their manors which also bound them by knightly allegiance, in the old feudal days, to the Lord of the Manor.

To this ancient source Edward Royal Holden traces his family genealogy connectedly. He was born in New York city, September 27, 1855.

But nothing inures to Mr. Holden from "this long derived lineage" except hereditary traits, an inflexible will, when conscious of the right, and a tendency which led him to achieve professional success and a competency so

early in life. His birth occurred in the decade which marks the period of the greatest gold excitement in the history of our country—about midway between 1849 and 1859. As a scientific writer Mr. Holden has given an account of the particular circumstances giving rise to this excitement, in a series of scholarly and scientific papers, notably upon "The Treasures of the Earth" and "The Discovery of Gold in California."

Mr. Holden writes: "California attracted but little attention until the rumors of gold discoveries changed, as if by miracle, the aspect of affairs. This discovery occurred in a singular manner. In September, 1847, Captain Sutter, a Swiss by birth, contracted with a Mr. Marshall for the construction of a saw-mill in a pine forest. The supply of water to the mill was so situated as to wash down much mud and gravel, from the highest course of the stream, and Mr. Marshall, while watching one day the progress of his work, observed some glittering particles in this mud. The shining spangles proved to be gold."

About ten years afterwards the Rus-

sell party re-discovered gold in Pike's Peak country. Then rose another wave of excitement, which brought from all points converging tides of gold-seeking humanity.

With sounds like these coming from the distant west and falling upon his youthful ear, the resolution was formed to acquire an education suited for a life of scientific investigation and adventure in the gold and silver regions of the Rocky Mountains. To this end he applied himself by a special course of instruction under Pierre de Peyster-Ricketts, of Columbia College, the well-known author of Ricketts' "Manual of Assaying."

He also took a very extensive and thorough course of study under the celebrated chemist and metallurgist, Professor Welshire, of New York city, formerly of London. He laid the foundations in this way for his reputation as an assayer, chemist and scientific miner. Perhaps these qualities had their most complimentary recognition in the words of Judge Goddard, uttered upon appointing Mr. Holden receiver of the celebrated Emma Mine, at Aspen.

It was shown upon trial that fabulous sums of ore had been extracted, and it was estimated at the time that there "was one million dollars worth of ore open to the naked eye."

Upon granting the application the court said it had scanned the field carefully and selected a gentleman whom he regarded competent in every respect, "who was not only able to tell what a

piece of ore was but to present intelligently its constituent parts."

In passing it may be stated that he held this position about six months when he was discharged because of the settlement of the difficulties between the parties to the suit which had brought about his appointment. During that time he collected and, upon order of the court, distributed \$120,000 as dividends.

Mr. Holden came to Leadville in 1880, and began as a miner, bringing into practical application his scientific education. A fascinating writer says: "A few years ago Edward Royal Holden was a wage-worker in the Little Pittsburg Mines; but no one frowned upon him for that, for beneath the tallow-dusted garments they saw the struggling sunrise of a brilliant career. Those who were interested in him followed that destiny into the alchemist office, and on until they found him at the head of the most extensive sampling works in the mountains. His indomitable will was next seen in the most improved smelter in Denver, bearing his name."

He next became a discoverer of mines—the principal one being the famous "Nellie S." This led him to conceive the idea of establishing Sampling Works, which he at once erected at Leadville, the first of the kind in this country. For ten years he was the largest purchaser of ores in value and tonnage, his purchases amounting to many millions. His next move was to establish the "Holden Smelting Works in Denver" of which he was president and general

manager until his retirement for the purpose of establishing the Philadelphia Smelting and Refining Company, of Pueblo, of which he is now president and general manager. We copy from the *Mining Industry*: "When Mr. Holden severed his connection with the Holden Smelting Company of Denver, and with the well-known Guggenheims of Philadelphia organized the Philadelphia Smelting and Refining Company, it was decided by the company to build a plant that should embody all those requisites for operation upon a large scale, that his previous successful experience in Denver had shown were necessary; and the works as they now stand are a model of their kind; with every improvement for facilitating and cheapening smelting operations that would pass the test of experienced judgment. As our readers are aware, the citizens of Pueblo fully realizing the importance of establishing themselves as a manufacturing centre, made royal gifts as a subsidy to secure the location of the new smelter, 100 acres of land, \$25,000 in money being freely donated, and now that these works stand before them, they realize that their efforts have been already repaid, and they have value received in the acknowledged present effect upon the entire business of the city. The success and permanence of the enterprise thus inaugurated is assured by the character of the men who compose the company. Mr. E. R. Holden, the president and general manager, is one of the best known men of this state, his brilliant and successful

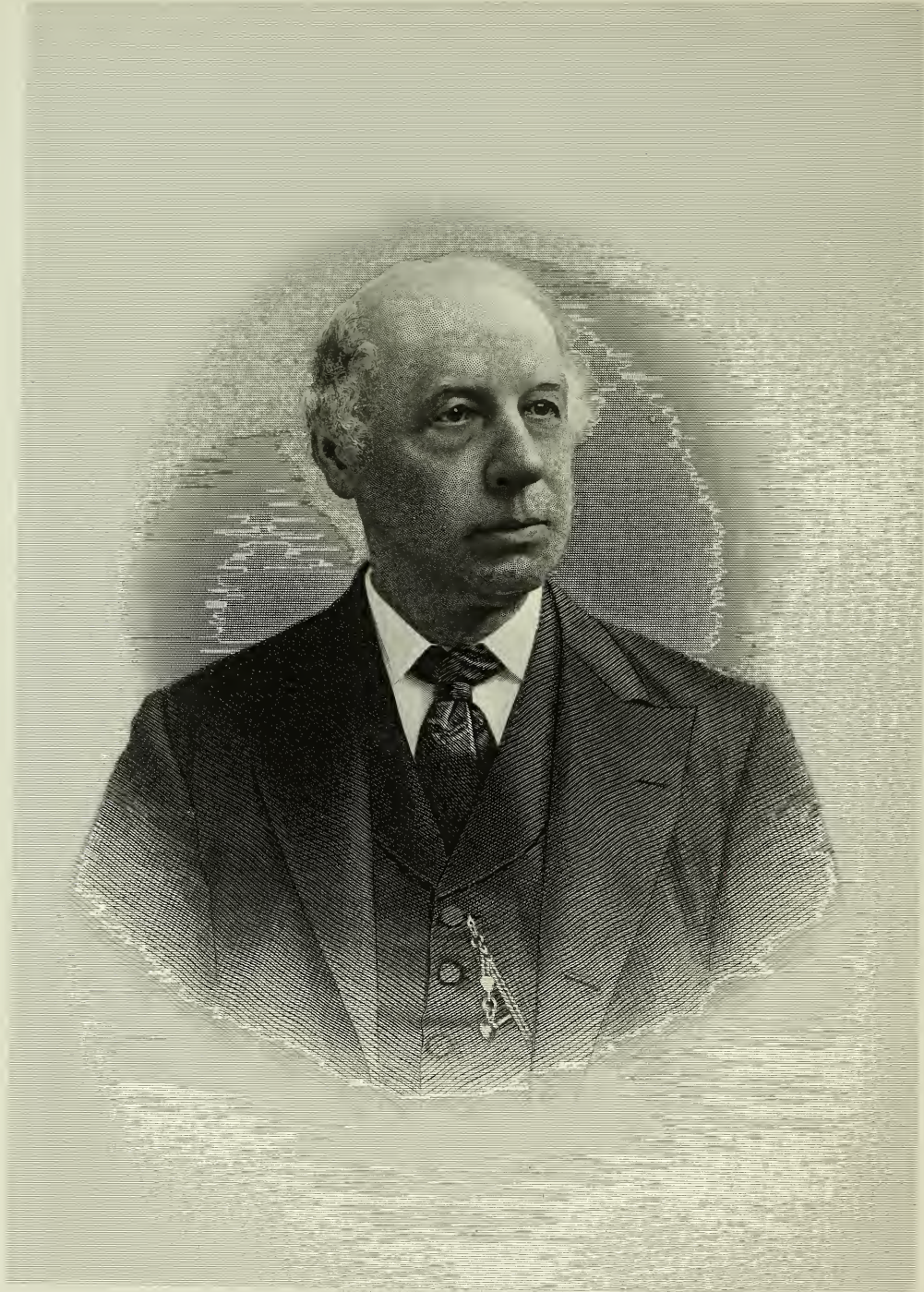
career from small beginnings but a few years since, having attracted the attention of business men everywhere. His last achievement was the organization and successful operation of the present Holden Smelting works of Denver; which still retain the name of their founder, although he severed his connection with them upon the organization of the new company. No one can fail to recognize the public benefits of the intellect and energy that has created one after another of such great enterprises, furnishing employment and homes to thousands of our citizens. Mr. Richard Cline, vice-president of the company, has been associated with Mr. Holden in all his previous enterprises, and has had a wide experience in every branch of mining and smelting. The arrangement and construction of the works are the results of the labor of Mr. E. B. Kirby, its superintendent, together with the assistance of Mr. Franz Cazin, mechanical engineer, of Denver, Colorado. To the experience of these gentlemen is united the powerful financial support of M. Guggenheim & Sons, the noted financiers and manufacturers of Philadelphia, who are well known in Colorado through the success that has attended their judicious mining operations; their property, the A. Y. and Minnie mines of Leadville, being one of the most valuable in the state. They are personally represented by Mr. Benjamin Guggenheim, the secretary and treasurer. Building began June 5th and has been followed by seven months of construction which was pushed with

unusual energy and rapidity. The works have been laid out upon an immense scale, covering ten acres of land. Five miles of railroad track have been graded and built within the grounds. The construction is everywhere of the most solid and permanent character. Six thousand cubic yards of excavation, four million brick, two thousand cubic yards of stone masonry and two million feet of lumber have been used, together with vast quantities of iron and other building materials. For the separation of base bullion into refined lead and bar silver and gold, a refinery which will be the largest in the state, is also located and included within the plant and will be built within a year. The plant comprises three buildings for ore mixtures, each of 5,000 tons capacity; a sampling department of unusual size comprising three separate and complete ore crushing mills; together with a number of other large buildings for the machinery and steam power, the storage of ores, machine and repair shops, storehouses, etc. A handsome office and laboratory building, together with large club house for the residence of officers and office employees, stand at a distance from the works in the midst of a ten-acre tract that has been reserved to be beautified with lawns, trees, a lake, etc. The entire area in its busy activity is a remarkable illustration of the change that may be wrought upon our so-called barren prairie when touched by capital in the hands of enterprising men."

The *Denver Republican*, under date of February 21, 1889, says: "Under

the direction of Mr. Edward R. Holden, the originator of the Philadelphia Smelting Company of Pueblo, and with the co-operation of his millionaire associates, the Messrs. Guggenheim, the works of this company promise to be increased until they shall exceed in magnitude anything that has been attempted so far in their line, and stand pre-eminent as the most extensive and complete reduction and refining works in the world. The company started with a capital of \$500,000 and erected six water jacket shaft furnaces and other equipments, but the promise of business has been so flattering that the company considered itself fully justified in providing for a greater capacity. In response to this demand the capital stock of the company has been increased in the last fortnight to \$1,250,000, and plans are now being prepared to enlarge the works to twelve blast furnaces, 36x120 inches each, and to increase the number of roasting furnaces to eighteen. The continued increase in the production of silver-lead ore in the West would seem to warrant all the additions now proposed to Colorado smelters. Mr. Holden will doubtless succeed in securing his portion of the output of Rocky Mountain silver mines."

The subject and enterprise of cattle raising has also engaged his attention. Upon his ranch at Wichita Falls, Texas, are about five thousand cattle. Mr. Holden's office contains an extensive collection of books upon stock raising. He has been a delegate to all the Inter-



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Samuel Shepard

State Conventions of Cattlemen, where his voice was frequently heard in the deliberations. His cattle brand is a "Crescent" and the initial "H," cruciform upon the right side. As a Republican, Mr. Holden was a candidate for state senator of Colorado from Lake County, but suffered defeat, with the entire ticket, for party reasons. His name has been frequently suggested in connection with other state offices, but to this he gives no encouragement, so completely is he occupied with his business.

The "Great Four Mile Gold Bubble" was exposed as a "salted mine" through his and his partner's (Mr. Chanute's) investigations. The intelligence which he evinced in his report carried conviction to the mind of every reader, and his name was greatly strengthened thereby as an authority upon metallurgy and assaying.

Three cities—Leadville, Denver and Pueblo—regard the public enterprise of Mr. Holden as intimately connected with their general welfare. The uniform

success that has attended his career has been the source of general prosperity—a matter of great gratification to himself, for generosity is not a thing apart from his genius for creating industries.

Colorado has a gentleman in Mr. Holden who has not been a citizen ten years; but who has done more in any decade of her history to extend the name of Colorado as a gold and silver producing state? *Holden*, as a name, is associated with the refining of her metals as much as any other name to be found upon her long list of successful capitalists. Has Mr. Holden made any mistakes of judgment in his enterprises or failures in their operation? Not yet. Whether it involves the expenditure of thousands or hundreds of thousands, if the enterprise stands the test of his considerate judgment, it is made, and the result has never yet dishonored his expectations.

The miner-student of 1880 is now a capitalist and the trusted and successful manager of the capital of others.

HENRY DUDLEY TEETOR.

PHILADELPHIANS OF TO-DAY.

FURMAN SHEPPARD.

A marked figure at the Philadelphia bar is that of Furman Sheppard, who entered the practice of law over forty years ago, and who, by continuous devotion to the highest demands of the profession, by an ability that has been equal to the most severe requirements, and an integrity that has never been

deflected from the true line of duty, has won his way into the front ranks of a body of men who collectively are among the ablest of American jurists. It was not by chance or accident that this high plane was reached, but altogether through merit and a worthiness that was sure of reward.

Mr. Sheppard was born at Bridgeton, Cumberland county, New Jersey, in 1824. After the usual preparatory course he entered Princeton College, from which he graduated with distinction in 1845. Upon his departure from college, he devoted himself for a time to teaching the classics and mathematics in schools and private families, and then commenced the study of law with Judge Garrick Mallery. He was admitted to the bar September 7, 1848, and remained for several years associated with Judge Mallery in the active management and conduct of the business of his office. His range of subsequent practice has included many cases of importance and responsibility in the Federal as well as the State Courts, and the professional ability therein displayed is conceded by the bar, and has not been without frequent mention and recognition by the bench.

Mr. Sheppard was not allowed to remain altogether free from the administration of public trusts, his first call coming in the form of a nomination by the Democrats of Philadelphia, in 1868, to the office of District Attorney of the city of Philadelphia, and in October of that year he was elected for the term of three years. The entire city ticket was claimed to have been elected by the Democrats, but this being disputed a contest was entered upon by the Republicans and the matter went before the courts. A decision was rendered affirming the election of D. M. Fox, as Mayor, but annulling that of the District Attorney, the Receiver of Taxes,

and some others. Mr. Sheppard, obtained a re-hearing of his case, in which it was shown that the Court, in deciding against him, had committed an arithmetical error, and he was thereupon restored to the office as its rightful possessor. In the meantime, for about six months, it had been occupied by Charles Gibbons, the opposing candidate. An appeal from this latter decision was made and the case carried before the Supreme Court, where, on review, the judgment of the inferior court was affirmed in the case of Mr. Sheppard, who thereupon resumed the duties of the District Attorneyship, his administration being marked throughout by energy and a high sense of responsibility. In 1871 he was re-nominated, but by means of a local and special election law, which had been enacted in the meantime, he was defeated by a small majority. In 1874 he was unanimously nominated again by the Democratic County Convention, and was endorsed by the Citizens' Municipal Reform Association. After a campaign almost unexampled in its activity and earnestness, and which aroused more than a merely local interest, he was again elected by a vote of nearly six thousand above the average of that received by the Democratic State ticket, while the vote of his opponent was reduced over eight thousand below that of the Republican State ticket. The term to which Mr. Sheppard was thus elected expired on the 1st of January, 1878. This was a series of endorsements at the hands of the

people, of which any man might well have reason to feel proud.

When notified of his third nomination to this important office, in July, 1874, Mr. Sheppard addressed a letter to the committee which notified him of the action of the Convention, which well illustrated his position relative to that office. The following is an extract: "My occupation brings me in contact with persons of all shades of political opinion and of all classes of society, and I am constrained to say that the feeling which pervades the general body of citizens, as respects our municipal misgovernment, is one of mortification, disgust and apprehension, to such an extent, indeed, that public spirit and local pride seem to languish in our city, good men shrink, or are driven into retirement, and thus the management of public business is the more easily usurped or retained, by knavery, mediocrity and disrepute." Mr. Sheppard paid especial attention to the despatch of criminal business arising during the Centennial summer, and by procuring the establishment of a Magistrate's Court on the Centennial grounds for the immediate hearing of criminal charges, and by other arrangements, he succeeded in most cases in having offenders indicted, tried, and sentenced within a few hours after the commission of the offense. This rapid proceeding was popularly designated as "Sheppard's Railroad," and it, in connection with the vigilant co-operation of Mayor Stokely, entirely broke up the preparations of the criminal class

for plundering Centennial visitors. Having accomplished what he believed to be his duty in connection with that most important branch of the public service which was under his charge, he announced his determination in 1877 to decline a renomination, and to resume his private practice. This announcement was received by the public with a very reluctant acquiescence, and a reconsideration of it, although strongly urged, was finally declined.

The ability and faithfulness shown in the discharge of the duties of the one office were considered by the people to give guarantee of a like course in a yet more important branch of the public service. Prior to the meeting of the Democratic State Convention of 1877, a very general impression prevailed that the nomination for the then existing vacancy in the Supreme Court would probably be conceded to Philadelphia, and Mr. Sheppard consented to the use of his name as an aspirant for the position. Upon the presentation of his name to the convention it was met with many marks of approval; and there followed one of the most remarkable contests of ballots ever seen in a nominating convention. On the first ballot Mr. Sheppard received 64 votes to 73 for John Trunkey, of Venango, and 116 were scattered among seven other candidates; on the second ballot Mr. Sheppard led with 103 votes, Trunkey having 100 only, with 48 scattering; during the progress of the third ballot, which appeared to stand 125 for Trunkey to 124 for Sheppard, the excitement ran very

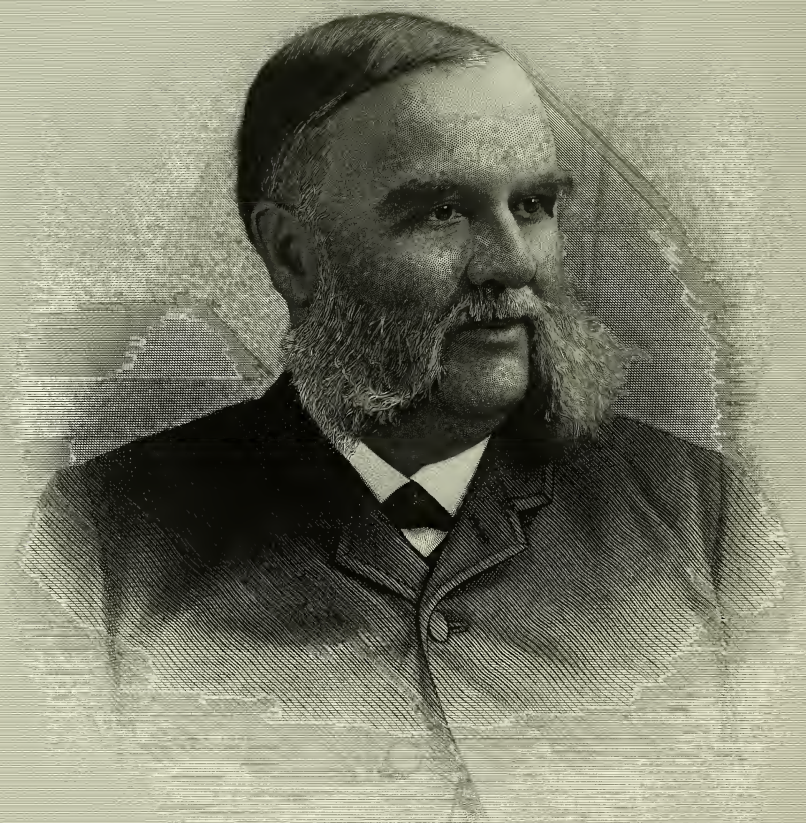
high. The chairman finally decided that the third ballot must be taken over and the roll was again called. All the candidates were dropped but Messrs. Trunkey and Sheppard and the vote between them ran singularly even. They were not ten votes apart at any time; they were exactly even at 85, again at 90, again at 97, again at 100, again at 107, again at 113, again at 117, again at 120, again at 122, and the roll closed with Trunkey 123 and Sheppard 123, with five not voting. Two more votes were cast and it stood 124 to 124. Then the chairman voted for Trunkey, and as the two other delegates were absent, Mr. Sheppard was defeated by one vote. Mr. Sheppard's defeat was brought about by a defection in the Philadelphia delegation. At the Democratic Convention in 1878, he was again a candidate for Supreme Court Judge, and again his chances for the nomination were sacrificed by antagonism in the Philadelphia delegation, one-half of which voted for Judge Henry P. Ross, of Montgomery, who was nominated on the first ballot. Judge Ross received 162 votes, to 71 for Sheppard and 10 for Edward S. Golden, of Armstrong.

For several years after 1878 Mr. Sheppard devoted his energies entirely to the practice of his profession. However, on the 24th of January, 1884, having been unanimously nominated by the Democratic convention as a candidate for the office of City Solicitor, and endorsed by "The Citizens' Committee of One Hundred," he

again entered the political arena. His written acceptance of this nomination, addressed to the committee which acquainted him with the action of the convention, was as follows:

"Gentlemen:—In reply to the communication which you have just handed me, informing me of my nomination as City Solicitor, I may say at once that I accept it. Indeed, it has been tendered so unanimously and spontaneously that to do otherwise would be almost an act of rudeness. Should it be the pleasure of the citizens of Philadelphia to ratify your action, I shall earnestly endeavor to discharge the duties of the position with whatever of ability I may possess, and with a full sense of the double obligation, professional and official, resting on me."

Despite the demands of these many public and professional labors, Mr. Sheppard's liberal taste has led him to devote spare time to the study of languages and literature. In the *Vocabulary of the Philosophical Sciences*, published by the late Rev. Charles P. Krauth, Vice-Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, the author expresses his acknowledgment for friendly and useful suggestions, among other named persons, "to Hon. Furman Sheppard, who, known to the world as one of our most distinguished jurists, is also one of our ripest philosophical scholars and thinkers." By appointment of Gov. Robert E. Pattison, Mr. Sheppard served for a number of years as an Inspector of the Eastern State Peniten-



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JOHN C. DILLON

tiary, at Philadelphia, and his interest in matters of science and literature has led to his election as a Trustee of the Jefferson Medical College at Philadelphia, and to membership in the American Philosophical Society. In the year 1855, for the purpose of introducing the systematic study of the principles of the Constitution of the United States as a branch of instruction in schools, he prepared a work entitled, *The Constitutional Text-Book*, together with an abridgment of the same, entitled, *First Book of the Constitution*. Each of these works was extensively circulated, and largely used as a text-book in schools and colleges. As a student Mr. Sheppard is thorough; his devotion to science, philosophy, language and let-

ters, being the relief he seeks from the labors of his profession. The Greek and Latin classics are open to him because of his thorough and ready knowledge concerning them, and he is quite familiar with the French and German languages and literature.

At the present time Mr. Sheppard holds the office of Solicitor of the Sheriff of the city and county of Philadelphia. He is yet one of the active men of the bar, and with the strength that comes from temperate living, and in the use of that wisdom, culture and legal knowledge which years of study, thought and active experience have given him, he finds his usefulness measured only by the limits of the wide field in which he labors.

JOHN C. BULLITT.

When John C. Bullitt decided in the early days of his brilliant and successful career as jurist, as statesman and as man of practical business affairs, to make his home in Philadelphia, where a field might be found commensurate to his ambition and ability, he brought with him not only a purpose of hard work, but that other and needful incentive—the knowledge that he had chosen aright in the labor of life, and was well equipped for the contest upon which he was to enter. Although as yet a young man, he had “won his spurs” in the courts of Kentucky, and given very visible evidence of the material of which he was made. While he would be the last to base any claim

upon merits other than his own, the fact no less remains that he comes of an honored ancestry that not only goes back through several generations of hardy and high-minded Americans, but into the ranks of those noble people who suffered much and braved much for the sake of conscience—the French Huguenots.

Mr. Bullitt is the son of William C. and Mildred Bullitt, the French blood coming by inheritance of the father; while the mother counted among her ancestors Joshua Fry, who emigrated from England prior to the Revolution, and held a prominent position in the colonial history of Virginia. At the time of his death he was in command

of the colonial troops, and was succeeded by George Washington, who was then a lieutenant-colonel. His paternal grandfather, Alexander S. Bullitt, removed to Kentucky about 1783, and was president of the convention which framed the first constitution of the state; his father, William Christian Bullitt, was a member of the constitutional convention of 1849, which framed the present state constitution, while other members of the family were noted for their distinguished services to the state. He was born in Jefferson county, Kentucky, on February 10, 1824. He received a liberal education in the best private schools, and having matriculated at Centre College, Danville, of his native state, passed through the regular curriculum, and at eighteen years of age, graduated in a most creditable manner, with the honors of his class.

He had already discovered the field best fitted to his talents, and entered upon the study of his chosen profession, taking a three years' course at the University of Lexington. Admitted to the bar at Louisville, in May, he removed to Clarksville, Kentucky, in the September following, and began the practice of his profession. He soon returned to Louisville as a more congenial field, and while there so successfully conducted an important criminal case that he won the approval of the older members of the profession, who prophesied for him a brilliant career. In 1849 he wisely chose Philadelphia as the field of his life labor; and although a stranger and dependent

upon his own exertions altogether—at a time, too, when the city bar contained an unusual number of brilliant and distinguished men—he felt no hesitation but claimed the opportunity which he knew he could adequately maintain. The first important case that came to him showed the confidence which was reposed in him by the leading business men of his own state. He took charge of the assets of the Schuylkill Bank, an institution which had been decreed to the Bank of Kentucky, to make good losses sustained by the latter by reason of the over-issue of their stock by the cashier of the former bank. Although Mr. Bullitt was both young in years and practice, the Kentucky Bank trusted him with the great responsibility; and although thus placed in charge of property amounting to nearly a million dollars, everything was shrewdly handled and the affair wound up in a most admirable manner. The property consisted of bonds, stocks, real estate in Philadelphia, and coal lands in Schuylkill county; and he conducted the sale of the assets with rare judgment, and to the perfect satisfaction of those by whom he had been employed.

One of Mr. Bullitt's early public appearances in Philadelphia placed him in an advantageous light, and gave the people a hint of his power and the versatility of his gifts. Like other young men of his native state he was educated in the political faith of the Whig party, as promulgated by Henry Clay, and to believe that the doctrines he maintained were the only true prin-

ciples for the construction of the Federal Constitution and the administration of public affairs. Early in 1850 a great public meeting was arranged in Philadelphia to endorse the famous Compromise measures which Mr. Clay had proposed, and which the public were discussing with all the heat and excitement of those trying times. The young Kentuckian was invited to speak upon that occasion, and by his eloquence, vehemence and close acquaintance with public questions won the plaudits of all present, and the commendations of those to whom a report of his address went forth.

When the Whig party dissolved, and its members formed along the new lines of division, Mr. Bullitt was led by his view of the duty of a citizen, to take part with the Democrats, and was as courageous in the defense of his political faith under the new condition of affairs as he had been under the old. While opposing secession, he was not in favor of the radical measures of the Republicans, and expressed the opinion that the war of the Rebellion was precipitated more by the blind enthusiasm of contending factions than by any other cause. His great polemic powers, and his courage in the expression and defense of any opinion he held, led him into frequent discussions of the burning questions of the day; and he never wrote to better advantage than in 1862, when he penned his opinion on the *Habeas Corpus* controversy, in answer to the arguments advanced by the late Horace Binney—a paper en-

titled: "A Review of Mr. Binney's Pamphlet, of the Privilege of the Writ of *Habeas Corpus* under the Constitution." This reply was acknowledged by lawyers in general, and by Mr. Binney in particular, as a masterpiece of controversial logic.

Mr. Bullitt's practice and reputation grew apace, and he was soon recognized as one of the leaders of the Pennsylvania bar; and while taking part in public movements he did not do so to the neglect of his profession. His ability to untangle legal skeins, and to advise where sound advice was of more value than litigation, became well known, and he was constantly called upon to exercise these faculties. His peculiar fitness in this direction was exemplified in the case of the Philadelphia & Reading Company which he dragged out of the slough of legal complication. A syndicate of capitalists undertook to reorganize the company, and called in Mr. Bullitt to assist and advise them. Under his careful and prudent advice they exceeded beyond the most sanguine expectations of the stockholders, and placed the company in a more secure position than it had held for years, accomplishing a result unequalled in the history of commercial litigation, negotiating amicably, and without judicial sale or the aid of a bankrupt court, the reorganization of an insolvent corporation owning millions of dollars, represented by various classes of securities. At the time of the great J. Cooke & Co. failure, the opening blow in the

long series of disasters known as the panic of 1873, Mr. Bullitt proved himself one of the few masters of the situation, and one capable of giving such advice as should serve best the interests of all concerned and stay the tide of general ruin. Through his exertions the creditors were induced to have a trustee appointed for the purpose of winding up the establishment. This was particularly difficult of accomplishment, but success crowned the effort at last, and Edwin M. Lewis was made trustee; and the wisdom of Mr. Bullitt's method of settlement was shown in the gradual payment of all the creditors. In the great Whitaker will case—one of the famous causes of the judicial history of Pennsylvania—Mr. Bullitt once more displayed those rare qualities which have made his life one of unusual success. The case grew out of a conspiracy on part of several persons to secure by the forgery of a will the estate of one Robert Whitaker, valued at a million dollars or more. The skill and cunning of these parties, their boldness, and the amount of money involved; made the case one of the famous of the time, standing beside the great Tichborne case in these respects, and to Mr. Bullitt belongs the credit of defeating the conspiracy and of sending the principal conspirators to a deserved punishment.

In the celebrated Gen. Fitz John Porter case, Mr. Bullitt's ability, perseverance and masterly management led to the reversal of the decree against that officer and a juster view of his

rights and injuries by the public at large.

The story of Gen. Porter's long fight for justice is well known, and need not be repeated here. In 1878 Gen. Porter called on Mr. Bullitt and asked his aid, and the latter relinquished a trip to Europe already planned, and so entered into the lists with all his power and skill, that the wrong was at last righted so far as was then possible, and the cloud so long hanging over a brave officer removed. Many other important cases with which Mr. Bullitt has been connected might be cited in evidence of his great practice and success at the bar, but those enumerated must suffice. He has been so busy therein that he has had little time for the holding of office, his service in the state constitutional convention of 1874 comprising his main record in that respect.

But the chief labor in behalf of others which stands to Mr. Bullitt's credit in any summing up of his life work, was in connection with the creation and adoption of the charter under which Philadelphia is now governed—an instrument which constitutes a monument of which any man might be proud, combining as it does the true principles of government with the spirit of practical business sense. Mr. Bullitt was the author of this instrument, and the planning and drafting of the same has been well called the crowning triumph of his life. He was appointed one of a commission to devise a better instrument than that then in use, for the government of cities of the first class—



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J. M. Gazzam

meaning Philadelphia. Two years of labor were given by the commission to the preparation of a plan superior to the one then in use, but no direct result followed, because of the failure of the legislature to act. But Mr. Bullitt was not discouraged, and in 1882, with Henry C. Lea and others, he prepared a measure known thereafter as the "Bullitt bill," entitled, "An act to provide for better government of cities of the first class, for the commonwealth." The city councils of Philadelphia awoke to the importance of the subject, and a special joint committee was appointed to prepare and present an improved method; and the result was the following of Mr. Bullitt's idea,

and in 1885 the legislature passed the bill. The measure went into effect April 1, 1887, and has proved an unqualified success.

Were one to summarize the leading mental characteristics of John C. Bullitt, they would be summed up as a sound judgment, a thorough knowledge of the law, unusual business aptitude, indomitable energy and spotless integrity. With all the elements that insure success and command respect, he has worked his way steadily to a high position at the American bar, and has faithfully and patriotically advanced many of the best public interests of the city of which he has been so long a part.

JOSEPH M. GAZZAM.

In these days, when the principle of evolution is so generally recognized, it is certainly gratifying to be able to claim descent from men and women of the past who have left distinguished "footprints upon the sands of time." Good family is not, of course, everything; yet, when heredity is considered (as it properly should be in analyzing the characteristics of an individual), it then becomes an important factor, inasmuch as mental capacity is subject to the same general laws that govern physical structure. It is true that many of the greatest names on the pages of the world's history have been won by men of obscure parentage, but, upon investigation, it will be found that such have

been endowed by nature with indomitable will power and robust health. Thus, by a combined strength of mind and body, they have been enabled to acquire traits and habits not originally inherent, and such men must necessarily mark an advance in the family to which they belong. There are also many men who have gained distinction in the busy whirl of life without the incalculable aid of health. In such it will usually be found that inherited mental capacity has played a prominent part.

Hon. Joseph M. Gazzam may, with propriety, be classed among the latter. Descended from parents of learning and refinement, it seems but natural that he

should evince a desire for similar characteristics, and, despite almost continuous ill-health, acquire distinction in his professional, political and social career.

He was born in the city of Pittsburgh on December 2, 1842, being the second son and third child of Dr. Edward D. and Elizabeth Antoinette Gazzam. Owing to precarious health, the first fourteen years of his life differed somewhat from the ordinary, insomuch that it was deemed necessary to keep him from the restraints and ardors of regular school life. At home, however, under the careful tuition of his father, he gained the rudimentary elements of education, so that he was not altogether deficient in learning when, at this age, he entered the Western University of Pennsylvania. Here he remained for three and a half years, at the end of which time his health again demanded a temporary suspension of study. An extended tour throughout the Western states greatly benefitted him, however, and so when he returned he felt capable of beginning what afterwards proved an earnest and exhaustive study of the law. In 1861 he entered the office of David Reed, Esq. Three years later he was admitted to the Allegheny county bar. In a short time his practice became so extensive that he was enabled to decline all criminal cases save those of regular clients, this too in the face of the fact that he had made quite a reputation in this branch of the profession, although it had always been distasteful to him. In 1867 he was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in

1869 to the Circuit and District Courts of the United States, and in 1870, on motion of Hon. Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, to the Supreme Court of the United States. In the latter body he gained the distinction of being one of the youngest members ever admitted to practice before it. In 1869 he was elected a director for Pennsylvania in the United States Law Association. In 1872 he entered into a law partnership with Hon. Alexander G. Cochran. The firm of Gazzam & Cochran, which was widely known throughout the United States, was continued until 1879, when, owing to the removal of Mr. Cochran to St. Louis, it was dissolved.

During an extremely busy professional career in Pittsburgh, Mr. Gazzam also found time to take a leading part in numerous social organizations, being president of the Pittsburgh Gymnastic Association and an officer and director in many others.

A fondness for the political arena is one of the characteristics undoubtedly inherited by Mr. Gazzam. In early life it naturally induced him to take an active part in the municipal government of his native city. He was frequently called upon to speak at political meetings in several campaigns, and his decisive and practical expressions favoring many needed reforms soon attracted general attention, and in consequence he became (in 1869) the Republican candidate to represent the first ward in city councils. Being elected he was subsequently enabled to carry many ex-

cellent ideas into effect, and to prove himself a capable and patriotic public official.

The next important step in the career of Mr. Gazzam occurred in 1876, when, by acclamation of the nominating convention, he became the Republican candidate for the forty-third Senatorial District and was elected by a large majority. As a member of the Senate he soon ranked as a man of the highest ability and character. Fair-minded, yet tenacious, pacific yet thoroughly equipped for debate, he formed his opinions on public measures with deliberation and candor, and defended them with courage and skill. He was a zealous worker for Republican principles, though utterly devoid of all that savored of "offensive partisanship," and so wise were his councils regarded that at the expiration of his term he had gained an enviable position in his party.

In 1882 he was prominently mentioned throughout the state as a candidate for the Lieutenant Governorship, but this was at a time, however, when private reasons urged Mr. Gazzam to discourage all efforts made in his behalf by a legion of friends, and so his name was not presented at the convention. The following extract from an editorial in an issue of the *Philadelphia News*, published at the time, will convey an idea of the general esteem in which the political life of the ex-Senator is held:

"There are many names being brought forward for the Lieutenant-Governor-

ship of this state. The Press of this city refers as follows to the subject: 'Various journals of the state have presented the name of ex-Senator Joseph M. Gazzam as candidate for Lieutenant-Governor on the Republican ticket. Mr. Gazzam has made an honorable record in public life. He was the author of the law which prevented a session of the legislature in 1880, thus making a large saving for the state. He is recommended as affable and well versed in parliamentary law and having the qualities to make a strong candidate if nominated.' This complimentary notice is well deserved. Mr. Gazzam stands the peer of any man in the state in purity of character, fullness of culture and clearness of intellect. Having had years of experience in the State Senate, he is fully qualified to perform any service required of the Lieutenant-Governor. And as the term of Governor has been extended to four years, all the uncertainties which attach to a presidential term attaches to it. Therefore, whoever may be selected as candidate for Lieutenant-Governor should be qualified, in the event of need, to act as Governor. This Mr. Gazzam is amply qualified to do. Prudent, cautious, and with good judgment, he would fill the executive chair with ability and success. If the policy this year shall be to make up a ticket so unexceptionable that all Republicans will be glad to support it, no better name can be selected for Lieutenant-Governor. And this is the policy which should obtain.

Locality, this year, should give place to quality in candidates. It is the one thing that is important above all else. And if this policy shall prevail, Mr. Gazzam will be in the front for the Lieutenant-Governorship."

Unfortunately for the Republican party in Pennsylvania, the policy above indicated did not prevail in the convention that followed. A slated ticket was rushed through. This proved so distasteful to the Independent Republicans of the state that they met and put a ticket of their own in the field. The outcome of the affair was, of course, the election of the regular Democratic nominees.

The marriage of Mr. Gazzam occurred in 1878, his bride being Miss Mary Anna, only child of John C. Reading, one of the most prominent and successful business men of Pennsylvania, and a great grandson of Hon. John Reading, a distinguished colonial governor of New Jersey.

Some time after his marriage Mr. Gazzam removed to Philadelphia and opened a law office, but, owing to the many duties devolving upon him through the numerous enterprises he is now connected with, he has been compelled to gradually relinquish much of his practice.

He was one of the projectors (in 1882) of the Beech Creek, Clearfield & Southwestern Railroad (now known as the Beech Creek), which begins at Jersey Shore and has its terminus in the thriving borough of Gazzam. Besides being a director in this company, he is president of the Chautauqua Lake Railroad Company, of the Caledonia Coal Company, and of the Williamsport Gas Company; vice-president of the Bloomington Coal and Coke Company, and of the Dent's Run Coal Company; also a director in the Northumberland Improvement Company, the United Security Life Insurance and Trust Company and the Philadelphia Finance Company, besides holding similar positions in a large number of others.

Despite these great business interests Mr. Gazzam still finds time to devote to literary and other pursuits. He is a life member of the Pennsylvania Historical Society; the Fairmount Park Art Association and the Horticultural Society, a governor in the Pennsylvania Club, a member of the Union League, Union Republican Club, the Medical Jurisprudence Society, the Manhattan Athletic Club of New York, and is at present a member-at-large of the Republican State Central Committee.

A. B. MACKENZIE.

THOMAS COCHRAN.

That well-known financier and director of public affairs, Thomas Cochran, of Philadelphia, who has been rendered especially conspicuous by reason of his

achievement in revising the tax system of the city, his splendid executive labors in connection with the organization of the Centennial Exposition, and more



Thomas C. ...

recently by his administration of the affairs of the great financial institution known as the Guarantee Trust and Safe Deposit Company, is a native Pennsylvanian, long resident in the metropolis of the state.

He was born near Mercersburg, Franklin county, April 12, 1832, and is the son of Robert B. and Mary (Allison) Cochran, both of Scotch-Irish descent. His father died when he was little more than an infant and the widowed mother and her little family removed to Harrisburg and later to Philadelphia. In these two places our subject received his schooling and in the latter studied law. He was admitted to the Philadelphia Bar December 2, 1854, opened an office, and bade fair to attain eminence in his profession, and so, doubtless, he would, had not his tastes and his personal popularity combined to lead him into the more public walks of life. He developed something of an aptitude for politics, and being recognized as an available candidate was placed upon the ticket and elected to the General Assembly of Pennsylvania in October, 1861, from what was then the Seventh Legislative District of Philadelphia, and so well was his course in that body approved that he was maintained as a member of it, by successive elections, each time by an increased majority, until 1865. He thus served throughout the momentous period of the civil war when the Assembly contained an unusual number of able members and when its duties were more responsible than ever before or

since. He was the peer of any of his colleagues in practical legislation upon the vital questions of this critical time, and his influence was unflaggingly devoted to securing the utmost measure of state aid for the Union cause and towards the abolition of slavery. He was one of the most active members of the House of Representatives, served upon nearly all of its important committees during his several terms of office, and in the last was chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means. The organization throughout the commonwealth, of schools for the orphans of Union soldiers, was a subject much discussed towards the close of Mr. Cochran's career, and it is fair to say that without his counsel—in the absence of the plan he projected—those admirable institutions would never have existed in the state. Various measures had been introduced in the House looking towards their establishment, but owing to the wide variance of opinion as to the minutiae of their organization, the defeat of the measure was certain. It was then that, in lieu of the complicated and in many respects ultra schedule of provisions, which was objectionable to many, Mr. Cochran presented in the form of a joint resolution, a simple substitute, which however, was thorough enough to be effective in meeting all requirements. This commended itself to the great majority of the legislators, was adopted and became the fundamental law on which the schools were brought into being and maintained.

A revolution in the matter of taxation by which the city of Philadelphia was extricated from a grave peril was brought about largely through Mr. Cochran's instrumentality during the immediate post-war period and after he had ceased to be a member of the Assembly, and in this service to his fellow citizens it is difficult to overestimate the value of his acumen and alert action. The large expenditures entailed by the war and the restricted revenue from taxation, mainly due to inequality and inadequacy of assessment, had brought the city to the verge of financial embarrassment, and as a means of bringing about a more healthful condition a Board of Revision of Taxes was created by act of the Assembly. To this board, invested with powers to assess and adjust the valuation of property and to control the details looking toward an equitable basis of taxation, Mr. Cochran was appointed with two associates by the Court. He was the active spirit of the body, for a long time its chairman, and throughout virtually its leader. Through the labors of this board the entire tax system of the city was remodeled and the valuation of property returned at three times the amount it had formerly stood at. This involved an immense amount of work extending over a number of years, and the duties were such as to demand the full time and undivided attention of the members, and also to include much that was delicate and disagreeable, but there was no shrinking from responsibility, the work being per-

formed, without fear or favor, most thoroughly. The means were heroic, but the city by thus obtaining its fair tax based upon a properly adjusted value was lifted from its financial difficulties. In 1876 when Mr. Cochran resigned from his office, he left to the city a tax system that competent authorities upon economics have pronounced equal if not superior to that of any other municipality in the land. The long continued, thorough work gave him an intimate knowledge of the subject, and the treatises upon "Methods of Valuation" and "Local Taxation" which Mr. Cochran wrote as the results of his experience, have attracted much attention and been generally accorded an authoritative position in that department of social science. They are published as standard papers upon the subject, and are much quoted by investigators of the subject elsewhere.

Another important work in which Mr. Cochran's energies had exercise for the public good was the United States Centennial Exhibition, held at Philadelphia, in 1876. He was one of the organizers and chief directors of this huge undertaking and served actively and unremittingly throughout the whole period of its inception and execution. At the very first meeting held by the stockholders of the Exhibition to begin preparations for the observance of the completion of the nation's first century, he was elected a member of the Board of Finance and being yearly re-elected served in that capacity until the completion of the

work and the dissolution of the board, holding during its existence the position of Vice-President and being also chairman of the Committee on Grounds, Plans and Buildings. During the three years prior to the opening of the gigantic exhibition he gave this business his entire time, being daily at the office and upon the grounds, and directing the work personally. The arrangement and supervision of the grounds, the location of the buildings, the plans for the supply of water, of gas, etc., together with the specifications and contracts for the buildings, were all entrusted to him, and credit for the well-known convenience of arrangement, compactness of grouping, adequacy, tastefulness, and general completeness of the exhibition structures belongs to him. The work was a colossal one, beset with many difficulties, and the time brief, for its performance, yet all was in readiness at the time set for the opening of the exhibition, and the feat performed was certainly highly creditable to the executive ability of the chief manager. Since the death of the well-known John Welsh, Mr. Cochran has held the office of President of the Exposition Board of Finance. It may be remarked here that the general recognition of his effective management of the preparations for the National Centennial Exhibition has led to his frequent selection for somewhat similar work. During the Constitutional Centennial in Philadelphia, in September, 1887, he was chairman of the Citizens' Committee; he was one of the Vice-

Presidents of the American Exhibition in London, the same year, and in the summer of 1888 he was appointed by Gov. Beaver one of the Pennsylvania Commissioners to the Ohio Valley centennial celebration at Cincinnati.

In 1874 Mr. Cochran was appointed, under an act of Congress, one of the commissioners to dispose of the old navy yard at Philadelphia, owned by the government, his associates being Secretary Robeson of the navy, Secretary Bristow of the treasury department, and Gen. G. A. Humphreys, chief engineer of the army, and it was he who attended to all of the details of the business and effected the sale of the property to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company for a round million of dollars. He exerted in this transaction only that financial skill which he is very generally known to possess by those who have any knowledge whatever of his character, and which has recommended him to many financiering institutions.

For a dozen years past, however, his energy and executive ability have been mainly devoted to one sterling and strong Philadelphia establishment, the Guarantee Trust and Safe Deposit Company, of which he was elected the president in 1876, beginning his duties at the opening of the following year. Under his judicious management, its stock has been increased several-fold in value, and the surplus of the institution has been raised to a million of dollars.

Besides his responsibility as the head of this large concern, Mr. Cochran has other interests, and is frequently called

upon to aid by his counsel, various projects. In 1877 he was selected by councils as the citizens' representative on the Sinking Fund Commission of Philadelphia, which controls the management of all the city loans. He served on the Executive Committee of the Reorganization Trustees of the Reading Railroad, and was one of the few of that body who, when their labors, covering a period of a year and a half, were concluded, was retained as one of the managers of the rehabilitated company. He is a director of the North Penn Railroad and of the Philadelphia Saving Fund, and member of the executive committee of the Board of Trade; while of the Union League Club, with which he has long officiated politically and socially, he is a director and also treasurer. In short his associations of business and other nature are many and exceedingly varied, and his sphere of action and usefulness a broad one, as

befits his energy and capability. He takes a deep interest in the history of his city and state, and in both he has occupied an honorable position and accomplished much of good. He is honored alike for the worth of his private character and his public services, and regarded as a man of broadly catholic views, strong convictions, and of unswerving integrity of purpose in whatever he undertakes.

Mr. Cochran was married September 7, 1857, to Kate C., daughter of the late Hon. John H. Campbell, a prominent member of the Philadelphia bar, who was a member of Congress during the war of Mexico, and who died January 19, 1868. They have one son, William Allison Cochran, who is financial manager of the stock brokerage house of L. H. Taylor & Co., Philadelphia, and one of the best known of the city's younger class of commercial leaders.

THE AMERICAN RAILROAD: ITS INCEPTION, EVOLUTION AND RESULTS.

XV.

ON THE THRESHOLD OF 1840; AND BEYOND.

THE extended review of the American railroad systems as already completed, under process of construction, or merely projected, comprised in the two preceding chapters, has led us somewhat from the main thread of narration; but has certainly been no waste of time or space, as illustrating, as no other course could, the tremendous expansion of hope, and the unlimited investment of

energy, courage and capital, during the decade of which 1840 was the close. Before resuming our general narration with the opening of a decade that was prolific in results, if not so filled with surprises and the inception of new ventures as the one that preceded it, a glance may be taken at several incidents and features of railroad history that ought not to be altogether omitted.

Among these may be noted the argument of one ingenious writer* who was determined that not only roads for locomotive-power but for man power should be constructed. "Railroads will make," he earnestly declares, "in some parts of the world as great a change in the existing state of society, as good common roads have helped to make in past centuries. They will make intercourse so easy with places two thousand miles distant, that the people of the two places will have literary, religious, social and commercial connections with each other, too close and valuable to allow of being interrupted by war, without extreme necessity.

"But not only," he continues, "may railroads be viewed as important, by binding together in friendship different countries, or remote sections of the same country; the system may be applied to the accommodation of the people scattered over the whole surface of our soil in the whole business of social life. When it is considered that as easily as a man can wheel on a common road, by his own labor, a single bushel of corn, he could move on a railroad, with the same rapidity, a load of more than twelve hundred pounds, it will appear probable that rail-paths for short distances, to main railroads, will be formed for the use of men. This will be further apparent from the fact that the same power which a man exerts in going up stairs, twenty feet high,

would propel him forward on a level rail-path nearly a mile; and if his carriage in which he moved himself weighed five hundred pounds, the additional power necessary to move this, would be only that exerted by a man in raising two pounds, twenty feet high, or as easily as a man can ascend a stairs twenty feet, carrying with him two pounds weight, he could propel himself in a car weighing five hundred pounds very nearly a mile. There would be a greater amount of business done over the country but for the distance of three, five, eight and ten miles, at which people are from the places where they might do their business."

After a serious description of how these foot railroads must be built, the writer concludes as follows: "They must be free, and therefore be made by public corporations, towns, cities, counties or states. If these do not choose to make them, private corporations will make them for the revenue which they will see a fair prospect of deriving from them. When they have thus succeeded in the most promising routes, other routes will be commenced, and the system will extend. Such a system, if successful, or if only partially practicable, would greatly augment the business and revenue of the main railroads. They would be to these roads like the rills and brooks and smaller rivers to a noble flood that still swells as it receives one tributary after another, and pours its full tide into the ocean, by some great city. This, though it may be rich and powerful and proud, owes all its

*"Publicola," in the American Railroad Journal, February 6, 1836, p. 66.

commerce to the labors of farmers and mechanics, scattered widely, whose productions collected in small, and then in larger and larger quantities, till they swell to the mass of goods that fill a great centre of trade."

The Bolton, England, *Chronicle*, in 1836, relates the following, under the heading "Railway Phenomenon"—which is reproduced as showing how each small event in connection with the new lines of travel, was dwelt upon as something new and strange: "On Monday last a gentleman of this town, who had taken his place in the hindmost carriage of one of the railway trains from Bolton to Kenyon, witnessed the following singular occurrence. He was placed with his back to the engine and had a clear view of the preceding line of railway. The train was going down the inclined plane from Baglane to Leigh, at the apparent rate of from thirty to forty miles per hour. A man who was standing on the side of the railway threw a stone about the size of a hen's egg in a horizontal direction, and with considerable violence, at the train. The stone was distinctly seen by the gentleman in its progress to the carriage in which he was seated, and having obtained its maximum of velocity, it appeared, like Mahomet's coffin, to be suspended in the air for a few seconds, within a foot of the gentleman's head. He seized hold of it, and he describes the sensation which he felt in doing so as somewhat similar to that which would be felt in grasping a stone in a state of rest, suspended by a thread."

THE WAR ARGUMENT AGAIN.

The arguments given in an earlier chapter in favor of railroads as means of defense in case of war, were supplemented by an extended discussion in the *Boston Journal* in the spring of 1838, seeking to prove that the Western Railroad of Massachusetts, with its various branches, would, in case of war, "enable us to concentrate, as if by enchantment, the whole force of the state, and of the neighboring states, and even the force of distant states, upon any part of the territory of Massachusetts. In connection with a steam battery playing inside of Cape Cod, and another steam battery in Narragansett Bay, the waters of Massachusetts and the lands of Massachusetts will then present the defeat of an enemy as the inevitable result of any attack. This will be so clear to the eye of any military or naval commander as to amount to an absolute order by such a commander, to himself, not to attack a people thus made impregnable by the mighty power of steam to the mighty power of the mind.

"In time of profound peace it is the part of wisdom to place the state in readiness to disarm war of its power of mischief. It is never worth while to lull ourselves into a false security, more especially while the sceptre of the most formidable naval power is held by a woman, who, in the freaks of love may bestow her affections upon some ambitious Cæsar, or on some mischievous man or irresponsible favorite. History is full of warnings to this purpose, and we have, moreover, on our very frontiers

both in Texas and the Canadas, a magazine of powder to which the indiscretion of our own citizens may yet apply the match at any moment."

The editor then appeals to the financial side of the American mind as he had already to the patriotic. "During the war of 1812," he continues, "cotton was six cents per pound in New Orleans, and forty cents in Massachusetts. Louisiana sugar was worth three cents in New Orleans and thirty cents in Boston. Flour, then, worth \$2 a barrel in the Western country did sell for \$16 in Massachusetts. Make the Western railroad, and one and two cents per pound for the expense of transportation will give you the command of all the products of the West and of the Southwest, and the enjoyment of them just as much in time of war as if it were a time of profound peace, and the 70,000,000 annual amount of the manufactures of this state will find in the great West even a better market than in time of uninterrupted peace; and our bay fisheries will still enable us (although we may be at war) to supply upwards of 6,000,000 of people with fresh and salted and pickled fish to the amount of many millions of dollars. During the war of 1812 our whole seacoast was held in continual terror. Adopt the present plan, and the security of Massachusetts will be complete, without any cost of blood or treasury."

GROWTH IN PASSAGE.

There is food for thought in the Irish Railway Report in December, 1838: "On the Stockton and Darlington

line the passenger traffic, prior to the establishment of the railway, amounted to only 4,000 persons in the year; it now exceeds 16,000. On the Bolton line the average weekly number of passengers is 2,500, whereas the number of coach journeys, out and in per week, which the railway has superseded, amounted only to 28, carrying perhaps on a weekly average about 280 or 300 persons. On the Newcastle and Carlisle road, prior to the railway, the number of persons the public coaches were licensed to carry in a week was 348, or both ways 696; now the average daily numbers of passengers by the railway for the whole length, 56½ miles, is 288 or 1,596 in the week. The number of passengers on the Dundee and Newlyle line exceeds at this time 50,000 annually; the estimated number of persons who performed the same journey previous to the opening of the railway between Liverpool and Manchester, were about 400 passengers per day, or 146,000 a year, travelling between those places by coaches; whereas the present number, by railway alone, exceeds 500,000. In foreign countries the results arising from the same causes are equally striking. The number of persons who usually passed by the road between Brussels and Antwerp was 75,000 in the year; but since the railroad has been opened from the former place to Malines it has increased to 500,000; and since it was carried all through to Antwerp the number has exceeded a million. The opening branch from Malines to Termonde ap-

pears to have added 200,000 to the latter number, so that the passenger traffic of that railroad superseding a road traffic of only 75,000 persons, now amounts to 1,200,000. It is remarkable that on this, as on most other railroads, the greater number of passengers are those who travel short distances being as two to one compared with those who go the whole distance. This appears from a statement read by Mr. Loch before the Statistical Society of Manchester, showing that between April 30 and August 15, 1836, 122,417 persons travelled the whole distance, and 244,834 short distances, chiefly to and from Malines. He further states that nearly one-third of the whole revenue is derived to and from Malines, and paying a fare of about 54 centimes or 6d. sterling. On the same authority we learn another fact, most deserving of attention in calculating the probable success of a railroad in such a country as Ireland, viz., that nearly three-fifths of the whole revenue of the company are derived from passengers of the lower class, paying a very low fare."

Another indication of a similar character is found in the *Baltimore Chronicle*, of August, 1839: "The almost universal introduction of railroads has caused an immense increase in the consumption of iron. In Scotland there are now fifty-five furnaces, seven building and twenty-seven projected. In South Wales there are one hundred and twenty-nine furnaces, thirty building and nine are contemplated. In 1740 the annual produce of iron in the United Kingdom

was but 17,450 tons; within five years the annual produce of Scotland and South Wales will, it is computed, exceed 1,400,000 tons. The ratio of increase in the manufacture of iron in this country is supposed to exceed even this."

NEW YORK'S EARLY ATTITUDE.

It is not too late to glance at the early steps taken in New York and Massachusetts for the encouragement of railroads, the more especially as so much has been already furnished as to Maryland, Pennsylvania, and other states to the south. A report of exceeding interest as illustrating the course of New York was made to the state legislature in the early part of 1832,* by a committee to whom had been referred such portion of the Governor's message as related to railroads. The opening sentences indicate the excitement that then prevailed all through the country, and the enthusiasm with which the people were prepared to take hold of any railroad project that was opened before them: "Perhaps no subject since the foundation of this government, has engrossed the public mind to so great an extent as the one under consideration; and as a necessary consequence, the halls of the legislature are crowded with applicants, seeking permission from the sovereignty of the state, for liberty to reach the rich and honorable reward which their imaginations may picture as the consequence of success. Excitements of the character which at

*For this report in full, See *Railroad Journal*, February 18, 1832, pp. 114-117.

present pervade the public mind, must arise from one or two causes. Either from a settled condition that the object to be obtained will be a source of profit to the stockholders and of the public, or from a desire to throw before the public the means by which speculation may be promoted, and the few enrich themselves at the expense of the many—to promote the former is the province of the legislature, to discourage the latter is their duty.”

The committee follow with a carefully prepared and exhaustive review of the railroad history up to that date, and weigh all the questions that must of necessity influence their opinions. All their conclusions and recommendations were of the most guarded character. “The committee,” they explained, “do not wish to be understood as having formed a definite opinion on the eventual success of railroads, to the extent that is imagined by many who are, or wish to be, engaged in constructing them. They are aware, from frequent experience, how easily new schemes and discoveries are apt to mislead the imagination, either from their novelty or some other cause. Before they would recommend a general system, founded on the principle advocated by friends of railroad transportation, their duty and inclination demand of them to advise necessary, to acquire the most full and satisfactory information relating thereto; and that such enterprise as may be deemed to encourage be prosecuted with great caution, lest the good which might eventually be pro-

duced be nipped in the bud, and the fruit which should be the reward of the enterprising laborer, be the harvest of the subsequent holder of the stock.”

“On looking over the map of this state,” the committee add at a later point in their report, “your committee have been forcibly impressed with the importance of opening to the southern tier of counties, an easy and ready communication with the Hudson. It will be perceived, that no less than three considerable rivers, the Delaware, the Susquehanna and the Alleghany, take their rise within our borders, and present a natural, if not a convenient channel for the products of more than one-fourth of the state. Through the means of this communication with the towns of other states, a valuable and important trade is kept up, notwithstanding the imminent hazards they have to encounter. Nor is this all—by opening a communication direct and easy with the border counties, we shall draw from the state of Pennsylvania all the trade which now can only seek a market at the mouth of her rivers, when the streams are swollen by the floods of the spring and fall. And even beyond this, we can scarcely restrain ourselves from anticipating. Many men of science and experience have not only considered this route practicable to the head waters of the Alleghany, but have predicted, that the time is not distant when a communication would be opened through this section with the great west.”

The main recommendations of the

committee, lay in the following clause: "The course which presents itself forcibly to your committee as best suited to the interest of this great state, and which will yield the greatest amount of good, is granting charters to companies to construct improvements, placing restrictions, and reserving rights and emoluments in some and giving liberal pecuniary aid in others. In other words, we would recommend that the state become a stockholder in all leading routes, not so much for the gain which may be made to the revenue, as for the equalization of benefits. The revenue obtained from a successful and profitable enterprise, can thus be paid over to one more doubtful and discouraging, and while the state, will thus be distributing justice to every section, opening avenues and developing resources of sequestered regions which otherwise would never experience the benefits of an easy access to market, and which will never, from any other source, or in any other way, feel the effect of the beneficent policy of the state; it will also open a more sure and extended field of equalized revenue, operate as a corrective principle, on the various companies thus to be chartered, and by having a voice, and a representation in every measure, protect the public interests and privileges against injury or abuse."

THE MOVEMENTS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

As has been already shown, Massachusetts had the honor of possessing the first railroad ever built or operated in America, in the shape of the old

Quincy, about which not a little has been herein said. The state as such took early steps toward railroad development, and it seems proper at this point to pay some attention thereto. At the session of the state legislature in 1826 the petitions of Thomas H. Perkins, A. J. Allen and others, were presented, asking for surveys for a railway from Boston to the Hudson river, and in response thereto the committee on roads and canals was "instructed to inquire whether any practicable and useful improvements have been made in the constructions of railways and steam carriages used thereon, so as to admit of their being successfully introduced into this commonwealth; and if so, whether it is expedient to extend thereto the aid and encouragement of this legislature."

In pursuance thereof, the committee reported a resolution authorizing the Governor to appoint three commissioners and an engineer, on the subject of railways. The resolution passed the Senate, but was indefinitely postponed in the House. At the opening of the June session, in the same year, Gov. Lincoln, in referring to works for promoting inter-communications between remote points and the state capital, declared that "it seems to be misunderstood by some, that a precise and *exclusive* character of improvement is contemplated; but that nothing was further from the intention of the executive. . . . Canals and railroads have each their respective advocates, and the election, in most cases, must be decided entirely by a regard to the surface of the

earth, over which their construction is proposed. . . . The more extended and beneficial influences of canals in the general improvement of the country, seem to me too important and decisive to be lightly regarded. A railroad is a mere passage way for travel and transportation. It has no other connection, or dependence, than upon inter-communication. All the favorable differences in its favor, may be counter-balanced, by the greater convenience of passing on canals, and the superior adaptation of boats to cars, for the accommodation of the infinite variety in weight and bulk." He makes haste to add that he does not wish to be understood as intending any discouragement to the construction of railways wherever situation and character of business warrant their adoption.

A select committee was appointed by the House at the same session "to consider the practicability and expediency of constructing a railway from Boston, on the most eligible route, to the western line of the county of Berkshire, in order that if leave can be obtained from the government of New York, it may be extended to the Hudson river, at or near Albany; and that the committee be instructed to report information and estimates of expense as they deem proper." "This," declares one authority, * "is believed to be the first concerted movement having in view the construction of a railroad through the

state. Little was known of the construction or usefulness of that mode of inter-communication, and all the inquiries and calculations were directed to the use of *horse power* only."†

Circulars were at once sent throughout the state, requesting information of any kind that would throw light upon the great subject in hand. A report was made in January, 1827. It is an intelligent and interesting document, whether perused then or now, showing clearly some of the views in which the railroad was then held. Speaking of the uneven features of the country to be passed, the report declared that "the numerous railways for several years in successful operation in the hilly and mountainous districts in Wales, prove their fitness to an uneven and undulating country." "Several modes of constructing single and double railways, in a rude and imperfect form, are given, with provision for a horse path, and paths for attendants on each side of the

† In a note on page 147, of the work above referred to, Mr. Bliss furnishes the following interesting anecdote: "Early in July, 1826, and a few days after the appointment of Dr. Philips' committee, some members of the legislature attended the funeral of President John Adams at Quincy, and there visited the Quincy railway. Mr. Webster being of the party Dr. Philips had some conversation with him on the subject of the *new proposition*, then much ridiculed. Mr. Webster, after making some inquiries, said, 'Well, it certainly is a subject for very grave consideration, whether roads for general travel cannot be made as you propose.' This remark, as Dr. Philips says, in a recent letter, gave him great encouragement and satisfaction."

* 'Historical Memoir of the Western Railroad.' By George Bliss, Springfield, Mass., 1863, page 7.

road. After giving the power of a horse to draw eight tons on a grade of eighty-eight feet per mile, they add that 'the locomotive engine, which operates by steam, is used upon rail-ways to a great advantage. But in England, its powers are confined to an elevation not exceeding twenty-seven and one-half feet to the mile. An engine of two eight-inch cylinders, weighing about five tons, will move forty tons at the rate of nine or ten miles an hour, and is said to have moved ninety tons at forty miles an hour.'"

It was clearly the opinion of the committee, that a railroad was practicable from Boston to the Hudson river, at or near Albany, although they declined to designate any special route as the most eligible. They add, however, that a survey has been made upon one route at least from Connecticut river to the Hudson, by an intelligent and enterprising citizen of Berkshire (Theodore Sedgwick), and by him a railway has been pronounced not only practicable but highly expedient. They also add that a railroad would be far more useful to the public than a canal.

As a result of all this preparation, three commissioners were appointed on February 22, 1827, to constitute a board of internal improvements, for the examination of routes for canals and railroads, and prepare proper surveys and estimates. On March 2 they were instructed to survey a route for a railway from Boston to the Rhode Island line, etc. With the exception of a re-

port on the subject of a canal from Warren (then Western) to the Connecticut state line, nothing came of the appointment of this committee. In the June session of the same year two commissioners and an engineer were chosen to prepare the necessary survey, plans, and estimates for a railway on the best practicable route from Boston to the line of New York, and thence, if the consent of New York should be obtained, to the Hudson river at or near Albany. Ten thousand dollars were appropriated for this work. Nahum Mitchell, of Boston, and Samuel M. McKay, of Pittsfield, were appointed commissioners, and James F. Baldwin as engineer. Explorations were immediately commenced and finished along two routes—the southern, through Framingham, Springfield, etc., to the state line at Canaan, and thence through Chatham and Kinderhook to the Hudson, at Albany; and the northern via Troy, Hoosac, etc., to the Connecticut river at Northampton, and thence by Belchertown, Rutland, Watertown, etc., to Boston. Extended surveys were made along the southern route. In their report of these operations to the legislature, the commissioners declared that their explorations and surveys had been conducted solely with reference to the use of animal power as "better adapted to the transportation of that endless variety of loading which a dense and industrious population requires." They also added a series of computations which led them to the conclusion that the ordinary measure of horse

power was eight to ten tons for one horse, and this was preferable to locomotive power by steam. The commissioners urge the construction of a road between the two great points enumerated, and in proof of the value of such investment present a variety of statistics of business, adding that the trade of the five western counties of their state had been transferred to New York, and that the road would form a direct communication with the extensive internal improvements of the state of New York.

These recommendations and facts were committed to the legislative committee on roads and railways, who, on February 15, 1828, declared that "after mature examinations of the facts and statements contained in said report," they had come to the conclusion "that the railroad, as applicable to Massachusetts, and to New England generally, has, since the making of said report, assumed a new and greater importance; that it will prove a new creation of wealth, power, and prosperity to the state. . . . That a railroad can be constructed at far less expense than a canal, and be productive of still greater advantages."

The state moved forward rapidly, in the new road of progress, and under provisions of a law passed on March 11, 1828, nine persons were chosen members of a board of directors of internal improvements, whose duties were to oversee surveys, select routes, etc., in connection with the measures in contemplation.

The month following, the active co-

operation of New York was made secure, by the passage by the legislature of that state, of an act "to facilitate the construction of a railroad from the city of Boston to the Hudson river," and pledging that "if the state of Massachusetts shall construct a railroad from Boston to the boundary of this state, either directly, or through the medium of an incorporated company, the legislature of this state will construct it from thence to the Hudson river, or grant to the state of Massachusetts, or some authorized company the right of so doing, and taking tolls thereon, under proper restrictions as to jurisdiction."

The year 1828 was a busy one on part of the commissioners of both states, public attention being directed with new interest to the great question that in that period was so profoundly agitating America. The reports of these commissioners were made to the respective legislatures early in 1829. That of New York* stated that the routes had been minutely surveyed—one from Troy through Pownal to Adams, and one from Albany and Hudson to West Stockbridge—the lines from Albany and Hudson to unite at Chatham. That of Massachusetts premised its discussions with the declaration the first object was to select "a route from Boston to the Hudson river, which would, at the least cost, afford the shortest and easiest communication between the extreme points, and also the greatest accommodation to the inhabitants of

* *Journal of the Senate of New York*, 52nd session, page 235.

the intermediate country." To this end, an examination was made of all the routes which appeared to secure these objects, and three were chosen for the test of actual surveys. The routes, and their respective merits were discussed, but the statements or arguments of the commissioners are not necessary here. It was their opinion that when the road was constructed there should be a double railway, with a flat iron rail, laid upon a longitudinal rail of granite, the rails of each track to be five feet apart, with the space between them graded for a horse path, the elevation in no case to exceed eighty feet per mile. In most cases only one horse would be needed, with two upon the higher grades; while an alternative suggestion for these higher grades was the introduction of stationery machinery on inclined planes, rising at an angle of five or six degrees, and operated by water or horse power. With horses they believed that the journey might be easily accomplished in four days. "The board estimate," declares one synopsis of this report, "the cost per ton of heavy articles, paying the lowest rate of freight, at \$1.97, exclusive of toll to be paid for the use of the road. As to the toll to be paid, they say, the rates by water between Boston and Albany, were from three to four dollars per ton, which would be per barrel of flour, adding insurance, twenty-eight to thirty cents—adding one dollar per ton for tolls to the \$1.97 gives \$2.97 per ton, or equal to twenty-six to thirty per barrel of flour,—that other articles,

more costly, would pay higher freight and tolls by railroads. Articles to or from intermediate places could bear a much higher rate of toll, 'because the accommodation is greater.' That 'the transportation from Springfield to Boston by water, is greater than from Albany to Boston; and all articles from Connecticut river to Boston may pay double the toll above mentioned, by rail, and the cost would be less than the lowest rate by water.' These estimates are for a road without stationary power. The whole plan is upon the presumption that the proprietors of the road, whether the state or a company, provide only the facilities *for its use by carriers of private associations, who were to pay tolls therefor.*" Touching the carrying of passengers, the board declare that "an active horse may travel twelve or thirteen miles a day, at nine miles an hour, including stops, and draw a weight of two and a half tons; or a carriage with twenty passengers with their baggage, at a cost, for twenty-two horses, two men and one carriage, at \$21, for twenty passengers,—each \$1.05, add \$2 for tolls,—making \$3.05 from Boston to Albany in twenty-two hours."

The strong recommendations of the report, backed as they were by endorsement of the executive, failed of their effect in the manner contemplated, as the state law-makers took no steps to carry the idea into effect as a public enterprise. Because of this apathy on part of the legislature, private capital was interested, and in 1830 and 1831 petitions were presented from various

quarters, in response to which the charters were granted for the incorporation of the various companies by which the first general railroads of the state were projected and built. The enumeration of the roads constructed or projected prior to the year 1840, has been already given, in the review that was concluded in the preceding chapter.

THE FAMOUS STILT RAILROAD.

In a preceding chapter some account was given of the famous pioneer line upon stilts,—the Ohio Railroad Company's structure that was partially constructed between Cleveland, Ohio, and Toledo, in the same state; commenced in 1836 and finally abandoned in 1843. A more detailed description of that unique endeavôr has been furnished* by the engineer in charge, John H. Sargent, which possesses an especial value from its minuteness of description, and the opportunity allowed Mr. Sargent to personally know whereof he affirms. "The subscribers to this company," we are first told, "transferred their farms, town lots and other property (money they had none) to the company in payment of stock. Upon this property money was raised and work in earnest was begun. Finally estimates were fixed up so that the company drew some \$250,000 in state bonds. The company had banking privileges, and Ohio Railroad bills were as plenty as Canada soldiers

in June. Then went up the cry of 'plunder,' and the legislature repealed the law, and up went the company, the engineers were paid off in old pile drivers, and the road slept the sleep of the just for ten years. The wise ones said this was to be expected, for it was 'an insult to Almighty to build a railroad along Lake Erie.'

"I will give a brief description of the mode of construction in those primitive days: The road was laid through a very wooden country. West of Sandusky some fifty miles was through an almost unbroken forest plain of heavy timber. Timber was of little worth, so the grade was made of timber, that is, the road was built upon piles, even through the few shallow cuttings. The gauge was six feet and the piles were driven five feet apart longitudinally. The drivers were double, with two hammers and two pairs of leader. The rails were fastened to the bottom of the sills to run on iron rollers placed on top of the piles. A circular saw was hung on a sway bar between the leaders at grade. The piles were delivered along the line on either hand with the butts towards the machine. By means of friction winches and long ropes passing over the head of the leaders they were snatched up and brought to their places with great promptness and precision. When the piles were driven the saw was brought to grade in this wise: The engineers had provided a set of two grade pegs every fifty feet. On two sets of these were placed straight-edges, with another on

* In 'Journal of the Association of Engineering Societies,' New York, September 1887, page 355.

the saw. By means of screws the sway bar was raised or lowered to bring the top of these straight-edges into the same plane. Then the saw was set in motion and swung right and left, cutting off the piles to grade. The wheels or rollers were placed upon them; a drag rope on each side was hooked to the pile and carried through a sheave at the rear and brought forward to the winch.

“The engineers had also provided centre stakes ahead and a vertical line in the head of the machine. By means of the two drag ropes, the great machine was easily kept to line. Next followed the tie fitters. The ties, generally of white oak, were made in sectors, split from trees some two feet in diameter and must have a dressed face on the bark side of eight inches; this tie was fitted to the top of the pile, its centre being brought to line. The engineer then pricked off the grade on every fourth tie so as to leave about four inches neck above the top of the pile; wedge shaped gains were then sawed to receive the wooden rails, about nine inches wide. These gains were nicely adzed out to grade with the help of sixteen foot straight edges; next a two-inch auger hole was bored through the tie and twelve inches into the pile; then four inches of salt was poured into the hole and a red cedar pin was driven hard upon it. Perhaps the reason why these piles, many of them, after forty years' exposure, are still standing, is that this salt has not wholly lost its savor. The piles had to be not less than ten inches in diameter at the

small end. Some of them were split piles, four being made from one cut; this was permitted only where the grade was low. And now the saw-mill gets in its work. These mills were models of simplicity and efficiency. The cylinder was inverted over the saw with the piston attached direct to the muley saw. The rails were eight by nine, and I have known as many as twenty of these rails to be made from one cut. These were sized and keyed into the gains, the nine inches vertical. The saw logs were gathered in at convenient points along the track; always enough to make rails sufficient to reach to the next station ahead. The mill being on wheels was then hauled forward to the next station by oxen. I fear I shall weary you by these particulars, but it is a picture of the past that may never be seen again. The design was to place maple ribbons on tops of these rails, upon which iron bars, seven-eighths inch thick, were to be spiked, and to fill in with earth before this superstructure decayed; this was afterward done on the Sandusky & Mansfield, now Baltimore & Ohio, Lake Division.

“I cannot leave the description of the Ohio Railroad without some reference to its Chief Engineer, Cyrus Williams. If not a self-made man, he was a ready-made man. The first I knew of him he was a barn builder in central New York. While at this calling he stuck an adze into his knee; when the wound healed, he found himself a cripple, for he could not straighten his leg. All undaunted he bought a kit of

shoemaker's tools and went to pegging his way through the world. A remnant of the Seneca Indians lived in the neighborhood, and one of them seeing Mr. Williams' condition asked the cause; when he learned it he nodded his head and said, 'Me cure him, me cure him.' The next time he came to town, he brought a bottle of Seneca oil, the modern petroleum, and sure enough a faithful and persistent application of this finally set Mr. Williams on his pins again. From the building of barns he progressed to the building of houses, hotels, court-houses and finally bridges. As the Ohio Railroad from end to end was one continuous pile bridge, Mr. Williams was well fitted to be its chief. As I said he was a ready-made man; but he knew very little about mathematics; so he secured an assistant that did know something about mathematics, but very little else, and the construction went on with vigor as long as there was shot in the locker. Yes, even longer. Farewell my first love, the Ohio Railroad, you were born a little too soon."

THE YEAR 1840 AND BEYOND.

With the year 1840 as our new starting point, and passing along with the advance and development of the American railroad, many stray points of information and interest may be gleaned; the more especially from a still wondering and yet vigilant newspaper press. The compact between the government and the railroad to make of the latter a sure highway for the transmission of the mails, had not been cemented yet with a cordial under-

standing upon both sides, as we find a correspondent of the *Patriot* under date of Washington, February 28, declaring that negotiations are yet at an uncertain stage: "I learn from a correct source that the committee from the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore railroad company, had a meeting to-day with the Postmaster-General, and that they have agreed upon all points as to a restoration of the mail upon their road, except one, of seeming trifling importance to the company. It is this: the department claims the right of changing the schedule as to the time of departure, which is resolutely objected to by the company. This is regarded as absolutely necessary so that a complete connection may be preserved in the great mail route; they were told the Postmaster-General had no intention, nor did he think it probable, that any alterations would be made. Upon this point however, the committee make issue, and refused to contract to carry the mail. I still hope they will yield the point and come into the measure; or, if this is not done, that all further negotiations may be brought at once to an end, that the public and all parties concerned may know what to do, and act accordingly."

The second annual report of the Philadelphia, Wilmington & Baltimore, for the year ending December 31, 1839, shows a healthful growth and a promise of prosperity for the future. The total receipts of the road for the year amounted to \$490,635.55; exceeding the total of the preceding year by

\$118,720.61. A dividend on the capital stock was declared in July 1839, and another of three and one-half per cent. on the six months business, was paid on February 1, 1840. The annual report of the Mohawk & Hudson for 1839, shows a net profit of \$64,917.06—being near six and one-half per cent. on the capital. The following, as computed in March of this year,* is pertinent in this connection: "By official returns we perceive that the five principal railroads in Massachusetts, to wit: the Boston & Providence, the Boston & Lowell, the Boston & Worcester, the Eastern, and the Taunton; with the Camden & Amboy, in New Jersey; and the Philadelphia & Baltimore, have cost in the aggregate, \$12,281,225. The amount received for freight and passengers during the year 1839, has been \$2,146,468. After deducting every expense, they have netted to their stockholders near nine per cent., or \$1,085,528. The receipts and expenses of the Utica & Syracuse, and Utica & Schenectady railroads for the last year, are not yet published. We understand the last roads will show a nett income of fourteen per cent., and that the Syracuse railroad, put in operation last July, and for the first four months received at the rate of \$840 per day, will exceed this rate of income."

The railroad managers had come to understand by this time something of the advantages of through trains, as opposed to the changing of cars and transfers of

freight at various intermediate points between the place of shipment and delivery; and in the Philadelphia *Inquirer* in March we find this statement of the remarkable feat of sending an unbroken train over three roads and return, under as many diverse managements:

"A train of seventeen cars left the warehouse of Messrs. Craig, Bellas & Co. on Wednesday last. Was taken from the head of the inclined plane by one of the state engines on Thursday morning, reached Carlisle on Friday; was loaded with 456 barrels of flour at the warehouse of Mr. Henry Rhoads, and started on Saturday morning to return to Philadelphia. This train arrived in safety at the warehouse in this city on Monday evening the 24th, the same undivided line that had set out the preceding Wednesday, and occupying but four working days in the whole trip. This is, indeed, gratifying intelligence, and will be read with feelings of pleasure by our business community."

The mechanical genius and industry of the country were still at work, making improvements upon old methods, or propounding theories only to see them rejected. "On Saturday last," says the Reading *Democratic Press*, in the same month of the same year, "we had the pleasure, in company with several scientific gentlemen of this place, of witnessing a new and improved locomotive engine in full operation. The advantages derived from the improvement on this engine are no doubt very important, and we have no hesitancy

* Niles' National Register, March 14, 1840, p. 32.

in predicting, that when once fully and practically developed, will be generally adopted, not only to stationary but to locomotive engines on our public roads. One essential improvement in the construction of this engine is the saving of steam, which requires but one half the quantity and maintains the same power as that of an ordinary engine. We were particularly delighted with the neat and elegant finish of the engine, and certainly it does much credit to the mechanical genius of the projector and builder, Col. Henry High, of this borough. We understand that a patent right has been received, and that a thorough trial of its advantages will shortly be made on the Columbia railroad."

And there were those who were yet looking for a better motive power than steam. The Newark (New Jersey) *Advertiser*, in March, 1840, has an extended account of the wonders that Levi Bissell, a then well-known inventor, hoped to perform with a new compressed air engine, for propelling railroad cars, vessels, and for other mechanical purposes. The engine which had been already constructed for "the purpose of testing the practicability of a principle," was "about the size of a five-horse steam engine which it resembles externally, though its power is alleged to be much greater." A cylindrical iron chamber of the capacity of ten gallons was attached to the engine, and filled with condensed air by a condensing pump. The air was conducted from this vessel to the working

cylinder by a tube. "Though the machinery," the editor adds, "which is apparently very simple, is not yet entirely complete, it was put in operation twice while we were present, and certainly worked with great energy until the power was exhausted."

That he might make his invention of practical use in railway operations and supplant steam, Mr. Bissell proposed to construct suitable pumps at convenient distances on the line of travel, with reservoirs capable of sustaining air condensed to two thousand pounds pressure to the square inch, from which the locomotive air chambers were to be supplied. It was also said that the condensing apparatus might be constructed so as to be portable, and thus accompany the engine as a tender. Among the advantages which the inventor claimed for his machine, one lay in the cost of machinery, which would be much less and more durable, and far less exposed to derangement and accidents. Mr. Bissell was then in hopes that he would not only soon have a chance to demonstrate the superiority of air over steam, but that his system would soon supplant the one then being adopted the world over.

In March an important case bearing upon the mechanical uses of the railroad was concluded, when the United States Supreme Court confirmed the judgment of the Circuit Court, in favor of James Stimson's improvement in making short curves or turns in railroads. "A judicial decision," remarks the *United States Gazette* in comment-

ing upon the fact, "was perhaps necessary to confirm the originality and authorship of the invention, and that has been obtained from the highest tribunal of the country. Mr. Stimpson will, it is hoped, now enjoy without interruption the fruits of his ingenuity."

Another inventor who proposed to forever do away with the whole army of switchmen is found in the person of "a Mr. La Rue, of Pennsylvania," who hoped to "render unnecessary the services of the numerous individuals who, under the present system, are employed

in turning and adjusting the switches for the passage of the cars. The principle of this new contrivance embraces a lever on the road, which is operated upon by a stationary power attached to the locomotive. No manual labor is necessary, and whatever point or position the switch may be on, on the arrival of the cars, it is by this contrivance removed to the proper position and without the slightest difficulty or delay." It is needless to say that Mr. La Rue's genius failed of its expected reward.

J. H. KENNEDY.

(To be continued.)

THE RAILROAD MEN OF AMERICA.

W. B. DINSMORE.

W. B. Dinsmore, who was one of the active creators of that great system of transportation known as the railway express, and who for more than thirty years was the executive head of the Adams Express Company, must certainly be ranked among those who have made the American railroad the great factor in modern civilization it has become. His way to success was won by his own efforts, and an intelligent and industrious application of the unusual natural powers with which he was endowed. He was born at Boston, Massachusetts, on July 24, 1810. At eleven years of age he was set to the solution of life's problem in his own way, his father placing him in the employ of a farmer at Antrim, New Hampshire. It did not take him long to discover that

the drudgery of the farm—as farming was conducted in those days—was not suited to his tastes; and he accordingly made his way back to Boston, where he spent some years in the employ of a saddlery establishment. During these years he was a member of the old volunteer fire department, and was well known in connection with the other outdoor recreations of the day. A business trip to the South, and an engagement as bookkeeper for a New York house, filled out the time previous to his connection with the great occupation of his life.

In 1840 Alvin Adams started a hand-bag express, in opposition to Harden's concern, which at that time enjoyed a monopoly of the business. He ran between New York and Boston, carrying



parcels by the Norwich boats, and railroad. Mr. Adams met young Dinsmore in Boston, and believing that he was well fitted for the work desired, engaged him in 1841 to go to New York and act as clerk in his office, which was then in a basement on William street, near Wall. Although Mr. Dinsmore could have made more money for the time in a different occupation, he foresaw that the express business had a great future, and wisely sacrificed the immediate advantage for the more fruitful one of the future. At that time the express business consisted principally in carrying letters and small parcels, the messengers being occasionally entrusted with money by the brokers of New York and Boston. It was at this period that Mr. Dinsmore made the acquaintance of John Hoey, and employed him; and thus commenced a business and close social relation that remained unbroken for nearly half a century.

The business which Messrs. Adams and Dinsmore were thus slowly but surely establishing, was confined to New York, New London, Norwich, Worcester and Boston. But extensions came as rapidly as the situation would allow. In 1842 an office was opened in Philadelphia, with E. S. Sanford as agent; this expansion being in direct obedience to Mr. Dinsmore's advice and policy, as he had now become a partner with Mr. Adams in the business. The next onward move was to Baltimore, where S. M. Shoemaker was placed in charge. Mr. Dinsmore soon after moved the headquarters up to Wall street; and two

years later took a long and novel step forward, by the introduction of horses and wagons, as a means of local collection and delivery. All this advance had not been made without great opposition and severe labor; and much of the success, it may be said in passing, was due to the labors of the drivers, who, under Mr. Dinsmore's encouragement, and in recognition of his kindness and thoughtfulness as an employer, made it their business to "drum up trade," and seek custom wherever it could be found. The chief opposition came from Harden & Co., which was then a rich and powerful organization, and it required all Mr. Dinsmore's energy and pluck to keep his company to the front and make headway toward the goal of success. But prosperity was assured, and in 1852 the business had grown to such proportions that the firm purchased the building at 59 Broadway, where the headquarters yet remain.

Two years later came the consolidation that made the Adams Express Company one of the great and powerful organizations of the land. The various lines of which Messrs. Adams and Dinsmore were in control—their Eastern, Southern and Western departments, the Harden Express, Kinsley & Co., and Hoey & Co.'s Charleston Express, were united in one, under the name of the Adams Express Company, with Mr. Adams as president. The history of that successful movement is well known, and the most beneficial results followed. Upon Mr. Adams' retirement from the office of president, Mr. Dins-

more became his successor, and was the active head of the organization for over thirty years until his death. Up to within a few months of his death he gave daily attention to the affairs of the company, his last visit to the office being made thirty days before the close of his career. His wonderful executive and financial skill was shown to the last, and he made himself effective for good in all the company's affairs.

Socially, Mr. Dinsmore was very popular, being a member of various clubs. He found time for a part in

other interests, and made himself useful to the community in various ways; was president of the academy of music; a director in several railroads; and the owner of the finest Alderney stock farm in the country, at Staatsburgh, in Dutchess county. Companionable, generous, and in all ways a useful man, he was mourned by his associates and the people at large, when his long life of labor ended, and he passed onward to his reward. He died at New York on April 20, 1888.

OPENING SCENES IN THE THIRTY-SIXTH CONGRESS: BY AN EYE-WITNESS.

THE thirty-sixth Congress assembled December 5th, 1859. The House consisted of 237 members and 5 territorial delegates: Republican, 109; Democrat, 101; American, 26; Republican American 1; and the Senate of 66 members, 37 Democrat, 24 Republican, 2 American; there being three vacancies. A ballot for Speaker was had the first day of the session of the House, which resulted in 86 votes for Thomas A. Bocoek, of Virginia, a Democrat; 66 for John Sherman of Ohio, 43 for Galusha A. Grow, of Pennsylvania, Republicans; 14 for Thomas R. Nelson of Tennessee, American, and 11 scattering; necessary to a choice on this ballot, 116. Mr. Grow withdrew his name as candidate immediately after the vote was announced.

Mr. Clark of Missouri, then offered

the following preamble and resolution: "Whereas, certain members of this House, now in nomination for Speaker, did endorse and recommend the book hereinafter mentioned;

"Resolved—That the doctrines and sentiments of a certain book called 'The Impending Crisis of the South—How to meet it,' purporting to have been written by one Hinton R. Helper, are insurrectionary and hostile to the domestic peace and tranquility of the country, and that no member of this House, who has endorsed or recommended it or the Compendium from it, is fit to be Speaker of this House."

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, as soon as the above was read, raised a question of order, and stated that it seemed to him, in the present condition of the House, that there were

but two things in order, one a motion to adjourn, another to proceed to ballot for Speaker.

The clerk of the House of the thirty-fifth Congress, James C. Allen, a Democrat, from Illinois, declined to decide the point of order, but would submit it to the House.

At the commencement of a new Congress the clerk of the House of the preceding Congress is the presiding officer till the election of Speaker, and the first business in order is the election of Speaker. As parties then stood in the House neither had a majority to elect a Speaker and an unorganized House is without rules, except those usages which are supposed to control in some measure all public assemblies. This decision of the clerk launched the House upon the limitless sea of debate and dilatory motions, with no compass to direct or rudder to control it. Mr. Garnett of Virginia, a Democrat, an able man with much legislative experience, at this point expressed his views of the situation in the following words: "I submit, Mr. Clerk, that it is not within the power of the House to stop debate. The question is who shall we elect Speaker, and I contend that the gentleman from Missouri has a right to proceed, which this House cannot control unless by rules previously adopted. We have as yet adopted no rules, and I think he has a right to proceed as he desires, with remarks going to show why certain candidates before this House ought not to be elected Speaker."

Mr. Clark then proceeded with his

speech, extracts from which will be given, showing its animus:

"As an individual member of this house I claim the right to be heard, and I deny the power of the House to deprive me of it. I decide it for myself. I claim the right under the Constitution. I hope I will now be allowed to proceed. Sir, in view of the crisis of this country, representing as I do a constituency in a border state, adjoining the non-slaveholding states of this Union, representing a slaveholding constituency, and claiming that constituency to be equal in intelligence, equal in patriotism and equal in morals to that of any other gentleman's in this House, I should be recreant to that constituency, recreant to my own self-respect and traitor to our common country, if I failed to utter before this deliberative body which is presumed to be to a great extent the embodiment of the intelligence and the will of the great American people, my condemnation of the sentiments such as have been indorsed by gentlemen on the other side of the House, who are now presented as candidates for the position of Speaker."

At this point Mr. Washburn of Maine raised a point of order—that Mr. Clark must confine himself to the question whether his resolution was in order, but the clerk refused to decide it. Mr. Clark then continued his remarks: "I hope the gentlemen on the other side of the House will bear with me and not get unhappy before I have had an opportunity to deliver the sentiments

which I propose to deliver, and place upon the political records of the country, in reference to deeds which strike at the peace of the people of this Union and at the perpetuity of the Union itself. No wonder they are unhappy and want to stop debate, when the constituents of members upon this floor have been incited by their representations and by their advice to insurrection, to treason, to bloodshed and to murder.

“We have passed through many periods since the foundation of the Government. We have passed through two wars since the War of Independence, but we have been a united and happy people. We have grown from a few weak states to a great confederacy, which now challenges the admiration of the civilized world.” At this point Mr. Stanton of Ohio moved to adjourn. Mr. Stevens of Pennsylvania hoped Mr. Stanton would withdraw his motion, “as these things must come out and they may just as well come out now,” but the motion to adjourn was put and lost, the Democrats generally voting for it and the Republicans against it. Mr. Clark then continued his speech, and among other things referred to the Federalists and Republicans and Whigs, and Democrats, and then said, “Yet there has always been a conservative spirit in the country, a fraternal feeling governing men claiming to be American citizens, and keeping down insurrection and murder and rapine and dissolution. Both parties since the Government has had a history were unwilling to risk

their reputation by standing forth to the country advisors of a large portion of the people of this Union to stop at nothing until they put out of public life, disfranchise and murder a large portion of the people of the United States.” Mr. Kilgore, a Republican from Indiana, here interrupted Mr. Clark and remarked: “As I am one of those embraced within the scope of the resolution, not being a candidate for the Speakership, I may make this suggestion: I have no recollection that I ever saw the recommendation, and so it is with every one that I have spoken to. Taking the selections published in the *Herald*, unconnected with other matter, I would most unhesitatingly condemn the publication, because I represent a constituency that is conservative and peace loving and that has no leaning towards treason.”

Mr. Clark: “I am glad the gentleman is beginning to flee from the wrath to come.”

Mr. Kilgore: “No, sir; I am not one of the fleeing stock. I am ready to take the responsibility of all my acts.”

An interesting colloquy then occurred, participated in by Mr. Clark, Mr. Farnsworth of Illinois, Mr. Clark B. Cochrane of New York, Mr. Kellogg of Illinois, and Mr. Palmer of New York, in which Mr. Cochrane said: “If I understood the extracts I wish to say here to the House and to the country that I utterly condemn them—utterly.”

Mr. Palmer: “I hope the gentleman from Missouri will not be interrupted.

If the negro is to be thrust upon us the first day of the Congress, let us go to work as speedily as possible and put him out, and I think the best way to do that is to have a free and general discussion."

Mr. Kellogg of Illinois was not prepared to say whether he did or did not sign the recommendation. He had seen it stated in a Democratic paper, which he did not regard as good authority. He then moved an adjournment which was carried—yeas 131. Thus ended the first day's lesson in Helper's *Impending Crisis*.

House met pursuant to adjournment December 6th. Mr. Clark having the floor caused to be read a paper signed by members of the thirty-fifth Congress, among whom were Joshua R. Giddings, John Sherman, Galusha A. Grow and others, 72 in all; also by a committee of New York, recommending the circulation of the Helper book. On this committee were William Curtiss Noyce, David Dudley Field, James A. Briggs and others. In this paper was a statement signed by Horace Greeley, James Kelley, John Jay, Thurlow Weed, William C. Bryant and others showing the value of the book, in statistical information, in relation to the evil influences of slavery upon the prosperity of the country, materially, morally, and educationally, and also stating that Mr. Helper of North Carolina was a white non-slaveholder, and that the facts stated therefore had more weight than if made by a resident of a free state.

The paper contained a Compendium

written by Mr. Helper severely denouncing slavery, and the following is a specimen:

"It is expected that the stupid and sequacious masses—the white victims—will believe, and as a general thing they do believe, whatever the slaveholders tell them, and thus it is that they are cajoled into the notion that they are the first, happiest, and most intelligent people in the world, and are taught to look with prejudice and disapprobation upon every new principle or progressive movement. Thus it is that the South, wofully inert and inventionless, has lagged behind the North, and is now weltering in the cesspool of ignorance and degradation."

Mr. Clark then continued his speech at great length, in which he expressed great love for the Constitution and Union. Here is a specimen extract: "Our slave property is as much our property under the Constitution and under the guarantees of this Government as any property held at the North. Whether it is sinful to hold slaves, whether slavery is a plague and a loss, and whether it will affect our future destiny, is our own business. We suffer for that and not they. We ask none of their prayers. We need none of them. If we were in need of them, and if the only way to escape future punishment and misery were to receive benefit from the prayers of those who signed that recommendation, I should expect after death to sink into the nethermost hell." (Laughter.)

After the conclusion of Mr. Clark's

speech, Mr. Gilmer of North Carolina, an American, offered an amendment to the resolution of Mr. Clark, by striking out all after the word "Resolved" and inserting a long statement signed by Henry Clay and forty-three others, members of the thirty-first Congress, protesting against the further agitation of the question of slavery as dangerous to the Union, and advising strict adherence to the final settlement thereof, by the compromise of 1850, including the fugitive slave law and also the Whig and Democratic platforms of 1852, pledging adherence to said compromise measures and that no member should be elected Speaker whose political opinions are known not to conform to said sentiments.

Mr. Millson, from Virginia, obtained the floor, and made quite a sensational speech from which a brief extract is given: "Sir, there seems to me something of an anti-climax on the resolution of the gentleman from Missouri, for, sir, the conscious publication and distribution of inflammatory and seditious writings tending and designed to incite the negro population of the Southern states to insurrection, should involve graver responsibility, and should provoke a more solemn retribution than a mere forfeiture of the place of Speaker of this body. One who consciously, deliberately and of purpose, lent his name and influence to the propagation of such writings is not only not fit to be Speaker but is not fit to live." (Applause and hisses in the gallery.)

"Sir, I will not attempt to penetrate the hidden sanctions which, in the relation between himself and his Maker, regulate human conduct, by saying he is not fit to die."

Mr. Sherman obtained the floor and said: "Mr. Clerk, I have until this moment disregarded this debate, because I presumed it was thrown at the House at this time for the purpose of preventing an organization. But the manner of the gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Millson)—my respect for his long experience in this House, my respect for his character, and the serious impression which this matter seems to have made upon his mind—induce me to say what I have to say. I ask that the letter which I send up may be read," which was done.

WASHINGTON CITY, Dec. 6th, 1859.

"Dear Sir:—I perceive that a debate has arisen in Congress in which Mr. Helper's book, 'The Impending Crisis' is brought up as an exponent of Republican principles. As the names of many leading Republicans are presented as recommending a Compendium of the volume, it is proper that I should explain how those names were obtained in advance of publication. Mr. Helper brought his book to me at Silver Springs to examine and recommend, if I thought well of it, as a work to be encouraged by Republicans. I had never seen it before. After its perusal, I either wrote to Mr. Helper, or told him that it was objectionable in many particulars to which I adverted, and he promised me in

writing that he would obviate the objections by omitting entirely or altering the matter objected to. I understood that it was in consequence of his assurance to me that the obnoxious matter in the original publication would be expurgated, that members of Congress and other influential men among the Republicans were induced to give their countenance to the circulation of the edition so to be expurgated.

F. P. Blair,
Silver Springs.

“Hon. John Sherman.”

Mr. Sherman said: “I do not recollect signing the paper referred to, but I presume from my name appearing in the printed list that I did sign it. I therefore make no excuse of this kind. I never have read Mr. Helper’s book or the Compendium founded upon it. I have never seen a copy of either. And here, Mr. Clerk, I might leave the matter, but as many harsh things have been said about me I desire to say that since I have been a member of this House, I have always endeavored to cultivate the courtesies and kind relations that are due from one gentleman to another. I never addressed to any member such language as I have heard to-day. I never desire such language to be addressed to me, if I can avoid it. I appeal to my public record, during a period of four years in this body, and I say now there is not a single question agitating the public mind, not a single topic on which there can be sectional jealousy or sectional controversy unless gentlemen on the other side of the

House thrust such subjects upon us. I repeat, not a single question. We have pursued a studied silence. It is our intention to organize the House quietly, decently, in order, without interruptions, and we trust to show to members on all sides of the House that the party with which I have the honor to act can administer this House and administer this Government (applause from the galleries and Republican benches) without trespassing on the rights of any.”

Mr. Keitt, of South Carolina, in his seat: “Only one-half of it.” Mr. Sherman: “I say that I for one would not trespass on the rights of a single Southern citizen, and I defy any man to show anywhere a word I have uttered that would lead to a different conclusion. The signing of that paper and the book, every member of this House can appreciate without my saying a word about it. I have said more than I designed, and I trust that hereafter gentlemen on the other side of the House will observe the courtesies due from one gentleman to another. I have always observed such courtesies to them. While newspapers may call names, let me say that this is not the place for epithets. It is a place for reason and argument.”

This conciliatory speech of Mr. Sherman did not conciliate the Representatives from the slaveholding states.

Mr. Leake from Virginia, got the floor, made a short but very exciting speech from which a single extract is made showing its temper and tone :

“I desire to make a remark in reply to the observations that have fallen

from the lips of the Abolition candidate for the Speakership of this House— (Hisses from the Republican benches.) I beg gentleman when they hiss, to remember that Rome was saved when the geese cackled. I understand that the Abolition candidate for the Speakership admits that he signed that recommendation and puts in a plea of *non est factum*—that he signed it without knowing its contents.” In reply to a question put to Mr. Sherman by Mr. Leake of the following purport, to wit, “I want to know if he is opposed to any interference with the subject of slavery outside of the Halls of Congress, as well as in them?” Mr. Sherman said: “Allow me to say once for all that I am opposed to any interference whatever by the people of the free states with the relation of master and slave in the slave states.” This did not satisfy Mr. Leake, for he continued for some time denouncing those who had signed the Helper book.

Mr. Clark of New York, an anti-Lecompton Democrat and son-in-law of Commodore Vanderbilt, obtained the floor, and made an able and conservative speech, from his political standpoint. His speech was listened to attentively by all parties; was gentlemanly in manner and kind in tone. A few quotations will suffice. Mr. Clark did not approve of the resolution of Mr. Clark of Missouri, but did of the amendment of Mr. Gilmer and then said among other things: “Sir, the North is eminently, enduringly conservative. Has she no interest in the preservation

of the Union? Has she no homes to secure, no wealth to preserve? Has she no love for popular liberty, to perpetuate which that Union was founded?”

He then referred to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise as follows: “But I will just call attention to these various agitations upon the question of slavery occurring since the year 1850, with a view to inquire whose fault it is that this agitation is re-kindled. What was the first great question which arose, since 1850, to disturb the quiet of this country? We all know that it grew out of the territorial organizations of Kansas and Nebraska, and when the Compromise—time honored, and upon which the North reposed—was repealed.” Mr. Clark also stated that the repeal was carried by the aid of Southern votes.

Mr. Keitt of South Carolina, was recognized by the clerk and he violently and fiercely arraigned the Republican party, quoting largely from a speech of Senator Seward delivered in Ohio and then severely criticized too, the *New York Tribune* and the Helper book. He said: “The South asks nothing but her rights. As one of its Representatives I would have no more; but as God is my Judge, as one of its Representatives, I would shatter this Republic from turret to foundation stone, before I would take one tittle less.” (Applause in the galleries.)

At the close of this speech Mr. Stevens of Pennsylvania, took the floor and said: “Mr. Clerk, I do not rise to make a speech. (Cries of “go on.”) I

will just take the course I think proper and leave others to do the same. I believe, Mr. Clerk, that the discussion which has already been had, ought by this time to convince everybody, that the point of order I made yesterday was a correct and proper one, and I rise for the purpose of renewing it. It is this: that until this House is organized, it is not competent for the clerk of the House to entertain any question except that of proceeding to the election of Speaker, or on a motion to adjourn. I make that point of order, and I want it decided. But, Mr. Clerk, before I sit down I will say one single word. I do not blame gentlemen from the South for taking the course they do, although I deem it untimely and irregular, and although I deem it withholding from the public creditors, who are needing the means which we are bound as honest men to give them speedily. Nor do I blame them for the language of intimidation, for using this threat of rending God's creation from turret to foundation. (Laughter.) All this is right in them, for they have tried it fifty times, and fifty times they have found weak and recreant tremblers in the North who have been afflicted by it, and who have acted from those intimidations. They are right, therefore, and I give them credit for repeating with *grave countenances* that which they have so often found to be effective when operating upon timid minds."

Mr. Crawford of Georgia, at this point interrupted Mr. Stevens and said in an excited manner "Will you keep

down your Union meetings at the North, and not deceive the South by pretending to respect our right, whilst you never intend to give us—peace?" (Shouts of "order, order.")

Mr. Stevens: "I am not to be provoked by interruptions."

Mr. Crawford: "I do not desire to provoke you."

Mr. Stevens: "I am not to be provoked by interruptions. Interruptions have no effect upon me."

Mr. Crawford amidst cries of "Order, order," still insisted upon keeping the floor and continued his excited and violent remarks. After he was through Mr. Stevens replied: "That is all right. That is the way they frightened us before. Now you see exactly what it is and what it has always been." The following is quoted from the *Globe* containing the official proceedings of the House: "During the above colloquy members from the benches upon both sides of the House crowded down into the area, and there was for a time great confusion and excitement in the hall."

It is impossible by words upon paper to describe this exciting scene as it appeared to those who witnessed it.

The angry tone of the words used by Mr. Keitt and Mr. Crawford, and the excited manner of their utterances must have been seen to be duly appreciated.

Mr. Stevens was as calm and unmoved as the paintings and statuary which adorn the rotunda of the national Capitol.

A portion of the Representatives from the South rushed towards Mr.

Stevens, as if they intended personal violence, and some of the Representatives from the North followed them, to defend him if necessary, and there he stood, surrounded by excited men, venerable in years, rich in experience at the bar and in legislative bodies, but as composed himself as if arguing a question of law before the United States Supreme Court. After sundry motions and colloquies a motion to adjourn was carried. Mr. Clark of Missouri, on his way to his lodgings, pondering over the commotion which his *Helper* book resolution had created, probably mused to himself in the words, put into the mouth of a noted historic character :

“Now let it work ; Mischief thou art afoot ;
Take thou what course thou wilt.”

JOHN HUTCHINS.

Hon. John Hutchins was a Representative from the then twentieth Ohio district, in the thirty-sixth and thirty-seventh Congresses, the successor of Joshua R. Giddings, and predecessor of James A. Garfield. He was a participant in many of the stormy scenes of those days and a witness of many others. He has long had in mind, and has now entered upon, the preparation of a history of these two famous

War Congresses, the opening chapter of which we are permitted to give in the foregoing. As in the installment given, Mr. Hutchins quotes brief extracts from speeches made by leading members from both North and South, rather than a mere synopsis or the statement of the substance in his own words, to show the views of some, which the stern logic of after events materially changed; and also to photograph to a shade the intense feeling of the time. The thirty-sixth Congress was a war of words on the subject of slavery—the expression of a moral conflict that the naked sword alone could decide and terminate. In the thirty-seventh Congress were originated and enacted into laws the measures which enabled the Government to successfully terminate the war, and restore peace and prosperity to a distracted country. This was, therefore, the War Congress, while the one preceding it was a polemic skirmish that defined each section and placed each party and man in his actual relation to all the rest. Mr. Hutchins gives the material points of the war on the skirmish line, which shows the true inwardness of the contest between North and South on the question of slavery. His work will be conscientiously done; and from his position at the time, his intimate relations with Mr. Chase, Mr. Stevens, Mr. Wade, and other leaders of the day, and his ability and clearness as a writer, he is fully qualified to write a history that will be readable to this generation and valuable for all time.—*Editor.*

EDITORIAL NOTES.

IF reports are true, the people of Lebanon, Connecticut, have less regard for historic relics than those of New England generally. We are told in a recent dispatch from Norwich that Mrs. Bethiah Wattles of Lebanon, who is the owner of the historic "war office" of Gov. Jonathan Trumbull in that town, a little square brown building near the "Green," in which Washington held many conferences with the famous Revolutionary war Governor, recently offered to give the building to the town providing the authorities would keep it in repair. The cost of maintaining the war office in good condition would not be more than \$5 a year, yet the hard-fisted farmers of Lebanon, at a town-meeting last week, voted not to accept the gift. The town list of taxable property in Lebanon amounts to \$1,200,000, and the tax is one per cent. Some of the Lebanon taxpayers have figured up the exact sum that the acceptance of the war office would entail on them in additional taxation, but they have not given the figures to the world. There are other places in New England that would gladly accept the gift, and pay all the expenses of removal.

JONATHAN TRUMBULL was a genuine Yankee, yet the class to which he belonged could hardly be described in the breezy language adopted in a paper read in 1840 before the Historical Society of Hartford, Connecticut, where the typical Yankee was spoken of as follows:

"He would kiss a queen, till he raised a blister,
With his arm 'round her neck, and his old
felt hat on;
Would address the king with the title of
'mister,'
And ask him the price of the throne that
he sat on."

THE corner stone of the massive and elegant new Masonic temple at Denver, Colorado, was

laid on April 8, with imposing ceremonies, and in the presence of a large concourse of people. Among the reminders of this generation placed in the corner stone, copies of the *MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY* found place.

IT may not be generally known that Wilford Woodruff, the newly elected president of the Mormon church—a position he has practically held since the death of John Taylor, in 1887—has published a work in which the main events of his life are recorded. "Leaves from my Journal" is the modest title, and it appears in "Faith Promoting Series" of the Utah Church. As Taylor was reared a Methodist, being a local preacher in Toledo, Ohio—where he was converted to Mormonism by Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon in 1836—so Woodruff came direct from a childhood reared in the strict tenets of the old New England Church. "I spent the first years of my life," he tells us, "under the influence of what history has called the Blue Laws of Connecticut. No man, boy or child, of any age, was permitted to play, or do any work from sunset Saturday night until Sunday night. After sunset on Sunday evening, men might work, and boys might jump, shout and play as much as they pleased. Our parents were very strict with us, on Saturday night and all day Sunday. We had to sit very still and say over the Presbyterian catechism and some passages in the Bible." In 1832 he was for the first time brought under the influence of the Mormons, and was one of the two first converts baptized in Oswego county, New York. In 1834 he went to Kirtland, where he met Joseph Smith, and in company with the latter proceeded to Missouri, forming one of the historic Mormon army, which Smith led to the defense of the brethren in the West.

SENT forth as a missionary, he met with

many striking adventures, all of which are set forth in his little book. The working of miracles was not beyond his power, and we have his own account of the raising of the dead. His wife had been very sick, and December 3, 1838, saw her at the point of death. "I spent the day in taking care of her, and the following day I returned to Eaton to get some things for her. She seemed to be gradually sinking, and in the evening her spirit apparently left her body, and she was dead. The sisters gathered around her body, weeping, while I stood looking at her in sorrow. The spirit and power of God began to rest upon me until, for the first time during her sickness, faith filled my soul, although she lay before me as one dead.

"I HAD some oil that was consecrated for my anointing while in Kirtland. I took it and consecrated it again, before the Lord, for anointing the sick. I then bowed down before the Lord, and prayed for the life of my companion, and I anointed her body with the oil in the name of the Lord. I laid my hands upon her, and in the name of Jesus Christ I rebuked the power of death and the destroyer, and commanded the same to depart from her, and the spirit of life to enter her body. Her spirit returned to her body, and from that hour she was made whole; and we all felt to praise the name of God, and to trust in Him, and to keep His commandments."

PRESIDENT WOODRUFF gives also the experience of the wife during this momentous period. "While this operation was going on with me, as my wife related afterwards, her spirit left her body, and she saw it lying upon the bed, and the sisters weeping. She looked at them and at me, and upon her babe, and, while gazing upon this scene, two personages came into the room carrying a coffin, and told her that they had come for her body. One of these messengers informed her that she could have her choice; she might go to rest in the spirit world, or, on one condition, she could have the privilege of returning to her tabernacle and

continuing her labors upon the earth. The condition was, if she felt that she could stand by her husband, and with him pass through all the cares, trials, tribulations and afflictions of life which he would be called to pass through, for the gospel's sake, unto the end. When she looked at the situation of her husband and child, she said 'Yes, I will do it!' At the moment that decision was made the power of faith rested upon me, and when I administered unto her, her spirit entered her tabernacle, and she saw the messengers carry the coffin out at the door."

THERE has come to mind, in recording the above, another instance when one came back from the dead upon the soil of America, provided we can accept the statement of President Woodruff and of the "English maids" who are given in authority. In that quaint publication, "The Redeemed Captive"* (page 70): "When I was in the city (Quebec) in September I saw two English maids who had lived with the Indians a long time. They told me that an Indian had died at the place where they were, and that when sundry of his relations were together, in order to attend his funeral, the dead arose and informed them 'That at his death he went to hell, and there he saw all the Indians that had been dead since their embracing the Popish religion; and warned them to leave it off, or they would be damned too,' and laid down dead again. They said the Indians were frightened and very melancholy; but the Jesuits to whom they told this told them it was only a delusion of the devil to draw them away from the true religion, adding 'That he knew for certain that all those Indians who had been dead, spoken of by that Indian, were in heaven, only one squaw was gone to hell, who had died

*The title in full is appended: "The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion, or a Faithful History of Remarkable Occurrences in the Captivity and deliverance of Mr. John Williams, Minister of the Gospel in Deerfield, who, in the Desolation which befell that Plantation, by an incursion of the French and Indians, was by them Carried Away, with his Family and Neighborhood into Canada. Drawn by Himself." Printed and sold at Greenfield, Mass., by Thomas Dickman, MDCCC. Sixth edition.

without baptism.' These maids said also that many of the Indians much lamented their making a war against the English at the instigation of the French."

NOTED above is the laying of a corner stone, and naturally there comes the thought: When, and by whom will that sealed box be opened? A few evenings since the Plymouth Congregational Church Society of Cleveland, Ohio, gathered for the purpose of witnessing the formal breaking of the seals of a similar box deposited in the corner stone of the First Free Presbyterian Church of that city—of which Plymouth is the successor—in May, 1852. In 1854 the property passed into the hands of the First Baptist Society, by whom it has been recently sold, and taken down to make room for advancing business. Among the contents discovered were the following:

A copy of Deacon Herrick's Bible.

City Directory for 1850, printed by Smead & Cowles.

Uncle Tom's Cabin, in two volumes, by Harriet Beecher Stowe.

The Cleveland *True Democrat*, of May 28, 1852.

The *Christian Press*, of Cincinnati, of May 1, 1852.

The *Free Presbyterian*, of Mercer, Pa., published May 26, 1852.

A pamphlet entitled "Constitution of the Western Home and Foreign Mission Associations, 1850."

A pamphlet, "Minutes of the Christian Anti-Slavery Convention, held July 3, 4, and 5, 1851."

A pamphlet giving "The Distinctive Principles of the Free Presbyterian Church of the United States."

Among other things the principles declared against the fugitive slave law; were opposed to war, and did not countenance secret affiliated societies. They condemned the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage.

Rev. T. M. Finney's sermons, one upon the theme, "The Bible at War with Schism," the other upon "The Sinfulness of War."

A manuscript giving the constitution of the Free Presbyterian Church.

These documents pretty well illustrate the fact that, with the Free Presbyterian Church of Cleveland, in 1852, slavery was the dominant question of the day.

THE editor and publishers — Houghton, Mifflin & Co.—who announce the preparation and publication of the following described work, deserve the most abundant encouragement, and should receive it in such form as to make their venture a success: "The Genesis of the United States, a Narrative of the Movement in England, 1605-1616, which Resulted in the Plantation of North America by Englishmen, Disclosing the Contest Between England and Spain for the Possession of the Soil now Occupied by the United States of America; the whole set forth through a series of Historical Manuscripts now first printed, together with a re-issue of rare contemporaneous tracts, accompanied by Bibliographical Memoranda, Notes, Plans and Portraits, and a Comprehensive Biographical Index collected, arranged and edited by Alexander Brown, member of the Virginia Historical Society and of the American Historical Association, Fellow of the Royal Historical Society of England."

The value of this work can be understood from this outline of its purpose and contents: It contains the rich fruits of a patient and critical scholar's laborious research. That period which lay between 1605 and 1616 has been little understood, yet it was one of the most important in our history, and one that involved the question of the English race's hold upon American soil. In explaining the course of events in this period a mass of interesting evidence is brought to bear upon the subject, and there are presented in regular historical order many documents that give an accurate knowledge not only of the open facts, but of the secret plotting of that time. These documents are carefully edited, with full and comprehensive explanations of their meaning. The documents are classified as follows: Manuscripts which never have been printed before; printed papers

which never have been reprinted either in America or England; manuscripts in foreign languages, of which translations into English never before have been printed; manuscripts and printed papers which have been reprinted in America; illustrative material. The French and Spanish translations were made by Prof. Schele De Vere, of the University of Virginia,

and through the aid of Hon. J. L. M. Curry, then Minister to Spain, copies from the Spanish records were secured. The whole number of documents contained in the work is 365. Only 71 of these have been published hitherto. The remaining 294 are now published for the first time.

HISTORIC DOCUMENTS.

DINWIDDIE TO WASHINGTON.*

To George Washington, Esq., one of the Adjutants-General of the Troops and Forces in the Colony of Virginia:

I, reposing especial trust and confidence in the ability, conduct and fidelity of you, the said George Washington, have appointed you my express messenger; and you are hereby authorized and empowered to proceed hence, with all convenient and possible dispatch, to that place on the River Ohio, where the French have lately erected a fort or forts, or where the commandant of the French forces resides, in order to deliver my letter and message to him, and after waiting not exceeding one week for an answer, you are to take your leave and return immediately back.

To this communication I have set my hand and caused the great seal of this Dominion to be affixed, at the city of Williamsburg, the seat of my government, this 30th day of October, in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of his Majesty George the Second, King of Great Britain, etc., etc.

ROBERT DINWIDDIE.

Annoque Domini, 1753.

Instructions for George Washington.

Whereas, I have received information of a body of French forces being assembled in a

hostile manner on the River Ohio, intending by force of arms to erect certain forts on the said river within this territory, and contrary to the dignity and peace of our sovereign the King of Great Britain:

These are, therefore, to require and direct you, the said George Washington, forthwith to repair to Logstown, on the said River Ohio, and having there informed yourself where the said French forces have posted themselves, thereupon to proceed to such place; and being there arrived, to present your credentials, together with my letter, to the chief commanding officer, and in the name of his Britannic Majesty to demand an answer thereto.

On your arrival at Logstown you are to address yourself to the half king, to Monacoticha, and the other Sachems of the Six Nations, acquainting them with your orders to visit and deliver my letter to the French commanding officer, and desiring the said chiefs to appoint you a sufficient number of their warriors to be your safeguard, as near the French as you may desire, and to wait your further directions.

You are diligently to inquire into the number and force of the French on the Ohio, and the adjacent country; how they are likely to be assisted from Canada; and what are the difficulties and conveniences of that communication and the time required for it.

You are to take care to be truly informed what forts the French have erected, and where; how they are garrisoned and appointed, and what is their distance from each other, and from

* These instructions and the papers that follow supplement the very interesting article on the "French Occupation in Western Pennsylvania," by Rev. S. J. M. Eaton, on pages 23-33 of this issue.

Logstown; and from the best intelligence you can procure you are to learn what gave occasion to this expedition of the French, how they are likely to be supported, and what their pretensions are.

When the French commandant has given you the required and necessary dispatches, you are to desire of him a proper guard to protect you as far on your return as you may judge for your safety against any straggling Indians or hunters that may be ignorant of your character and molest you.

Wishing you good success in your negotiation, and a safe and speedy return,

I am, etc.,

ROBERT DINWIDDIE.

Williamsburg, October 30, 1753.

To all to whom these presents may come or concern, greeting:

Whereas, I have appointed George Washington, Esquire, by commission under the great seal, my express messenger to the commandant of the French forces on the River Ohio, and as he is charged with business of great importance to his majesty and the Dominion:

I do hereby command all his majesty's subjects, and particularly require all in alliance and amity with the crown of Great Britain, and all others to whom this *passport* may come, agreeably to the law of nations, to be aiding and assisting, as a safeguard to the said George Washington, and his attendants, in his present passage to and from the River Ohio, as aforesaid.

ROBERT DINWIDDIE.

CORRESPONDENCE.

PETER CARTWRIGHT.—EARLY METHODISM IN OHIO.

To the Editor :—The reference under the head of "Editorial Notes" in the April number of the MAGAZINE, to the action of the last General Conference of the Methodist Church, held in New York, in 1888, in extending what is known as the "time limit," calls to mind an incident of the General Conference of 1856, held in Indianapolis, to which the celebrated Peter Cartwright was a delegate and which incident is characteristic of the man. While organizing and getting ready for the work before it, the conference had spent considerable time in the discussion of a motion which, to many, seemed to be of only minor importance—and a delegate had called attention to the fact, adding that it was something unusual for Methodist conferences to waste so much time on so trivial a matter.

Cartwright jumped to his feet and exclaimed, "The brother is mistaken! There ain't anything strange, or at all unusual in what we're doing, we always load a six-pounder to the muzzle to shoot a mouse."

Cartwright was a man of much oddity and

marked peculiarities, but as a pioneer in Methodism in the Southwest was of great use and influence in its early days in Kentucky, Ohio and Illinois. He had but little education or culture, but a keen perception of human nature and a spontaneous wit which went far towards making up the lack in those respects. He was born in Virginia, in 1785, and entered the service of the Church in 1802, and was in active work sixty-seven years; a presiding elder fifty years, and a delegate to thirteen successive General Conferences; a period of fifty-two years; at Baltimore in 1816, to Chicago in 1868.

It is worthy of remark in this connection that the first Methodist Society organized in Ohio was in the first county organized in the north-west territory, viz., Washington county. Reece Woolf, a local preacher, was settled on the Little Kenhawa, in Wood county, Virginia, in the spring of 1798, when Methodism was "unknown in that country." He saw that there was a great field to be occupied by some one and wrote to Bishop Asbury, the first ordained

bishop in the United States, and also to the conference at Baltimore, for more help. Rev. Robert Manley was sent, but remained but about three weeks in Virginia, when he crossed over into Ohio; visited Marietta, then the seat of government of the Territory, and in one of the settlements near that place, organized in 1799, four years before Ohio was a state, the first society as above indicated. Cartwright was in this same section in 1806, it then being known as the Muskingum Circuit, which extended along the north bank of the Ohio river a distance of one hundred and fifty miles. It was three hundred miles around it and Cartwright says he had "hard work to keep soul and body together."

Mr. Manley had hoped to establish a church at Marietta, but, he says, he found the first settlers were principally predestinarians, subdivided into Presbyterians, Congregationalists and Baptists, with Rev. Dr. Daniel Story, an uncle of Associate Justice Joseph Story, officiating as minister of the only church there. And also because a Methodist preacher, Methodist doctrines and Methodist economy were as strange and unlooked for, to those people, as "Columbus' ship and party were to the natives of our land," he was content to organize his church in a settlement near by.

Cleveland, Ohio.

D. W. MANCHESTER.

MR. DUNN'S "INDIANA."

"INDIANA: A REDEMPTION FROM SLAVERY."

By J. P. Dunn, Jr., Secretary Indiana Historical Society; Librarian of the Indiana State Library; author of "Massacres of the Mountians." Published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston: in American Commonwealth series.

When Mr. Dunn began to write this book—we do not say to prepare for its writing, for his whole life and all his historical studies have been a preparation—he no doubt considered the sub-title of secondary importance, or may not have meditated a sub-title at all. But as the political development of the state unfolded, the philosophic aspect of the question presented itself, and he saw what so few of us have understood—that so far as Indiana has any great distinctive feature it is as a battle-ground whereon one of the effectual struggles for freedom was quietly fought, but fought to a close; and that the exclusion of slavery from within her border, drew the line along the Ohio river, and made a phalanx of free states from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. Therefore the subject unfolded upon the writer as it does upon the reader, we imagine, and we are the possessors of a new light upon this great question, in addition to the questions of politics, commercial develop-

ment and geographical lines, that constitute the founding and development of a state.

Mr. Dunn states a fact that, because of this book, remains a fact no longer, when he tells us that few have had conception of the true significance of this episode of American history; and adds that historians who have alluded to the continuation of slavery under the Ordinance of 1787, "appear to have regarded it merely as one of the incongruities of frontier life—an unlawful condition which nothing but the imperfection of government permitted to exist. The historical fact that the local slavery question was the paramount political influence in Indiana, up to the time of the organization of the state government, has never been hinted at." This is a broad statement which some may question, but we do not recall anything that can well be quoted in its refutation.

Mr. Dunn takes us back to the appearance of the first white man upon Indiana soil—a starting point that, primarily, is necessary in writing the history of the state; and secondary, that he finds necessary in a discovery of the causes "which produced the pro-slavery feeling, and the difficulties which anti-slavery sentiment was obliged to overcome." The occupation of the country by the French, and the many features of

warfare, strivings for supremacy, negotiation, missionary effort, and commercial ventures of that exciting and romantic period, are given with a fullness of detail and reference to authorities, that leaves little to be sought out, even by the closest searcher after truth. From thence we are led, step by step, through the early years; the appearance of the Englishman and his American descendant of the Eastern coast; the evil days brought upon the frontier by the Revolution; the heroic leadership of George Rogers Clark, whom the author well names, "The Hannibal of the West"; the passage, operation and effects of the ordinance of 1787; the powers granted to or withheld from the slave-holder under that famous instrument; the creation of the Northwest territory; the establishment of civil authority; the passage of the Indiana territory into the second or representative grade of government in 1804; the advance made during that grade; the division act that

reduced the territory to the present dimensions of the state; the final emancipation from slavery in the new-made constitution; the admission of Indiana as a state; this brief and hurried review takes us over the ground at lightning express, across which Mr. Dunn has passed with such deliberate care, such clear exposition, and such a wealth of material that we cannot but declare that he has produced one of the most valuable works of the decade. The fact that he has ended his history of Indiana at a point where the state has an official beginning, leads to the hope that another volume carrying us from 1816 to the present date, may now be in preparation. No one is better equipped by mental power, habits of study, conciseness of statement, and philosophic insight, to carry the story forward; and if Mr. Dunn but does so, he will have produced for all time, the standard history of the state that is proud to number him among her sons.

AMONG THE BOOKS.

"THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES, FROM WASHINGTON TO CLEVELAND, COMPRISING THEIR PERSONAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY." By John Frost, LL.D., and Harry W. French. Published by Lee & Shepard, Boston.

We have here, within the limits of some five hundred or more pages, all that the average reader has occasion to know of the men who have been elected to the chief office within the gift of the people. In giving the history of the Presidents the writers have incidentally told as well the story of the various administrations, and given the outlines of the history of our land for the period described, making a work of handy reference, not so overburdened with details as to cut the thread of interest in the personal lives of our chief magistrates. A fine portrait of each President accompanies his sketch.

"FROM LADY WASHINGTON TO MRS. CLEVELAND." By Lydia L. Gordon. Published by Lee & Shepard, Boston.

Almost as a companion piece to the above work comes this complete record of the lives of

the women who have occupied the White House, from Mrs. Washington to the young bride of Grover Cleveland. The work is that of a woman competent to tell a charming story without deviation from historic truth; and supplements the more grave recital of each administration as already given in the above described lives of the Presidents. The complete social side of Washington life is given, from the beginning of the first administration to the end of the one just closed.

"THE STORY OF HOLLAND." By James E. Thorold Rogers, professor of political economy in the University of Oxford, and of economic science and statistics, King's College, London. Author of "Six Centuries of Work and Wages," "A History of Agriculture and Prices in England," etc. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

"THE STORY OF MEXICO." By Susan Hale. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons.

From Media, Babylon, Chaldea, and Ancient Egypt, past Carthage and the Normans, this fruitful "Story of the Nations" of the Putnam's has been brought to the familiar soil of

Holland and the yet semi-mysterious regions of Mexico. The thought that inspired the creation of this series, and the patient care, historical knowledge, and good judgment exhibited in the selection of writers and oversight of each volume, form a contribution to American literature of a value that can hardly be estimated. The writers have been chosen with especial reference to their fitness for the tasks assigned, and in many cases, as in that of Mrs. Hale, because of a personal knowledge gained by travel and experience, among the people whose state history is recorded. The illustrations in all these volumes are full and pertinent.

In dealing with Holland, Mr. Rogers acknowledges the difficulty of telling the complete story of that wonderful people within the limits assigned, but pertinently adds that "it is possible by a short narrative to recount the principal facts in the greatest and most important of all European wars, that in which the seven provinces of Holland secured their independence against the monarch who was supposed to possess the mightiest powers of the age." This epitome is ably made, and the book takes its place among the best histories of that redoubtable people. The story of Mexico is about equally divided between the early and the late days, and is brought down to the present date. The book therefore not only possesses a great historic value but must be of especial use to those who would learn, for any purpose, of the Mexico of to-day.

"THE YEAR'S BEST DAYS: FOR BOYS AND GIRLS." By Rose Hartwick Thorpe, author of "Curfew Must Not Ring To-night." Published by Lee & Shepard, Boston.

This pleasant and instructive story book takes the children through the round of the year's holidays from Christmas to Thanksgiving, telling some tale suitable to each, and pointing incidentally the moral that belongs naturally to each. As a book for the young it can be heartily commended.

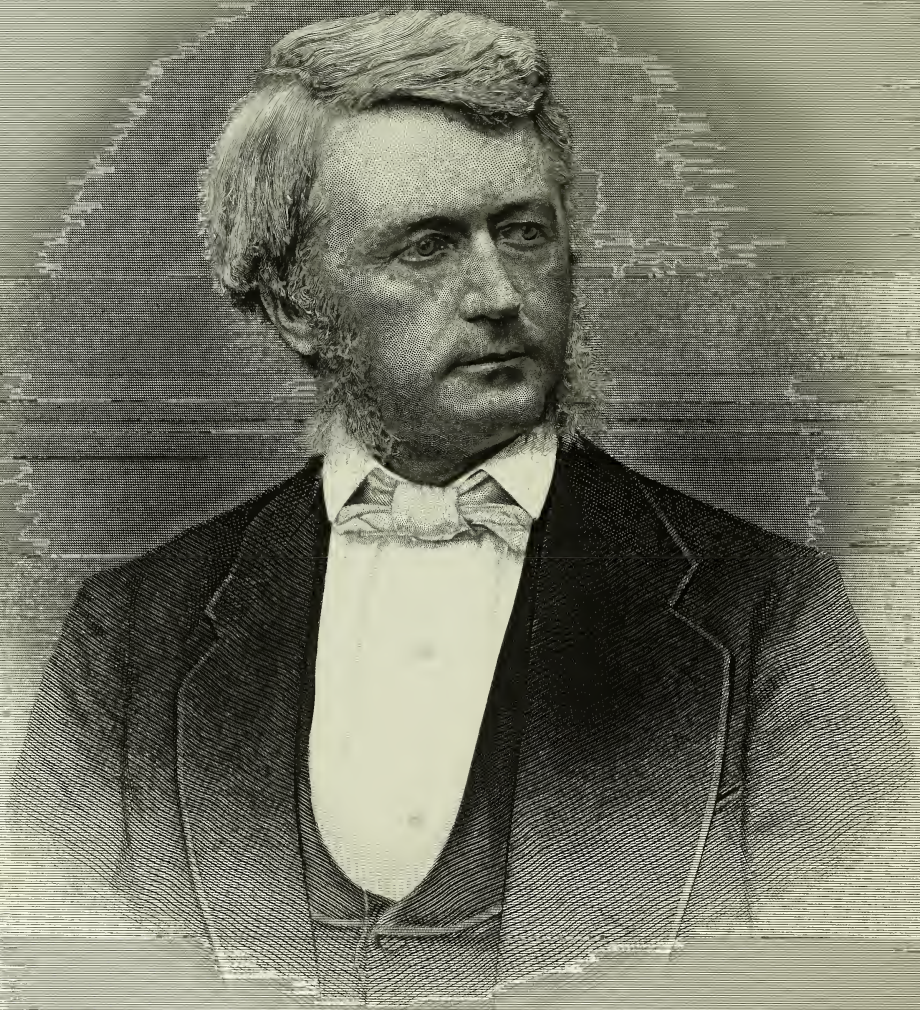
Pamphlets and other minor publications:

"NEW AMSTERDAM, NEW ORANGE, NEW YORK; WITH CHRONOLOGICAL DATA." By Gen. Charles W. Darling, Corresponding Secretary of the Oneida Historical Society, etc. Privately printed.

General Darling has given a great deal of work to the preparation of this monograph, and the result is his justification. At this centennial season in New York, the public interest is largely drawn towards the past, and upon that past much light has been shed. The historical notes above described convey an idea of the city of New York as it appeared in its earliest days. They were gathered from various sources—from the De Vries, Denton, Brodhead, De Witt, Benson, Rogers, Bryant, Stevens and Winsor; also from manuscript folio volumes of public records; a portion of which was published by Moulton in 1825. The notes date back to the period when trading and fishing huts were first erected upon Manhattan Island; and therefore "necessarily embrace the years between the discovery of this land by Hudson, in 1609, and the recall of Gov. Wouter Van Twiller in 1637."

"THE RIGHT OF DISCOVERY." By B. A. Hinsdale, Ph. D. Author of "The Old Northwest," "Garfield and Education," etc. Reprinted from the Ohio Archæological and Historical Quarterly, for December, 1888.

Whatever Prof. Hinsdale undertakes to do, he does thoroughly and well, and in this monograph, we may look for a review that shall cover the ground historically, logically and from the standpoint of international law. He begins with the beginning of written history, and follows the various modifications and gradations of this right, down to the settlement of the question as to whom the American continent should belong, massing together an immense mass of information and making his point with great strength and clearness. It is a field not often entered, and only one with Prof. Hinsdale's mental equipment would have a right to enter it at all.



Atlantic Engraving & Engraving Co New York.

Thomas A. Scott

Magazine of Western History.

Vol. X.

JUNE, 1889.

No. 2.

THE FRENCH OCCUPATION IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

II.

AN extract from a letter from George Washington to Gov. Dinwiddie will give an idea of the force of the French and the conditions of surrender:

WILL'S CREEK, 27th April, 1754.

“Honorable Sir,—It is with greatest concern I acquaint you that Mr. Ward, ensign in Capt. Trent's Company, was compelled to surrender his small Fort in the forks of Monongialo to the French, on the seventeenth instant, who fell down from Weningo, with a fleet of three hundred and sixty bateaux and canoes, with upwards of one thousand men and eighteen pieces of artillery, which they planted against the fort, drew up their men and sent the enclosed summons to Mr. Ward, who having but an inconsiderable number of men, and no cannon to make a proper defence, was obliged to surrender; they suffering him to draw off his men, arms and working tools, and gave leave that he might retreat to the inhabitants.”

Taking possession of the English

work, the French proceeded to construct a work that was, perhaps, the strongest yet undertaken. It was called Fort Du Quesne in honor of the Governor of Canada, and was for some years the scene of active operations both from above and below. This attack on a feeble fort in the wilderness may be considered the beginning of the French and Indian war, and indeed of a war that continued for nine years, shaking the two continents from India to the wilds of Ohio.

We have a description of Fort Du Quesne from an English prisoner who was for some time within its enclosure. He speaks of it in detail: “It is four square, has bastions in each corner; is about fifty yards long and about forty yards wide; has a well in the middle of the fort, but the water bad; about half the fort is made of square logs, and the other half next the water of stockades. There are entrenchments thrown up all around the fort, seven feet high, which

consists of stockades drove into the ground near to each other, and wattled with poles like basket work, against which is earth thrown up in a gradual ascent; the steep part is next the fort, and has three steps all along the entrenchment for the men to go up and down to fire at an enemy. These entrenchments are about four rods from the fort and go all around, as well on the side next the water as the land. The outside of the entrenchment next the water joins to the water. The fort has two gates, one of which opens to the land side and the other to the water side, where the magazine is built; that to the land side is in fact a draw-bridge, which in day time serves as a bridge to the people, and in the night is drawn up by chains and levers. The stockades are round logs better than a foot, and over and about eleven or twelve feet high; the joints are secured by split logs. In the stockades are loop holes made so as to fire slanting towards the ground. The bastions are filled with earth, solid about eight feet high. Each bastion has four carriage guns, about four pound; no swivels, nor any mortars. They have no cannon but at the bastions."*

The Fort at Venango was completed in April, 1754, completing the chain of defences from Lake Erie to the Ohio. They were not remarkable either for strength or engineering skill. Neither Presq' Isle, Le Boeuf, nor Machault, had any earth works of importance. They were probably all constructed on

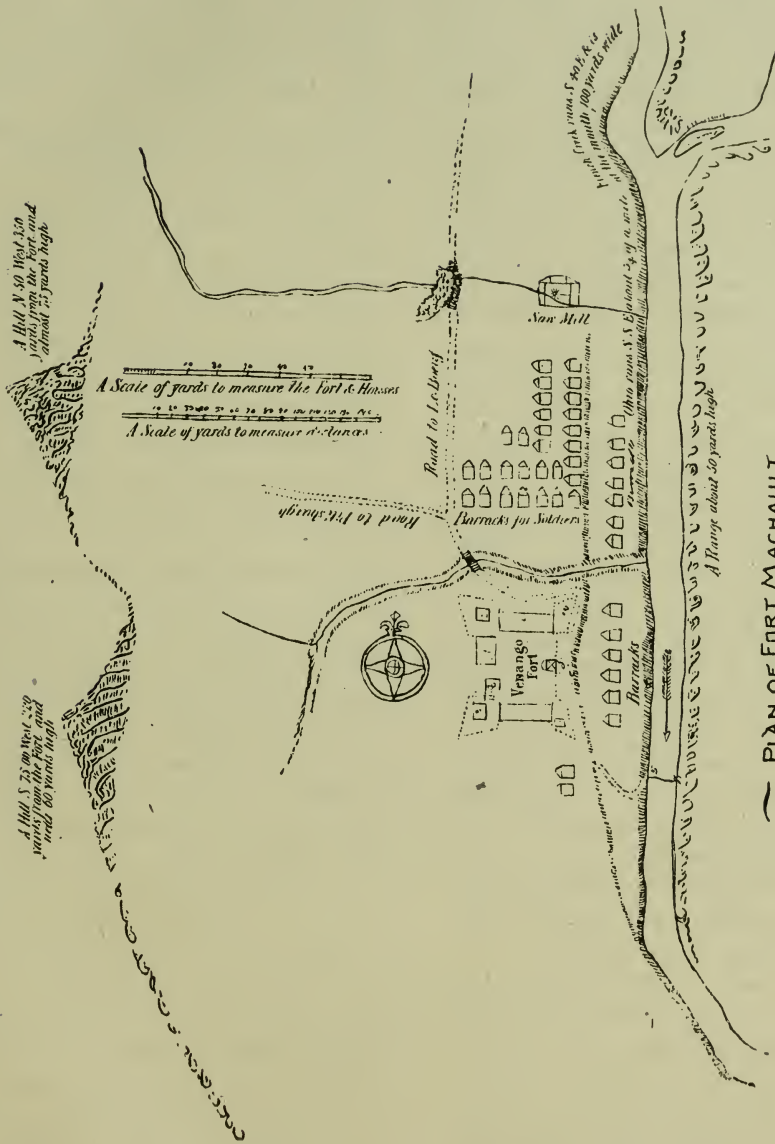
* Hazard's Register, VIII., pp. 318-19.

the same plan, although Machault, at Venango, was the smallest of the whole. Providentially the plan of the latter has survived the changes of a hundred and twenty eight years, and has recently been verified beyond a question, as the identical plan of Fort Machault and the surrounding territory, with the bearing of the hills and the distances to them. The following is the description noted on the map:

"Venango Fort is situated on a rising piece of ground on a rich bottom, abounding with clover, sixty yards west of the Ohio. The north and south polygon is forty-five yards, and the east and west polygon thirty-seven yards. The bastions are built of saplings, eight inches thick and thirteen feet in length, set stockade fashion. Part of the curtains are of hewed timber, laid lengthwise upon one another, which also make one side of the barracks."

The body of the work was in the form of a parallelogram, in size about seventy-five by one hundred and five feet, with bastions in the form of polygons, at the four angles. The gate fronted the river. In the interior were the magazine, fifteen by eighteen feet, protected by a thickness of three feet of earth, and several buildings for barracks. Two of these were eighteen by fifty feet, with three others that were smaller. The barracks were two stories high and furnished with stone chimneys. A door in the north eastern bastion led to a large cellar.

The soldiers' barracks consisted of



— PLAN OF FORT MACHAULT
 now Franklin - Pa.

thirty-seven separate buildings, disposed around the fort, chiefly on the northern side. A saw mill was erected on a little stream about sixty rods above, and near the site where the English fort was subsequently built. The dam was constructed of heavy timbers, many of them in their original places at the present day. Here was prepared the lumber used for barracks, and perhaps for boats and barges to be used in conveying supplies for the camp and transportation down the river. Along the northern flank of the fort and within fifty feet of it there was a small stream of water that flowed from the neighboring hills and supplied the camp with water. On the present plan of the city of Franklin, Elk street passes through the site of the fort, whilst the southern side reaches nearly to Sixth street.

This work is invariably spoken of by the French as Fort Machault. It was named in honor of Jean Baptiste Machault, born at Amonville, France, December 10, 1701. In 1745 he was Controller of the Finances; in 1750, Keeper of the Seals, and succeeded to the Colonial Department in 1750. In 1794 he was imprisoned by the Revolutionary Government, and died the same year at the age of ninety-three.

Capt. Pouchot, chief engineer of the forces in Canada, speaks of this fort rather contemptuously. He says: "At its mouth River Aux Boeufs, called in English, Venango, the French have a very poor mean fort called Fort Machault, which is also an entrepot, for that which is going to Fort Du Quesne."

We have a partial description of this fort in the deposition of a French prisoner, named Chauvignerie, who says: "Fort Machault is a fort of wood, filled up with earth. It has bastions, and six wall pieces, or swivel guns, and the whole works take up about two acres of ground."

A claim has been set up for another French fort, on the opposite side of French Creek, at the mouth. Henry DeCourcy, on the authority of a French map in Montreal, affirms that it was on the eastern side of the creek. It is so marked in the map published in the second series of the Pennsylvania Archives,* taken from Pouchot's Memoirs. Du Quesne says it was built, "Half on the Ohio, and half on the Aux Boeufs." But there is a mistake in some direction. The discovery of the map of the Fort, with the topography of the country so distinctly laid down, settles the location beyond farther controversy. There was but one French fort at Venango. Not the slightest allusion is made to two, in that region, in the records relating to the French Occupation there. The earliest settlers came to Franklin less than thirty years after the abandonment by the French, and they found not a single trace of any military work on the eastern side of the creek. Du Quesne probably meant by saying that the fort was built: "Half on the Ohio, and half on the Aux Boeufs," that it was designed to command the approaches of both these rivers. Nor is it difficult to imagine that the map was drawn

*Vol. VI., P. 408.

from general reports with the simple knowledge that the fort was at the mouth of the Aux Boeufs, and placed inadvertently on the wrong side of the river.

We come now to speak of the map from which much of the information is drawn in relation to the location and plan of Fort Machault.* Its history is mysterious as that of the books of the Sibyl at Rome. The mystery connected with it will probably never be unraveled. It is simply called Venango Fort, without date or authorship, or anything that would indicate its origin. Yet it has all the topographical features of the surrounding country as correctly laid down as though taken by the camera.

That this plan, or map, for it is both, is a plan of old Fort Machault and the surrounding country, there is not one particle of doubt. From the site of the old earth ruins, visible until within a few years ago, the distances to the neighboring hills correspond to those laid down on the plan. The bearings of the compass to the hill tops correspond to within half a degree. The ford marked across the river is visible now at low water; the ravines and runlets are the same; a swamp marked on the plan, some fifty rods from the fort, has its counterpart lingering unto this day; the trace of the road leading up the rather abrupt hill from the fort to the river side, is clearly traceable at the present time. And lastly, the remains

of the timbers that formed the dam of the saw-mill, still buried in the moist earth, bear their silent testimony to the identity of the plan and the work.

Yet there are difficulties we cannot explain. The annotations are in the English language. The name Machault does not occur on it. The road leading westward is marked "Road to Pittsburgh," yet Pittsburgh was not laid out until 1760, when the fort was in ruins; still Col. Mercer dates his letter at Pittsburgh in 1759. The smaller stream is called French Creek, a name it never bore among the French, but Washington calls it French Creek in 1753. The larger stream is called the Ohio, that is evidence of its antiquity, as does also the annotation "Road to Le Boeuf."

That it was not hastily done, is evident from the paper. Every small detail is laid down; the bridges across the ravines; the islands in the rivers; the ridge of hills across the Ohio; and even the two scales, one by which to measure the fort and the other the surrounding country, are drawn to a nicety. All these items not only show the genuineness of the map, but the deliberate character of the work.

The most plausible solution of the mystery is this: It may have been copied from a French map, now lost, by an English officer, translating the French annotations, and marking the road that leads south as the road to Pittsburgh. And as the actual name of the fort was not generally known to the English, it is called Venango Fort from the location. Indeed, the name, as

*In the possession of William Reynolds, Esq., Meadville, Pa.

found in the English papers of the time, is almost always the Fort at Venango.

Farther in regard to the mysterious history of the map:—It was found amongst the papers of the Shippen family, brought to western Pennsylvania in 1825. This was an influential family in Eastern Pennsylvania, at the time of the French difficulties. It is a well-known fact that Edward Shippen of Lancaster, the grandfather of Hon. Henry Shippen, Judge of the district embraced by the whole of north-western Pennsylvania, at that time, was actively engaged in public affairs at the time of the French Occupation. It is natural therefore to trace the map back to him. At that time he was prothonotary of Lancaster county, and correspondent and confidential agent of James Hamilton, Governor of Pennsylvania. He was very closely identified with the French troubles on the Ohio. He had correspondence with John Frazier, the old gunsmith who was driven out of his home at Weningo by the Frenchman, Joncaire, when he came to set up his fort. No doubt he had Frazier and others picking up information for him that might be of use to the government.

We find him actually in possession of the map of one of the French forts, through Mr. Frazier. In a letter to Gov. Hamilton, under date of September 9th, 1753, he encloses a letter from Frazier to Mr. Young, of which the following is an extract: "Here is enclosed a draught of the fort, the French

built a little the other side of Sugar Creek, not far from Weningo, where they have eight cannon."

This allusion must be to the plan of Fort Le Boeuf; it corresponds nearly, in its armament, to the account given by Washington, at the time of his visit there, and there was no other work near to Weningo, and Fort Machault was not built at that date.

We conclude then, that either the original French plan, or a copy, had fallen into the hands of some prisoner, or been stolen by the Indians, like the leaden plate, and that a copy of this, with English notes, has come down to our day to show us the size and style of old Fort Machault.

We have some facts in regard to French operations from this time to the final evacuation of the upper forts in 1759. In a communication from Du Quesne to the Marquis De Vaudreuil, dated Quebec, July 5, 1755, there is the hope expressed of living off the country. He says: "Fort Du Quesne could in less than two years support itself. . . .

Peas are now planted, and they have two cows, one bull, some horses and twenty-three pigs. At Fort Machault, where the land is very fertile, it will be easy to have the same resource. At river Boeuf the land is not so good, but it is expected that peas, Indian corn and oats will easily grow there. Hogs can be easily raised there, they have already nine; the prairies, in that quarter, which are extensive, furnish only bad hay, but it is easy to get rid of it. At Presq'Isle there is the same uni-

formity of land, but the hay is very abundant and good on it.

"Tis to be observed that the quantity of pirogues constructed at the river Aux Boeuf has exhausted all the large trees in the neighborhood of that post; it is very important to send carpenters there soon, to build some plank bateaux like those of the English. Two advantages will result therefrom: a much greater load can be carried and the inconvenience of readily upsetting, so common to pirogues, will be avoided."

In 1756, Fort Machault is thus described: "With a Captain's command of about fifty men; the fort of stockades very weak and scarce of provisions; a few Indian families about the place; not built."*

In October, 1757, Stephen Chauvignerie says: "His father is lieutenant of marines and commandant at Fort Machault, built lately at Venango, and now finishing; that there are about fifty regulars and forty laborers at said fort."†

Frederic Post, in 1758, says an Indian told him that the fort had but one officer and twenty-five men, and is much distressed for provisions, as are the two upper forts.‡

Chauvignerie thus describes the two upper forts in 1757: "The river is very shallow there, and the country flat and pleasant; the fort there is very strong, palisaded; has a glacis with a dry ditch three feet deep; he does not

know the number of cannon, says they are swivels, and under a dozen; is commanded by his uncle, Monsieur Du Vierge, who is an ensign of foot."

The first interruption of this chain of fortifications was the forced abandonment of Fort Du Quesne. This was on the twenty-fourth day of November, 1758, at the approach of Gen. Forbes. Three years before, Gen. Braddock had been sent against it, with a strong army. The design of his expedition was to reduce this fort, then ascend the river and reduce the remaining forts on the Ohio and Lake Erie. But his disastrous defeat on the Monongahela, on the ninth day of July, 1755, when within twelve miles of the fort, brought disappointment to the English, and strengthened the hands of the French.

During the two years following, all the movements of the English had proved so disastrous that at the close of the campaign of 1757 general discouragement prevailed. A succession of victories in the northeast had greatly strengthened the French, and brought equal despondency to the English. Lake George and the great lakes from Ontario westward, were in the possession of the former, and gave them undisturbed access to the upper Ohio, whilst Fort Du Quesne gave the command of the lower river.

But in June 1757, William Pitt became Premier of England, and infused new vigor into the government. In 1758 a very large force was sent over to engage the enemy both on the line of the lakes and Fort Du Quesne. The

*Penn. Archives, III, 13.

†Penn. Archives, III, 315.

‡Penn. Archives, III, 561.

latter was under the command of Gen. Forbes. His force amounted to some seven thousand men, of whom nearly five thousand were from the provinces. A part of this army was sent in advance under command of Col. Bouquet. Approaching the scene of active operations, Major Grant was sent with eight hundred men to reconnoiter the fort. Deceived with the idea that the garrison was quite weak, he ventured to make a night attack, and was defeated with great carnage. This was on the 14th day of September. Gen. Forbes came up with the remaining forces on the first of November.

Learning of the strength of the consolidated army, through spies, the French gave up all hope of a successful resistance, and determined to abandon and destroy their works before a blow had been struck. The plan was carried out, and when the English came up they found nothing but the blasted and charred remains of what had been Fort Du Quesne.

General Forbes says, in his report: "They have blown up and destroyed all their fortifications, houses, ovens and magazines—all their Indian goods burned in the stores that seem to have been considerable. Of the garrison, four hundred men, with the commander, De Lignerie, went up the river to Venango."

In the meantime every effort was made to strengthen Fort Machault. Platforms were erected in the bastions, and swivel guns mounted on them. The stockades were lined to render

them more secure. A large force of laborers was at work, with the avowed object of making Machault as strong as Du Quesne had been.

Yet the force at these forts seems to have fluctuated as the exigencies of the case demanded. There was no danger to be apprehended from below, and the troops were withdrawn to the line of the lakes. The ruins of Fort Du Quesne were removed and Fort Pitt had taken their place, and for the present the English were content to hold it without farther demonstration.

On the 17th of March, 1759, a spy named Bull reported to Col. Mercer at Fort Pitt, the condition of the French forts. He reported Burinol in command at Presq'Isle; with two officers, two traders, one clerk, one priest and one hundred and three men. At Fort Le Boeuf, Le Sambrow in command, two officers, one clerk, one priest and one hundred and fifty men. At Machault, De Lignerie in command, two officers and forty men.

On the following May, Col. Mercer writes of farther intelligence through a spy: "There are about an hundred soldiers at Venango, with several officers, besides what are gone upon party with Indians. They are fitting up platforms and lining their stockade. They expect we will proceed up the river, and De Lignerie is determined to fight us in the woods. They have eleven bateaux at Venango, and one great gun of the size of a quart pot, which they fire off by a train of powder."

In the meantime new counsels pre-

ailed. The successes of the French in the northeast encouraged them to hope that the time had come when their broken line of defenses might be renewed and matters proceed on the defensive. The first effort was in gathering all their energies in an attempt to retake Fort Du Quesne, or Fort Pitt, as it was now called. Machault was to be the point of assembly. The expedition was to go down the river in boats. Men and supplies were ordered from the upper forts, and from the distant west. Kaskaskia, Illinois, furnished assistance. This could not come up the river, and the long, circuitous route by the northwestern rivers and Lake Erie was adopted. From the fort at Kaskaskia, Monsieur D'Aubrey started with four hundred men and two hundred thousand pounds of flour. His route was a slow and painful one, down the Mississippi to the mouth of the Ohio, then up the Ohio to the Wabash, then up that river to the portage at Fort Miami, now Fort Wayne; then he carried his store across to the Maumee; thence into Lake Erie; thence down to Presq'Isle; thence carried across the country to Le Boeuf, then floated down French Creek to Venango.

We hear from the fort again on the 17th of July, 1759. It is in a letter from Col. Mercer at Pittsburgh. The report is from two Indians who had been sent up the river as spies. They say: "We found at Venango seven hundred French and four hundred Indians; the commanding officer told us they expect six hundred more Indians;

that as soon as they arrived, they would come and drive us from this place." Farther, they learned that in the following three days six hundred more Indians had arrived. They were fitting out for the expedition, to set out in the night, having three pieces of cannon brought from Le Boeuf, and others expected every hour, with a great many bateaux loaded with provisions.

Everything seemed to be making good progress, and they were hopeful of a successful expedition down the river. The bustle of preparation was seen everywhere, when suddenly a messenger arrived from above with mysterious countenance bearing despatches for the Commandant. Evil tidings spread throughout the camp. There was trouble at Fort Niagara. It was closely invested by the English under Sir William Johnson, and help was demanded at once. Orders had come recalling all the forces at forts in Pennsylvania for the relief of the beleaguered fort on Lake Ontario.

All was consternation. The prize seemed just within the grasp. The reinforcement from Kaskaskia had hardly rested from their toil. But there was no recourse. All their hopes were blighted. Orders were given for the evacuation of the forts they had held for six years, and evacuation meant abandonment of the country forever. It was in the month of July. The creek was too low for successful navigation, and the principal portion of their effects must be abandoned. Nothing but personal baggage could be car-

ried with them. They made a virtue of necessity and were liberal with the Indians. Dusky warriors were tricked out in lace coats and cocked hats; swarthy maidens were made happy with presents of French calico and red blankets; strings of beads were thrown lavishly around the necks of papooses, all guileless of them before; flour brought by that painful journey from Kaskaskia, borne wearily on men's shoulders over long portages, was distributed in lavish rations, and other stores were passed freely around. The other property was all collected within the fort and the whole set on fire. The barracks without as well as within were involved in one common ruin. The boats and bataux on which the assault was to have been made on Fort Pitt were also consigned to the flames without mercy. The swivel guns, or wall pieces as they called them, were first disabled, then buried in the earth, and everything of value removed from sight.

This destruction was in accordance with instructions from the French Government. Gov. Vaudreuil, of Canada, in anticipation of a dangerous assault from the English forces, had instructed De Lignerie to "fall back successively upon Forts Le Boeuf and Presq' Isle, and so completely destroy the works as to leave nothing behind that would be available to the enemy."

Then the entire party took leave of their Indian allies, not without the show of bravado, even in this hour of humiliation, telling them that although

they found it necessary to leave them now, yet that they would return in a year and stay with them permanently. Then the entire party took their way up the creek, with feelings less buoyant than when they came to plant themselves down upon the soil.

We have not the details of the abandonment of the other Forts, Le Le Boeuf and Presq' Isle, but they were doubtless dismantled with equal haste, and all proceeded to Fort Niagara to find themselves driven from that point to find no refuge this side of Canada.

Time and the resistless energies of the American people, and the iconoclastic spirit of the age have removed all traces of these French works. There was little that would bear the effects of time and the chances that would follow the settlement of a new country. They were but stockades that might be dismantled and destroyed in a few hours. Even the slight earthworks that were said to belong to the bastions were but temporary, and would soon disappear.

Fifty years ago the site of old Fort Machault presented merely the appearance of small, irregular mounds of earth, covered with briars and brambles. The mass had evidently passed through the fire, as the stones bore evidence of its action, and coarse beads and bits of glass and iron, washed out by the rains, bore evidence of having passed through that element. Many rude knife blades were found, designed to operate on the principle of the razor, and strongly suggestive of use as scalping knives by

the Indians. They were part of the stock in trade, designed either as gratuities or as a medium of exchange in their association with the Indians, and without special care as to the use they might make of them. Indeed the very toleration of the French by the Indians in this entire region was purchased with an unceasing supply of gratuities, and the constant promise of future advantage through trade and traffic; and the idea of their own personal advantage was conveyed to them even in the construction of the forts. And the coarse glass beads that are found even to the present day show how lavishly they were supplied at the time of the sojourn here.

A relic of the fort was brought to light about forty-five years ago in the shape of an old four-pounder cannon. It was in part disintombed by the washing away of the bank of the river. The trunnions had been knocked off, the gun spiked; and, thus disabled, laid away to its long sleep of an hundred years. It was, no doubt, one of the swivel guns, or wall pieces, spoken of by young Chauvignerie, and there is as little doubt that the other five, as well as those brought down from Le Boeuf for the attack on Fort Pitt, are buried somewhere in the same locality, as the creek was too low and the haste of the French too great, to allow them to carry them away in their precipitate flight. This gun was afterwards repaired and used for patriotic purposes, until on occasion of the celebration of the Fourth of July, under the influence

of an excessive amount of patriotism, it was filled to the muzzle with sandstone and blown to pieces.

A peculiar species of grape was found growing in the neighborhood by the early settlers. This was for a time propagated under the name of the Venango grape. It must have been brought here by the French, and was considered valuable in its day; but changes in the location and the advent of better varieties have crowded it out and it has been lost.

Nothing could exceed the energy and perseverance with which the French claim was prosecuted. The enterprise was attended by great difficulties. All supplies, armament, and material of war were brought from Canada. The route was by water to Erie, with a portage around the Falls of Niagara; thence across the country to Waterford, or Le Boeuf, fifteen miles; thence floated down French Creek to the lower part of Venango. The Indians in the entire region around were hostile to them and disposed to favor the English, and they must purchase their co-operation by excessive largesses, and the unscrupulous creatures were constantly levying blackmail upon them. There was the consciousness too of the superior advantages of the English in having the whole coast, south of the Saint Lawrence, open to their shipping, and the co-operation of their adjacent colonies.

Yet there was the vision of Empire before them. There was all this vast territory, extending from the Lakes to

the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Allegheny mountains westward to unknown regions. It was theirs by right of discovery; they had planted the standard of the cross and unfurled the colors of France at the sources of all its great rivers; and they had glided down the waters of its Ohio, and mighty Mississippi, even to the point where they debouched into the Gulf of Mexico, proclaiming everywhere, possession in the name of the King. And they had resolved that it should be defended by the might of the strong arm, carried forward by all the resources of the treasury, and urged by all the armies of France.

But the good Providence of God had some better thing in store for this country. The strong and rugged Anglo-Saxon element was to prevail. The people who had been gathered out of all the nations, from Aryan to Saxon, and been kneaded and moulded in a thousand revolutions, and purified and made strong in the fires of a thousand persecutions and trials, were to form this new nation, "The last and noblest of time." This great country was to be possessed by a race capable of cut-

ting down its mighty forests, breaking up its immense prairies; bridging its vast rivers; tunnelling its lofty mountains, and opening up its granaries for the supply of the old world, and bringing into circulation its treasures of iron and copper and silver and gold.

Republican institutions were to kindle up their lights here, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and their influence was to reach around the world and be the means of keeping alive the hope and the courage of the nations in their dream of liberty. Protestantism was here to erect her high places and extend her beneficent influence away across the continent, and beyond the seas, even to the uttermost ends of the earth, and greatly assist in moulding the opinions of the nations and bringing them within the sphere of that sweet and blessed light that is finally to enlighten the whole world.

And so the vision faded, the dream passed, as do the dreams of the morning, and the white lilies of France withered to bloom no more south of the great Lakes and the Saint Lawrence.

S. J. M. EATON.

(Concluded.)

EARLY MEN AND EVENTS OF LEADVILLE.

The *Leadville Herald Democrat* upon the first day of January (1889) issued an extra edition, comprising twenty-four pages, devoted principally to a historical review of the settlement and growth of Leadville, and especially its

marvellous mineral resources. As an exhibition of newspaper enterprise it is a bright page in the history of Western journalism. A copy lying upon my table contains the following article concerning "Some of the Early Birds" of

Leadville, giving an account of the "First House," the "Initial School," the "First Doctor," the "First Lawyer," the "First Hotel," and the "First Postmaster," who was the Hon. H. A. W. Tabor. The article deserves reproduction in these pages. Our readers, therefore, will be indebted to that progressive journal for the interesting facts which read like a historical romance concerning the building of this wonderful city above the clouds within so short a time since it was known as California Gulch — a mineral metropolis whose smelters yielded bullion during 1888 to the value of \$6,497,607.

The *Herald Democrat* says: Upon the street the other day, gathering statistics for this paper, a reporter encountered "one of the oldest." Standing on the corner of Harrison avenue and Chestnut street, the gentleman pointed across the street to Mr. Mater's store and said:

"That is where the first lumber house in this camp was erected."

"You were here then?" asked the reporter.

"Yes; a few of us were here at that date."

"You know then that that was the first sure-enough house in Leadville, do you?"

"Bet on it; was right here at the time."

"What else do you know of early history?"

"Enough to fill a book."

"Well, go on; the next number of *The Herald Democrat* will be as big as a book."

The gentleman then went on to tell of a young friend of his, a blacksmith by trade, who was among the early comers to this camp. He was a good workman, and the camp at that time was very much in need of his labor. The idea suggested to him of erecting a temporary shed in which to begin business, our informant offering to furnish the necessary tools. The trade was made, and the young smith put up his shop. He prospered, but after awhile business began to crowd about him, and the claimant of the ground on which his shanty stood said that he must either purchase the property or move. The amount asked for the lot was one hundred dollars. The business of the young blacksmith was every day growing, and so was the camp, but he felt that both would warrant his paying such an enormous figure for a lot in the suburbs. The smith consulted his friend regarding the purchase, and he strongly urged him to buy the lot. After paying for his tools, he had laid by about the amount of money asked for the property, but after mature deliberation he came to the conclusion that he would shut up shop.

"Well, what then?" asked the reporter.

"Why, sir, in ninety days after my friend relinquished the property, it was sold for ten thousand dollars."

"What became of the young man?"

"He left camp in disgust, having missed or neglected to take advantage of the 'tide in his affairs.'"

Among the early families to the camp came that of Mr. William Randolph. He pitched his tent on a little rise of ground opposite to what is now known as the Grand hotel.

Charles Mater came with the first store, which was opened out in a little log shanty, on the ground now covered by his commodious place of business on Chestnut street. Next in this line came H. A. W. Tabor, who started in the grocery business on Chestnut street, one door west of Harrison avenue.

The first public house was commenced on the 15th day of June, 1877, which was finished and thrown open to the public on the 4th of July following. The builder and proprietor was Mr. G. A. Harris, who performed every particle of the labor in its construction, from the foundation to the roof. The size was 12x15 feet, and a story and a half high. It afforded accommodation for eight or ten sleepers. The name of this hotel was "The City," and its site is now covered by the Grand hotel. Mr. Harris kept this hotel until about July of the following year, when he enlarged it and changed the name to the Grand, which was subsequently sold by him to Walsh & Co.

The first lawyer to come to Leadville was the late A. C. Updegraff, Esq., who became county judge of this county. He came from Iowa.

The first school was taught in a log shanty on what is now Elm street, in the rear of the Grand hotel. The building was a seven by nine shed, covered with mud.

The post office was established here in 1877, and the first postmaster was H. A. W. Tabor. The office was kept in one corner of his grocery store, and the postmaster's time was divided between selling groceries and miners' supplies, and assorting out and delivering letters.*

August Riche came to this camp from Fairplay. He was a shoemaker by trade, but he never did anything but dig for carbonates. Riche's wealth consisted of a pick and shovel, and a faithful dog, of which the poor shoemaker was very fond. The dog and August were sure to show up once a week in search of something to eat. Although very hard up he had friends. He declared that he would keep on digging until he struck it, if it took until the end of his days. Riche's persistency was afterwards fully rewarded.

Tom Hook was another shoemaker, and he too came to this camp dead broke. He took out about one hundred and fifty thousand dollars in cash, and, being a prudent man, there is no danger of his starving.

One of the luckiest men that ever came to this camp was Pete Finnerty. Pete, away back on his little mortgaged farm in Iowa, heard about Leadville and its carbonates, and pulled out. He was as poor as the farmer relatives he left behind, who believed that he was

*Riche and Hook were the prospectors whom Senator Tabor "grub staked"—the result being the discovery of the "Little Pittsburgh," with its eventful history.

not doing the wisest thing in leaving for the silver land. Pete bought a team of mules, and did hauling about the camp, but later he hired a man to pelt his mules while he worked in the mines. He associated himself with the Dillon boys in the search for carbonates, and often their larder was very scant, but their hope was always high. Together they worked on Fryer hill, and their work was finally rewarded in a strike in a mine they named the Little Chief. This was in the fall of 1878, and some time in November the boys had the very tempting offer for the property of three hundred and fifty thousand dollars. They accepted the offer, the money to be paid in thirty days, during which time the discoverers were to have the privilege of taking out and marketing ore from the Little Chief. There was an abundance of ore in sight, and the boys made pretty fair use of their time in digging out silver. Pete came out of the Little Chief with about two hundred thousand dollars. A few months before the sole possessions of this man was a span of mules and a wagon. After receiving his money, the first thing Finnerty thought of was his poor relatives trudging along on mortgaged farms back in Iowa—the good brothers against whose advice he came

to Colorado. He had bushels of money, and no brothers of his should want for it. The first intimation they had of the brother's good luck came in the shape of drafts on New York for sums of money payable to the order of each of them, which simply turned their heads with delight. The Finnertys were the talk of the neighborhood for miles about, and every one of them was looked upon as very princes, while all wondered how much money Pete had come into possession of, since the sums sent home as gifts from the great generous Irish heart were extravagant.

The stories which got out about the Iowa neighborhood regarding Pete Finnerty's wealth, were many and wild, some placing it at millions, while others declared that the generous fellow had given each of his brothers \$20,000. One thing was certain and susceptible of proof; from poor farmers they had been raised by the noble brother to affluence. Certain it is too that among the hundreds who came into possession of fortunes in this land of silver, not one was more deserving than Pete Finnerty. He was not only made happy himself, but all of his kin were made equally happy, and live to bless their great-hearted benefactor.

HENRY DUDLEY TEETOR.

THE SEA SERPENT: SOME OF HIS AUTHENTICATED
APPEARANCES.

THERE may be no Sea Serpent, but for a mythical reptile, he has produced more discussion and derision, and been seen by a greater number of persons of "undoubted veracity," than any other thing located, or said to be located, upon the earth or in the waters under the earth.

From island missionaries and sea coast bishops, down to humble sailors and lone fisherman, we find a myriad of witnesses who solemnly depose that they have seen him with their eyes, heard him with their ears, and fled at times from his terrible menaces; and yet no man has ever killed or captured him, and no bone of his has been added to the great museums of the world.

One of two things must be true—the Sea Serpent bears a charmed life, or the old declaration that man is much given to lying was by no means a libel on humanity.

Naturally the toilers and travellers of the sea, from Jonah down, have told their stories of monsters of the deep, but about so many of these tales so "fishy" an odor prevails that they can best be passed by in silence. But when the Rev. Mr. Egede, a Greenland missionary, takes the stand and relates what his own eyes observed, he is worthy of some consideration. He tells us that on the 6th of July, 1734, in

the far northern seas, there appeared "a very large and frightful sea monster which raised itself so high out of the water, that its head reached above our maintop." It carried a long, sharp snout, spouted water like a whale, and had broad flappers. Its body was covered with scales, the skin was uneven and wrinkled, and the lower part was formed like a snake. "After some time the creature plunged backwards into the water, and then turned its tail up above the surface, a whole ship-length from the head." Pontoppidan, Bishop of Bergin, and a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Copenhagen, was made a convert to the Sea Serpent belief, only after mature investigation; but when once won over by the host of unimpeachable witnesses sure to be on hand, he took credence in the whole story, and assigned the marine monster its proper place in the reptile world. The general outline of the specimens seen by various persons was the same, although differing in detail. According to one, a parish priest, its head was like "a small cask in size"; its mouth which it repeatedly opened and shut, was furnished with formidable teeth; while its girth was that of a common-sized horse. Laurence de Ferry, the commander of Bergen, when he saw his serpent in 1746, was not content to go

before a suspicious world with a simple statement, but made oath to it in presence of a magistrate. The head of his snake, which was held more than two feet above the surface of the water, resembled that of a horse. "It was of a greyish color, and the mouth was quite black and very large. It had black eyes, and a long white mane that hung down from the neck to the surface of the water. Besides the head and neck, we saw seven or eight folds or coils of this snake, which were very thick, and, as far as we could guess, there was about a fathom distance between each fold."

From the many specimens described to him, the good bishop, Pontoppidan, concludes that the monster "does not, like the eel or land-snake, taper gradually to a point; but the body, which looks to be as big as two hogsheads, grows remarkable small at once, just where the tail begins. The eyes of this creature are very large, and of a blue color, and look like a couple of bright pewter plates." De Ferry's specimen, as will be noted above, was adorned with black eyes rather than blue.

Eleazer Crabtree, who resided upon Fox Island, in the Bay of Penobscot, and whose very name precludes the necessity of the accompanying declaration that he was a man of "unimpeachable veracity," was given a close view of the Serpent in 1778. He had been told that a sea monster frequented the shores near his abode, but doubted the story until he went down to the coast one day, and "saw a large animal in

the form of a snake, lying almost motionless in the water," about five hundred feet from where he stood. Its head was four feet above the surface; it appeared to be a hundred feet long, and was fully three feet in diameter. Mr. Crabtree seems to have been a favored person in visions of serpents, for he saw another specimen, sixty feet in length, near Mt. Desert, in June, 1793.

One Capt. Little, of the United States Navy, declares that in 1780, as he was lying in Broad Bay (Penobscot), "in a public armed ship," he discovered, at sunrise, "a large serpent coming down the bay, on the surface of the water." The cutter was instantly manned and armed, and the captain himself constituted one of her crew. When within one hundred feet of the serpent the marines were ordered to fire, but, as usual, "before they could make ready he plunged into the water. He was not less than forty-five to fifty feet long; the largest diameter of his body was supposed to be fifteen inches, and his head, nearly the size of that of a man, he carried four or five feet out of water." "A Mr. Joseph Kent," adds the captain, in proof of his statement, "saw a like animal at the same place in the year 1751, which was longer and larger than the main boom of his sloop of eighty-five tons."

Penobscot Bay seems to have been a favorite summer resort of his snake-ship, as in 1804 we find a letter from Alden Bradford, of Maine, to John Quincy Adams, then secretary of the

American Academy, in which were transmitted documents tending to show that he had been again seen in the bay. One of these was a letter from the Rev. Mr. Cummings, of Sullivan, Maine, under date of August, 1803, and another from the same person, dated a year later. Mr. Cummings solemnly declared that as himself, his wife, his daughter, and another lady were on their passage to Belfast, they saw a great serpent between Cape Rosoi and Long Island. "It was in the month of July; the sea was calm; there was very little wind." At first the narrator supposed it to be a large shoal of fish, with a seal at one end of it, but he "wondered that the seal should rise out of the water so much higher than usual." As he drew near he discovered the whole appearance to be one "animal" in the form of a serpent.

In June, 1815, he was seen off Plymouth, "Mr. Finney, a respectable old whaler," deposing on oath that at first it showed a length of about thirty feet, but in turning, about a half a mile off, it displayed at least one hundred feet. It afterwards came nearer, when it stopped and lay motionless upon the surface for five minutes or more. "The appearance was like a string of buoys—thirty or forty of which, of about the size of a barrel, were exhibited." In August, 1817, the same monster, or one of his family, made several visits to Gloucester. He was viewed by the usual number of reliable witnesses, all of whom saw his peculiar rings or bunches, one gentle-

man estimating them to have been about a foot in height. Capt. Tappan, and two of his crew aboard the *Laura*, were allowed to sail within thirty feet of his head, and have left a minute description thereof. "It was formed like that of a serpent's; his tongue was thrust out, and appeared about two feet in length; this he raised several times over his head, and then let it fall again; it was of a light brown color, and the end of it resembled a harpoon. The eye was like that of an ox, and there appeared to be a small bunch over it, on each side of his head." He appeared to care very little for the near proximity of the vessel, and his motion was much more rapid than that of the whale.

Affidavits were made by a number of persons in 1818, of the appearance of the same visitors off Cape Ann. One Marshall Prince, in 1819, also saw him off Nahant. "His head," deposed this witness, "appeared about three feet out of the water. I counted thirteen bunches on his back—my family thought there were fifteen. He crossed three times at a moderate rate across the bay, but so fleet as to occasion a foam in the water. My family and self, who were in a carriage, judged that he was from fifty and not more than sixty feet in length. As he swam up the bay, we and the other spectators moved on, and kept nearly abreast of him. I had seven distinct views of him from the long beach, and at some of them the animal was not more than one hundred yards distant. On passing the second

beach, we were again gratified beyond even what we saw in the other bay, which, I concluded, he had left in consequence of the number of boats in the offing, in pursuit of him."

From 1817 to 1822, we are given glimpses of a wonderful monster that haunted the northwestern shores of Europe, and that was generally seen in the Norwegian fjords, and seldom in the open sea. One witness, a workman declared that "the front of the head was rather pointed; the eyes were sharp, and glistened like those of a cat; from the back of the head a mane like that of a horse commenced, which waved backwards and forwards in the water. The color of the 'animal' was a blackish brown." A fisherman to whom it appeared declared that "the eyes were very large, round and sparkling." They were some five inches in diameter, and a bright red. Three or four others made similar depositions the same season, and there was a great similarity in their descriptions.

In the summer of 1831, the Serpent was again noted on the American coast, off Portsmouth, New Hampshire. A half-convinced editor of that year, declares that he "must believe that our coast is occasionally visited by some strange creature—but the rapidity of its motions may for a long time elude every attempt to ascertain exactly what it is." That was over a half of a century ago, and watchful mariners and ambitious showmen are still keeping up the search. A glimpse only, was caught of him off Nashant in 1822—seventy

feet long this time, with his head eight feet out of the water. A season of rest to the reptile and the confiding public followed, broken for a moment by a brief engagement in the harbor of Halifax in 1825; and by a more extended appearance in 1826. The Capt. Holdrege who was the chief witness on this occasion, was of course, vouched for as "eminently truthful," and stood ready, with several other respectable gentlemen, to back his statement up by an oath, if called for. He was in command of the good ship, *Silas Richards*, on June 7, 1826, in latitude 41 and longitude 67, and it was seven o'clock in the evening. The surface of the water was unruffled, and the captain was standing by the starboard bow gazing upon it, when suddenly there was a violent motion of the peaceful deep. "Immediately an object," to use the narrator's own language, "presented itself, with its head above the water about four feet, which position it retained for nearly a minute, when he returned it to the surface, and kept approaching abreast of the vessel at a distance of about fifty yards. I immediately called to the passengers on deck, several of whom observed it for the space of eight minutes, as it glided along slowly and undauntedly, past the ship at the rate of about three miles an hour. Its color was a dark, dingy brown, with protuberances; its visible length appeared about sixty feet, and its circumference about ten feet. From former accounts which have been given of such a monster," adds the captain,

“and which have never been credited, this exactly corresponds, and I have no doubt but it is one of those species called Sea Serpent.”

The year 1827 was marked by the introduction of a whole school of Sea Serpents, if we may rely upon the journal of a supercargo of a vessel returned from the East Indies. He declared that on the voyage out, when in latitude 40, south, longitude about 20, east, the vessel was surrounded for several hours “by a number of sea monsters, of a description which neither the captain, who had been to sea for twenty years, and seven or eight voyages to India, nor any one on board was acquainted with or had ever seen.” They were surely some species of serpents, as all agreed; carrying their heads out of water, with bodies of an irregular shape, covered with barnacles, and with tails forked like that of a fish and very large. The supercargo was sure they were veritable Sea Serpents. “There were eight or ten of them, and they continued around us from noon, when they were first seen, until dark.”

Three Maine fishermen were busy off shore in the summer of 1830, when the far-famed Serpent paid them an unexpected visit. He was so near the boat that two of the men excused themselves and went below. The third, a Mr. Gooch, “whose statements” as a matter of course, “can be relied on,” remained on deck and returned the inquiring gaze which the reptile bestowed upon himself and the boat. He was only six feet distant, with his head

four feet above the water, and if Mr. Gooch had possessed a pocket camera or a harpoon he might have obtained evidence even stronger than his own reliable word. He looked at Mr. Gooch, and Mr. Gooch looked at him, for several minutes, when the Serpent seemed satisfied with his scrutiny, and followed the example of Mr. Gooch’s companions by also going below. The year following, many persons standing on a wharf at Boothbay, Maine, were treated to a sight of the monster, this time two hundred feet long, with the head of a snake, brown on the back, and yellow and brown on the belly; and as thick as a hog’s head.

There was an unusual crop of coast-wise visitors in 1833, or a very general advance in the inventive faculty of America. Four were seen off Nahant by the passengers aboard the steamer *Connecticut*, which arrived at its destination late on July 6th, and gave as a very reasonable excuse that it had been chasing a shoal of Sea Serpents. All aboard agreed that there were three, while many insisted that there were four. “All the passengers saw these monsters of the deep, *with their own eyes*, distinctly and clearly,” declares the authority from which the account is obtained. One of them was declared to be one hundred feet long, and others about ninety. “One threw his body out of water about fifty feet, in a spiral, undulatory motion, which formed at times upon a calm sea a beautiful dark arch. The Serpents seemed to enjoy the sport, and played around the boat

for some time." "The engine of the boat was stopped," declares one of the passengers, "and for three quarters of an hour we had a cool and deliberate view of these monsters. Such ill-looking objects I never beheld."

The *Connecticut* managers were thoroughly Yankee, and intended to make all they could out of this free exhibition of natural curiosities. On July 9th she steamed away from Boston with a hundred excursionists aboard, who hoped to gain a close view of "his serpentine majesty." They were not disappointed. When the steamer was half way between Nahant and the Graves, the Serpent was seen approaching. Several gentlemen embarked in a small boat, with the purpose of running it down, but unfortunately an error of rowing frustrated their purpose. It "came within an oar's length of the boat, and without appearing at all alarmed or uneasy, took a slight curve toward the steamboat, passed under her stern within fifty or sixty feet, and then disappeared." A statement of these incidents was prepared and signed by all the men who were in the boat.

In May of this same year, a party of five English officers, left Halifax for Mahone Bay, in a small yacht, bound on a fishing excursion. While crossing Margaret's Bay they were startled by the cry of the lookout, and on glancing in the direction he pointed, were surprised to see an object with the head and neck of a snake, swimming swiftly by them. They were of course, "all

taken aback at the sight, and with staring eyes, and speechless wonder, stood gazing at it for full half a minute; there could be no mistake, no delusion; and we were all perfectly satisfied that we had been favored with a view of the true and veritable Sea Serpent, which had been generally considered to have existed only in the brain of some Yankee skipper, and treated as a tale not much entitled to belief."

After this summer of excitement the Serpent was quiet for a time, and this brief outline of his starring tours during the early half of the present century, may be closed with two appearances. In 1845, as a party of four voracious men were out fishing to the west of the Norwegian coast, they espied "a long marine animal," which moved slowly toward them with the aid of two great fins. That part of the body which was visible appeared to be forty or fifty feet in length, while from the movement of the water, they were certain that as much more was still out of sight. When it came near enough one of the men fired at it, and was sure he struck it. After the shot it dived, but came up almost immediately. "He raised his head in the air like a snake preparing to dart on his prey. After he had turned and got his body in a straight line, which he appeared to do with great difficulty, he darted like an arrow against the boat." As the four had gone after fish and not Sea Serpents, they concluded to go home, and pulled lustily for the shore; the snake a close second. They reached the shore first,

and when the reptile found he was getting into shallow water he turned, and with a dive disappeared.

In 1848, as the ship *Daedulus* was on her way home from the East Indies, on August 6th, something of an unusual nature was seen approaching. The captain of the vessel, Peter McQuhæ, in a detailed statement, published in the London *Times* on October 13th, declared that it was "an enormous serpent, with head and shoulders kept about four feet constantly above the surface

of the sea," and in length, not less than sixty feet. "It passed rapidly, but so close under our lee quarter, that had it been a man of my acquaintance, I should have easily recognized his features with the naked eye." It had the usual snake head, was dark brown, with yellowish white about the throat, had no fins, but carried "something like the mane of a horse, or rather a bunch of sea-weed, washed about its back."

SEELYE A. WILLSON.

THE LOG BOOK.

VI.

THE ARK AND ITS FOUNDERS.—WILLIAM AND LEONARD CASE.

To enable Mr. Case to make some improvements, to meet the numerous calls of meritorious charity and to help, it may have been, personal friends in private enterprises, he temporarily encumbered his vast estate by four comparatively small mortgages, made to the Society of Savings of Cleveland, in the aggregate sum of about \$200,000, which possibly might become a lien on the property deeded in trust for the Case School of Applied Science. To prevent the possible contingency of any encumbrance on that property, with studied care, the following paper was executed by him, to wit:

"Know all men by these presents: that I, Leonard Case, of the City of Cleveland, in the State of Ohio, did, on the 24th day of February, 1877, by

deeds duly executed by me, convey to Henry G. Abbey, in fee simple, and upon certain trusts therein expressed, five separate parcels of real estate, situate in said City of Cleveland, and which are more fully and accurately described in said deeds; and

"Whereas, at the time said conveyance was made, parts of said property were encumbered by four several mortgage deeds made by me to the Society of Savings, in the city of Cleveland, for the security of certain debts due to said Society from me, in the aggregate of about \$200,000, which debts still remain wholly unpaid, and the lien of said mortgages on said property so encumbered, in no way lessened or impaired, and said liens may continue to exist after my death, and said debts, in

whole or in part, still continue to operate as an encumbrance upon said property;

“Now, therefore, for the purpose of removing any doubt that may possibly arise, and clearly defining the third trust in said deed of February 24, 1877, and of this instrument, I do hereby declare that it was, and is now, my intention and purpose, in the execution of said trust deed, and of this instrument, to authorize and require the said H. G. Abbey, his heirs and assignees, in the execution and performance of said third trust, subject to the limitations and conditions of said deed expressed, to convey to the educational corporation therein described, the said lands and tenements, free, clear, and divested of any lien or encumbrance whatever on account of said mortgage or otherwise, and that all such liens and encumbrances as might then rest upon said property, should be a charge upon and be paid from my general estate. And for the purpose of carrying into full effect my said purposes and intentions, I do hereby charge upon my estate, real and personal, other than that conveyed to said Abbey by said deed of trust, the full amount of any encumbrances resting upon said property at my death, and in exoneration of said property so conveyed to said Abbey in trust.

“And I do hereby give, grant and convey to the said H. G. Abbey, his heirs and assignees the full benefit of the charge so as above made, and do fully authorize and empower him and

them to enforce the same as against my heirs and personal representatives, and every person claiming any part of my estate through or under me, so that the property conveyed to the said Abbey in trust, shall be fully relieved and exonerated from such encumbrance.

“And I, the said Leonard Case, for myself and my heirs and my personal representatives do hereby covenant with the said H. G. Abbey, his heirs and assignees, that at and before the time shall arrive for making the conveyance of the said property described in said trust deed, to the educational corporation therein described, the same shall be relieved and discharged from all encumbrances therein created by me, so that he and they shall be enabled to vest the title to the same in said corporation, free and clear of all encumbrances whatever.

“In witness whereof, I hereunto set my hand and seal, at Cleveland, the 16th day of October, A. D. 1879.

Sealed.

LEONARD CASE.

“Signed and delivered in the presence of David Comyn and John R. Ranney.

State of Ohio, }
Cuyahoga County, } s.s.

CLEVELAND, Ohio, October 16, 1879.

“Before me, a Notary Public in and for said county, personally appeared the above named Leonard Case, who acknowledged that he did sign and seal the foregoing instrument, and that the same is his free act and deed.

“In testimony whereof, I have here-

unto set my hand and seal, at Cleveland, the day and year above written.

“JOHN R. RANNEY,
“Notary Public.”

These two instruments, undoubtedly blocked out by himself (Mr. Case was a well read lawyer), laying the foundation and amply endowing one of the finest institutions in America, are models of their kind, and, if they lacked perfection to accomplish his great object when they left his hands, they did not after being carefully reviewed by his personal friend and confidential advisor Judge Rufus P. Ranney.

Ever thoughtful of the comfort and convenience of his brother's and his own personal friends of the “Old Ark,” some time before his death he executed a paper deeding the free use of rooms Nos. 19 and 20 and all their contents in the southeast corner, second story, of Case Hall to the following members and to the last surviving of them, upon his death the property to revert to the Case Library, to wit: Charles S. Rhodes, Stoughton Bliss, O. S. Griswold, Levi T. Scofield, D. W. Cross, Rodney Gale,* H. M. Chapin,* Jabez W. Fitch,* E. A. Scoville, Henry G. Abbey,* William Sholl,* Bushnell White,* J. J. Tracy, B. A. Stanard, and John Coon.

As evidence of the locked up designs of Mr. Case's future action, the following is quoted from the *Cleveland Leader*, published a few days subsequent to his death:

“The impression was received and rapidly gained ground that it was Mr. Case's intention to donate the Case building on Superior street to the city for city-hall purposes. Not only did many officials believe that this would occur, but the public generally, from a long knowledge of Mr. Case's generosity, were of the opinion that at some future date the massive structure so appropriate and well fitted for its present use † would be bequeathed to the municipality. The fact that Mr. Case did not carry out this plan suggested by a portion of the public is simply another proof that his purposes were ever unfathomable, and in this case it is again demonstrated that his views of generosity and public advancement were of a larger scope and broader than even the donation of the city hall to the city would have indicated. When the existence of the deed became known publicly yesterday, the city hall seemed to be considered, with one accord, a headquarters for complete information, and many people called upon the different officials for particulars. During the afternoon a *Leader* reporter conversed with several councilmen and other officials, and in every instance they spoke of the proposed university as undoubtedly one of the most enduring and beneficial monuments of man's interest and love for his fellow-men ever erected in this country. It was generally spoken of as being to Cleveland what Cooper Institute is to New York City; an institution that will be

* Died since.

† Leased for city-hall purposes.

pointed to with pride not only at home but in other portions of the country.”

Continuing his report to the *Leader*, the reporter said: “Now that Mr. Case, whose magnificent gift was yesterday the one subject of conversation throughout the city, has been laid away forever from the sight of men, and nothing of him remains except his memory and the good deeds he has done, it is proper to enter more fully into the life that was so hidden from public sight; and those who know him best are now willing to furnish such information concerning him as will enable the public to judge of the manner of man that he was. Last evening the reporter called on a number of gentlemen prominently interested in the charitable institutions of the city.

“Mr. T. P. Handy made the following statement: ‘Mr. Case took a lively interest in the Children’s Aid Society, or, as it is now called, the Industrial School. Mr. Simeon Jennings presented us with our present building on Detroit street, together with twenty acres of land. Mr. Case added to it thirty acres. Mr. Case’s gift was a magnificent one for which we are truly grateful.’

“Mr. George H. Ely was called upon for a statement of Mr. Case’s donations to the City Hospital Association and gave the following points: ‘Five or six years ago, Mr. Case donated to the Association seven or eight acres of land lying between the Lake Shore Railway tracks and the lake shore, just west of Willson avenue, as

a site for a hospital building. The only condition accompanying the gift was that a building should be erected within ten years from the date of the deed. When the association subsequently leased the old Marine Hospital of the United States Government, the idea of building a new hospital was dropped, and Mr. Case magnanimously removed the condition originally imposed. This was a handsome donation for us to receive, and we hope to realize a neat sum of money by selling it some day. Mr. Case also contributed money in a general way towards supporting the hospital.’

“Mr. Joseph Perkins, president of the board of trustees of the Protestant Orphan Asylum, made some interesting statements concerning Mr. Case’s magnificent donations of real estate to the Retreat, and the Protestant Orphan Asylum, as follows: ‘Mr. Case gave to the Woman’s Christian Association in 1872, a tract of land fronting 150 feet on St. Clair street and running back 400 feet. This land is probably worth \$150,000 at the present time. In 1874, I went to him and asked him, in the name of the Orphan Asylum trustees, for a piece of land immediately in the rear of the Retreat, fronting 300 feet on Kirtland street and running east 320 feet. My request was no sooner made than granted, and we were soon in possession of the deed to the land. Some time later, I asked him for an additional piece of land facing St. Clair street, 170 feet, and running back 400 feet and

joining our first gift at right angles. This was granted as willingly as before. When we came to build the asylum we found we were a little crowded for room and again went to Mr. Case asking for 30 feet on St. Clair street, and running back 700 feet. We were again given all we asked for. The gift of land to the Retreat and the asylum form a rectangle facing on St. Clair street 350 feet, and running back on Kirtland street 700 feet. This piece of land is probably worth \$35,000 to-day.' The numerous solicitations Mr. Case received daily and yearly, the careful investigation they underwent, and the large sum, in the aggregate, unostentatiously given by him to these and to meritorious, worthy and unsolicited charities will never be known on earth."

At the risk of some repetition in putting on record so much of the history of the Ark and its two generous founders and promoters as can now be gathered, liberal quotation will be made from the "Sketch of a Club that has existed for more than half a century without Constitution, Officers or By-Laws. Held together by a common love of Science and Field Sports. One of the most 'Ancient and Honorable' Institutions of the City," by Mr. George Hoyt, the able and versatile editor of the *Cleveland Sunday Voice*, published in the number of May 17, 1885:

"From the descriptions of an old member we have been able to vividly imagine those early scenes of study, work and play. Mr. Case and his com-

panions would meet in the front office. Its accessories were a dozen chairs, a large round table, a big open fire-place, with its andirons and shovels and tongs, a few pictures illustrative of shooting and fishing, a homely mantel-piece, on which stood a couple of second-hand bottles, doing duty as candle-sticks. The drawers of the big table were filled with tools for taxidermy and the skinning and preserving of game, together with such implements as were necessary in the cleaning and repairing of guns. In the course of time everybody who loved out-door sports fell into the habit of looking to Mr. Case's office for any information in the line of his taste; and finally—suggested, perhaps by its array of stuffed birds and animals and accumulation of nearly everything else—Stoughton Bliss christened the place The Ark.

"The gentlemen we have named were especially attracted to The Ark evenings. In summer the members began to come in right after tea. The first thing on the programme was an exhibition of feats of strength and agility on the pleasant grounds outside, in front. William and Leonard were adepts in these, and always took part. When it was time to light the candles there were birds to mount and guns to fix; and then for whist and chess. On a side table, usually littered with books and papers on natural history, a little space was usually made for the chess-board. Those not otherwise engaged would while the time away in conversation and discussion.

“In 1858 William Case employed Julius Gollman, a German artist, to paint a portrait group of the original Arkites, in their characteristic attitudes as they stood or lounged about the room. This picture is now preserved in the present quarters of the Ark in Case Hall. The portraits are of the men whose names are given in the above list of first members. A photograph of the painting may be seen in the museum of the Western Reserve Historical Society. Gollman returned to Cleveland a few years ago and opened a temporary studio. He was a painter of repute, especially in portraiture. At the time Mr. Case engaged him he happened to be in town executing some commissions. Mr. Gollman endeavored to make The Ark picture a piece of actual realism, and his success was pronounced perfect.

“Whenever William Case found that the museum lacked the desired specimen, he made the fact known and an effort was promptly made to supply the want. In this respect Captain Ben Stanard was his ablest lieutenant. He was the genius of the department of construction, mounting, collection and mending. On one occasion he made a pair of skates, out and out, for Leonard Case, who took great pride in them.

“Capt. Ben commanded the *Ramsey Cook*, which sailed the waters of Lake Superior before the canal. In that vessel he explored both sides of the Lake in the interest of the American Fur Company, and for the gratification of his love of nature. Afterwards he

sailed the lower lakes. Later he was appointed Inspector of Hulls, and still holds that position.

“When the building of the Custom House began The Ark was moved to the lot where the Case building now stands. Afterwards and finally it was set down in the northeast corner of the City Hall lot. When it was demolished the oak of which the house was built was made into tables and other fixtures of the new (and present) quarters in the southeast corner of City Hall, second story.

“An anecdote or two are not inappropriate—we wish we had more material of the kind: One evening in the late fall, William Case wanted to use the round tables in the Ark for some scientific purpose, but found White and Bond absorbed in a game of chess at the side, and Scovill, Bliss, Leonard Case and Cross at the centre-table, oblivious to everything but a game of whist. With his usual suavity and politeness, William requested the players to yield the tables to himself and Captain Ben for a few minutes. No one moved. The request was repeated; not a move. Case looked at them sharply for a moment; then, turning toward the door, said, with a slightly sarcastic emphasis, ‘Good evening, gentlemen. I will wait until you get through.’ He had not been gone long before all began to smell smoke, and soon the room was suffocatingly filled with it, in spite of various attempts at a remedy. Just then William Case’s twinkling eyes were seen at the window,

succeeded by the sound of his retreating footsteps as the crowd made for him. Captain Ben hastily climbed to the roof, removed a board from the top of the chimney, The Ark was aired, and the games went on.

“William Case’s tenacity of purpose in the pursuit of his favorite science was proverbial. Once, with a companion, late in April, he was gunning up the river in search of specimens, when he suddenly espied a phalarope—a rare wader. He at once began to stealthily approach the bird, when suddenly it flew across the river and into the woods. Nothing daunted, Mr. Case adopted this desperate plan: Looking around till he found a log upon which to rest his gun, he stripped, swam the river,—pushing the log before him—and disappeared in the forest. After a while the report of the gun was heard, and soon the gunner reappeared, bird in hand, swam back to his friend, donned his clothes, and went on with the hunt as though nothing had happened.

“William Case’s best dog was named Old Guide. It was wonderfully trained in all field work. One pleasant day in the spring, following the smoke-out, the Arkites were lounging about the front of the house, when Leonard Case suddenly espied William’s wallet protruding slightly from his trousers pocket.

It was quietly abstracted and passed from hand to hand to the rear of the group, and hidden under some litter of the room. Then Leonard happened to want a little money for marketing, but was broke. Several offered to lend him, but William told them to put up their money, and placing his hand on his pocket, said: ‘Here:’ the loss was discovered. Suspecting a joke, he began to search the innocents, but without result. Then espying Old Guide he made him understand by signs that something was missing, and, after holding his nose to the pocket, and ordering him to search, the dog immediately went to work,* ran down the pocket-book and returned it to its owner.’”

Both William and Leonard Case left a busy, thoughtful, active life in the prime of their manhood and good works; both were models of honor and true life; choosing innocent and manly sports in the field and at home, in the place of useless idleness—that unhealthy road leading to unnumbered follies; leaving characters and deeds worthy of emulation by youth and age and which will prove lasting monuments to them in the hearts of their fellow-citizens and to the world, as enduring as the foundations in science and learning they have so thoughtfully and generously laid.

D. W. CROSS.

(Concluded.)

THE CHAMBERLIN OBSERVATORY, DENVER.

The name of Chamberlin is not only to be associated with the church history of Denver and Colorado as one of the principal and princely givers to the construction of Trinity M. E. Church, but will also be indissolubly connected with its educational interests as the donor of the The Chamberlin Observatory. This building, of which we give a representation, will stand upon the highest point in University Park, in South Denver. Its revolving dome will be 5,400 feet above the sea-level—more than half as high as Pike's Peak—plainly to be seen about seventy miles to the south. This "coign of vantage" is a thousand feet nearer the stars than Mt. Hamilton, upon which stands Lick Observatory, California.

The telescope will be the largest between Washington City and San Francisco. Its object glass is twenty inches diameter, and the tube twenty-six feet in length. The dome weighs about twelve tons and will be made to revolve by rolling, as if it rested upon cannon balls. If the telescope be turned upon a star, the driving-clock will keep it upon a star all night long.

Alva Clark's Sons, of Cambridge, are making the object-glass and Fouth & Co., of Washington, the equatorial mounting. There will also be a library building in connection with it. Many instruments such as precision clocks,

chronometers, transits, &c., are also being constructed. The whole will cost about \$50,000.

The Denver *Journal of Commerce*, alluding to the public spirit and liberality of Mr. Chamberlin, and referring especially to this endowment in the interest of science, makes the following just comments and comparisons: "While enjoying to the full the money he has made in Denver—as no doubt he does—we are glad to know that Mr. Chamberlin finds it in his heart to distribute some of it while still in the prime of his manhood and in the vigor of his career. James Lick waited till his death to let the public have the benefit of the millions he had accumulated; then to charitable and scientific purposes he gave nearly two million dollars from a fortune which was the outcome of steady purpose in one direction, that of real estate. Girard was a financier of the highest order, but he hoarded his millions until he died, leaving his money mainly to found Girard College, hampered with a condition that showed his utter disregard of Christianity. These philanthropists (after death), the one from the distant West, the other from the far East, we allude to in order to contrast them with the type evolved by the civilization resting on the Crest of the Sierras, combining the benevolence of a Lick with a higher cast of humanity

than was exhibited by the infidel benefactor to the cause of knowledge. How much nobler the Chamberlin Observatory of the Denver University will shine on the scrolls of science in the ages to come, crowned with the aurora of a Christian's belief, than will the Girard Orphan Asylum, clouded by the shadow of infidelity and a dead man's dictum that prevents the entrance of the highest type of humanity—the Christian Minister—inside its gates. A recent writer has said that 'it is highly probable that there will come an age when a large accumulation of wealth will not

be desired; bringing, as it will, simply multiplied cares without any more privileges than the people of moderate fortune enjoy. To reach that condition, however, it is necessary to pass through a period when the desire to get rich will rather induce men to carry out enterprises that will benefit the public fully as much as themselves.' It may be that Mr. H. B. Chamberlin is one of the pioneers of this higher culture, and Denver (and Colorado also) may well be proud that he is one of its most honored citizens."

A CHAPTER OF DENVER'S HISTORY.

H. B. CHAMBERLIN'S VISIT IN SEARCH OF HEALTH AND WHAT CAME OF IT.

IF "houses, cities, laws, literatures, and civilizations are biographies of life-long struggles, anxieties, groans, tears and rejoicings" then the history of Denver is the biography of a generation of men who have experienced the vicissitudes of life to a greater extent than perhaps any like number of people in the same length of time. The building of this city represents, first, those who came in search of gold and silver, embracing both the successful and the unsuccessful; those who sought and found wealth and remained to build homes under the shadow of the mountains whose treasures enriched them; and those who found only graves upon the plains, or in the gulches which re-

sounded to the wearisome pick and footfall, as their quest for gold proved more and more unavailing. If Denver therefore is a silver shield whose pictorial language heralds many brilliant victories in her struggles for civic renown—that shield also casts a shadow, a sum of human wretchedness and misfortune which only darkness itself can symbolize.

Its annals include another class who came in search of health, to live in and to breathe that which poets speak of as "the silvery clearness and translucency of the mountain air of Colorado." But of some of those who came *too late* for the healing that is upon the wings of this free-born wanderer, mortuary lines have been written

with "groans and tears." Riverside Cemetary has its biography as well as Denver. But the history of such as came before it was too late to drink in this medicinale air and live; who regained health and acquired wealth; whose enkindled energies found pleasurable expression in building and beautifying and rendering Denver a city of homes—perhaps is the most brightly glittering tincture upon her escutcheon.

A chapter of Denver's biography is the life of Humphrey Barker Chamberlin, Esq., who was born in Manchester, England, February 7, 1847. His motives for coming and finally removing his family here is an illustration of the class who came, broken in health, a physical wreck, and, in consequence, ruined in estate. Whatever Mr. Chamberlin is to-day in the enjoyment of health, fortune and a name honored wherever religion, science and commerce are honored—he owes to the climate of Colorado, and to the precept "keep thy heart with all diligence, for out of it are the issues of life." All this within a decade of Denver's history, for Mr. Chamberlin arrived here in February, 1880, "with no prospects of a protracted life."

Religion points to Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church, and then to Mr. Chamberlin who gave as one to whom much had been given, but for whose generosity, Christian philanthropy, and public spirit that noble structure, "a poem in architecture whose spire is grace itself," would not perhaps then and there have been built. How many

precious stones—ruby and chalcedony, amethyst and sapphire—his hand laid in her shining walls!

His subscription of \$25,000 to the Young Men's Christian Association, of which he is President, insures the erection of a \$200,000 building to furnish the objects of that most excellent organization. Regarding knowledge as "The wing wherewith we fly to Heaven," he has given to science "The Chamberlin Observatory."

Out of his continually growing business has recently been organized "The Chamberlin Investment Company," No. 1033 Sixteenth street, Denver, officered with himself as president, Alfred W. Chamberlin, Esq., vice-president; Frederick J. Chamberlin, Esq., as treasurer (both his brothers), and F. B. Gibson, Esq., secretary. It has a paid up capital of \$1,000,000, and is the foremost commercial institution west of the Missouri river.

Recognizing Mr. Chamberlin's representative character in this regard, in addition to personal qualifications, the business community recently elected him president of the Denver Chamber of Commerce and Board of Trade. In remembrance of all these blessings and honors he may well repeat, as he often does, the motto of Colorado—*Nil sine numine*—nothing without God.

His parents, Robert and Eliza (Barker) Chamberlin came from England to New York in 1852 where they lived three years, then removed to Oswego, N. Y. In both cities he was placed in schools. He also attended the State

Normal School. When fifteen years of age he entered the office of the New York, Albany and Buffalo Telegraph Company, which afterwards became the Western Union. In 1863 he entered the Military Telegraph service in which he remained until one year after the close of the war. He served at the headquarters of Generals Schofield; Howard, Palmer and Terry. He accepted employment in the drug store of James Bickford & Co., of Oswego, New York, and a partnership the year following; removed next to Fulton, then to Syracuse in the same state, remaining continuously in the drug business until 1876, when he was chosen general secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association of Brooklyn, New York.

He gave this energetic attention until 1879 when his health failed, the result of overwork, manifesting itself in nervous prostration and insomnia. Before coming to Denver he stopped some time at Clifton Springs. He spent the year 1880 in the mountains of Colorado hunting and fishing. Returning health induced him to accept the presidency of the "Tuggy Boot and Shoe Company" in 1881, which was engaged in the manufacture of heavy goods for miner's use. In the spring of 1882, he formed a partnership with his brother-in-law, Mr. D. C. Packard, now president of the Board of Supervisors, and went into the real estate business. This step was the result of his experience as a seeker of health, upon which his anticipations

of success were wisely founded. He believed thereafter in the great future of Denver. Its climate and its peculiar position—isolation from rival cities—induced him to engage in and give all his attention to the subject of providing homes for the thousands he believed would come when the advantages became fully known to the people of the east in both hemispheres. In this confident belief he was not alone, but in its constant exercise he was not surpassed by anyone. That which made him think, seven years ago, that Denver would have its present population, makes him now prophecy that within twenty-one years from this time the population of Denver will be 500,000. The operations of H. B. Chamberlin & Brothers are epitomized in the following extract from the *Denver Journal of Commerce*:

"Mr. Chamberlin makes a specialty of Capitol Hill property, the choice residence portion of the city. In May, 1882, he platted and placed on the market Central Capitol Hill Addition, which had at once a phenomenal sale. Later in the same year, in connection with Philadelphia and Denver parties, he laid out the South Capitol Hill Subdivision, and purchased the Brown, Smith and Porter Addition. The past four years a large share of his time and energy has been devoted to improving these popular and thriving additions. Mr. Chamberlin is the representative of Messrs. Thomas Emery's Sons, of Cincinnati, who have vast real estate interests in Denver, and has

lately placed on the market for them Emery's Capitol Hill Addition of nearly four hundred lots, and Emery's North Denver Addition of two hundred lots. He is the owner of the beautiful suburb known as University Terrace, adjoining University Park, the new town site of Denver University. It is splendidly situated about three miles south of the city limits, well above the city smoke and dust, and commands a fine view of the whole noble stretch of the Rockies.

"A specialty with Mr. Chamberlin is his real estate first mortgage loans on inside and improved outside properties. The money is loaned on mortgage, evidenced by principal note and interest coupons, which, as with the trust deed, are drawn direct in the name of the lenders. Much money is being invested in this way at eight and ten per cent. for Eastern parties, and from the care taken and the absolute reliability of Mr. Chamberlin, a loss is not remotely possible. Mr. Chamberlin is an authority on all matters respecting real estate in Denver. He is the originator and promoter of many enterprises of the greatest importance in the progress of the State, among others, Glen Park, the Colorado Chautauqua."

But Mr. Chamberlin's transactions are not confined to Denver. He is one of the largest real-estate operators in Pueblo; is interested in extensive properties at Fort Worth, Texas; is the owner of several thousand acres near Corpus Christi and Aransas Pass, Texas; and is one of the English syndicate

with large investments at San Antonio.

Mr. Chamberlin is also president of the International Young Men's Christian Association. His recent election to this position elicited the following editorial comment from the *Rocky Mountain News*: "The international convention of the Young Men's Christian Association, now in session at Philadelphia, yesterday elected H. B. Chamberlin its president for the ensuing term. The association has secured a man of sterling worth, of superior business ability and exhaustless enterprise, who is in a rare sense liberal and public spirited. Denver is honored in the choice."

In 1871, Mr. Chamberlin married Miss Alice Packard, of Rome, N. Y. They have three children,—Miss Elsie D., who is attending college at Washington City; Robert M., aged eight, and Helen Chamberlin, about four years of age. Mrs Chamberlin's

—"Task is to be kind;—

To render with her precepts, less
The sum of human wretchedness."

Her time is divided between the cares and pleasures of her refined home, church and charitable work, and the Sabbath school in which she is a faithful and efficient teacher.

In 1887 Mr. Chamberlin built two residences upon Sherman avenue, in one of which he lives, the head of a Christian family whom prosperity has not made forgetful of his God. The other twin residence standing by the side of his own home, Mr. Chamberlin gave to Trinity M. E. Church—a dona-

tion as a parsonage, valued at \$20,000, which is now occupied by the Rev. Henry A. Buchtell, D. D., pastor of Trinity.

Mr. Chamberlin's residence, as seen in the engraving, is the type of many another in Denver which the enterprise, the business intrepidity, indeed, of Mr. Chamberlin has brought within the reach and enjoyment of others. No one man has done more to give Denver its reputation as a city of beautiful residences than this "health seeker of 1880," who is now at the head of the real estate business of Colorado; a rich man, and withal a Christian gentleman, whose benefactions have kept pace with the phenomenal prosperity, while nothing but the lustre of honor is reflected from his fine old English surname. Manchester, England, and Denver, Colorado, the birthplace and the home, respectively, of Mr. Chamberlin, are two cities as dissimilar in history as they are

widely separated. Chamberlin at forty years of age in Manchester would not be the Chamberlin of Denver of to-day. This, being true, is a commentary upon the character of the two cities—the laws of both nations and the difference between republican America and aristocratic England, not to speak of climate. That is to say it is not possible to embark, for instance, in real estate transactions in old England, with its laws of primogeniture, such as have evoked the splendid energy and called into exercise the business qualities of Mr. Chamberlin in America. The thought is the glory of our institutions as reflected in the career of this English born subject, now an honored American citizen, whose estates may not be baronial, but nevertheless are lordly, because they came as the reward of that diligence in business which, Solomon says, shall make a man stand before kings.

HENRY DUDLEY TEETOR.

THE INSURRECTION AND CONQUEST OF THE TUSKERORAS,

1711—12.*

No narrative of ancient and prehistoric times in the English settlements of America is complete, which does not record, with earnest gratitude, the deep fraternal regard which marked the intercourse of the English with each other north and south of the James, prior to the introduction of African slavery,

and its prodigious development in their political and domestic relations.

The name "Virginia" was in fact, formerly applied to the whole country on the Atlantic seaboard, between the St. Lawrence and the St. Johns in Florida.

After a while that part of Virginia which borders on Massachusetts Bay, came to be called New England, while Southern Virginia or Carolina, included

*Read before the Oneida Historical Society, December 18, 1888.

all the country now known as North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. To the ancient Arabic geographers, and in the *Landnama Book* of Iceland, this same region had, for centuries before Columbus, been well known as *Hvitramanna-land*, or *White man's land* and *Ireland-El-Mikla* or *Ireland the greater*.

United by a common origin and language and common dangers, surrounded by the same implacable foe, and, notwithstanding some remaining differences of Puritan and Cavalier, inheriting on the whole, the same political traditions and religious tendencies, the situation necessarily developed from the Penobscot to the Savannah, a striking similarity of interests, opinions and institutions.

Their mode of living and appearance, their laws, manners and general style, were a wonderful bond of union and sympathy. Nor did there fail to arise between these wanderers from the merry homes of England other and gentler sympathies, the last and sweetest fruits of social intimacies sanctioned by religion and law, which awaken, in the midst of deserts, the domestic affections, produce kindred blood, and, evolving society from chaos, re-establish and renew the transient affinities of casual intercourse and link together whole generations in an endless and unbroken chain.

Hand in hand, and heart with heart, the English-American colonists, forgetting the disputes and mutual persecutions which drove them across the deep, stood together against the mother

country in the gloom of the Proprietary and Revolutionary periods, and shoulder to shoulder,

Distinct as the billows,
And yet one as the sea!

they stood respectively on either side the seething caldron of our sectional disputes, until by the mighty arbitration of battle, they have been forever adjusted, and the ripe fruit of homogeneity in American institutional and national development has been evolved and is forever secured. Who says that patriotism is a pacific virtue? Nay, do we not know that all beneficial political changes and reforms in society and the state, are introduced and made possible only by war? The tree of patriotism is indeed itself baptized and nourished by blood, and never do its roots spread so widely or clasp the soil so stubbornly as when its green and tufted crests are swept by adverse winds! Our country may be torn and lacerated, the sudden tempest may break off its topmost boughs and drive them in mad contending circles through the air, but, holding fast by the central root, in every storm it quivers with exulting life, forever shrieking a song of triumph and thrilling a far-heard music as it wrestles in the freedom of our gales.

I am here to-night to tell you how, on various occasions in the history of the Carolinas and Georgia, the characteristics to which I have referred as peculiar to the English race, inspired them there with the ambition for the great deeds which continually happened

on the Hudson and the St. Lawrence, and to show that the settlers on the Ashley and the Pedee, were not unworthy of being the countrymen of the heroes of Louisburg and the Plains of Abraham!

Among the events which are hence worthy of being better known to you and remembered, are the two expeditions sent by the colony of South Carolina under Colonels Barnwell and Moore to New Berne, North Carolina in 1711—12, to quell an insurrection of the Tuskeroras in that province, nearly a hundred years before their migration to New York.

These two expeditions are either ignored in the histories of the period or confounded, although they relate to the most tragical and calamitous incident of the Proprietary period of American history.

Up to the date of the insurrection of the 22d of September, 1711, the most amicable relations had existed in North Carolina between the whites and the Indians. For more than half a century they had lived together on the most friendly terms. If, occasionally, this *entente cordiale* was interrupted, it was by cases of individual variance only, and these were always satisfactorily adjusted by the law, which was equitably and fairly administered.

The testimony I have collected from local history, ascribes the tragical events I am about to relate and the insurrection of the Tuskeroras to the intrigues of Thomas Carey, formerly Governor of the colony, and to the Quakers of

Albemarle, under the lead of a man named Roach, assisted by John and Edmund Porter, Edward Moseley, Peter Tillet and Emanuel Low.* Carey had been Governor in 1706, under the appointment of Sir Nathaniel Johnston. The Proprietors having, however, disapproved of this choice, he was removed and William Glover selected in his stead. Carey refused to submit, and his struggle to retain power divided the colony into two factions who were frequently arrayed against each other. There were two Governors, two Presidents, two General Assemblies and two Councils. The Quakers of North Carolina were a different kind of persons from those who settled Pennsylvania; all the contemporary accounts agree in attributing the Massacre to the Quakers. They predominated in numbers and political influence, and under their inspiration and influence, Glover, the Governor, together with Pollok, the President of the Council, was forced to seek refuge in Virginia, and Carey's usurpation recognized. Carey, the usurping Governor, had been Collector for the Proprietors and had failed to account to them. John Porter had come to America originally as their agent, to call him to account. Carey treated the summons with contempt and demoralized the messenger.

In August, 1710, Edward Hyde, who accompanied Glover in his flight to Virginia, returned as Governor, and in March of the following year, summoned an Assembly. Carey attempted to obtain

*Hawk's History of North Carolina.

control of the elections to that body but failed. Nothing daunted, he attempted to get the members elect to pass an act declaring all such of the inhabitants as adhered to Gov. Hyde, outlaws and out of their protection. The Assembly, however, not only refused to pass the act but adopted an order for Carey's arrest. Carey immediately collected his adherents, proclaimed himself President, entrenched his house and planted a battery commanding its approaches. Being furnished with a brig and a barcelonga by a leading Quaker, he immediately armed the former with six guns, and filling the boat with fusileers, brought the force to bear upon the house where Gov. Hyde and the Provincial Council were assembled. He even landed his men and attacked the Governor in his house but was repulsed. Gov. Spottswood, of Virginia, being informed of these disturbances, sent Clayton with a force of marines to Hyde's relief. The latter also ordered out the militia, and by their aid Carey's rebellion was quelled. Finally Carey himself was captured in the swamps of Pamlico, and sent a prisoner to England. This was on the 28th of July, 1711. Before his arrest and departure, however, preparations for the mischief we are to relate had been completed. It so chanced that the Provincial Assembly had adjourned without agreeing upon any plan or making any preparations for the public defence and Carey, full of revenge against the whites for their rejection of his overtures, despatched Porter to stir

up rebellion amongst the Indians, promising them great rewards for the murder of all who adhered to Hyde. Under their inspiration a vast conspiracy was organized, of which the warlike Tuskeroras were the leaders. Their plans for a simultaneous rising were laid with skill and secrecy. The Tuskeroras assumed the work of destruction on the plantations bordering on the Roanoke and the Pamlico. The Pamlico Indians were charged with the slaughter of the whites near them. The Cotechneys and the Cores were to do the work at New Berne and on the Neuse and Trent rivers. The Maramuskeets and Matchapungos of Hyde and Beaufort had confided to them the murder of all the whites at Bath and the neighboring plantations. The Tuskeroras and the Meherrins, assisted by the smaller tribes, were to dispose of all the whites on the north shore of the Albemarle.

A time was appointed for simultaneous action, and on the 22d of September, 1711, the day preceding the new moon, the work was to begin. Meanwhile, notwithstanding the numbers to which the secret was confided, the conspiracy was not even suspected. The whites indulged in a fatal security. A few days before that fixed for the massacre, the Baron de Graffenreid, accompanied by John Lawson, Surveyor General of the Province, left New Berne for the purpose of inspecting the lands included in his grant,* and

* Report, chap. 3.

ascertaining how far the stream was navigable.

After proceeding some miles they landed at an Indian village called Conetra to spend the night. There they encountered a large number of Indians who seized them and took possession of their boat, arms and provisions, and compelled them to travel all night to another Indian village when they were delivered as prisoners to the chief. The next day the Baron was released, but Lawson was put to death under circumstances of the greatest cruelty.*

At last the appointed day arrived. Twelve hundred Tuskeroras divided into twelve small parties began their secret march. No outward sign of hostility was seen. Individuals were sent among the whites to reconnoitre, and entered the houses of their intended victims. As night approached, larger numbers appeared. Still there was no alarm. Sunrise was the preconcerted signal. As soon as it arrived the Indians within the houses gave a whoop which was instantly responded to by their companions lurking in the woods, and the work of butchery began. Then ensued an indiscriminate slaughter. Grey-haired age, vigorous manhood and helpless childhood fared alike.

In the Roanoke settlement, one hundred and thirty were butchered. The Swiss and Palatines around New Berne,

to the number of sixty; an unknown number of Huguenots in Bath and the vicinity were murdered — everywhere the cruel tomahawk and scalping knife were used with fatal effect. Happy he who could hide or escape from the scene of horror. Soon the torch was applied, and those who lay concealed were forced from their covering. Then the fiends with loud yells marched through the forest, assembling at a rendezvous previously designated, and, infuriated by drunkenness and success, staggered on in their bloody man-hunt. They scoured the country north of Albemarle, as far West as the Chowan River.

The carnage lasted three days and terminated at last from the sheer exhaustion of the savages. The few colonists who escaped slaughter and remained in the country collected as they could the women and children and guarded them night and day. The situation was perilous in the extreme. The Governor was without the means of warfare. The Assembly, being composed of men who opposed his administration, had adjourned without making any provision for the public defense, and while the colony was thus at war and in debt without means, the people were stubborn, disobedient and demoralized. Treason was rampant, beligerent, unrestrained and unpunished. Many of the inhabitants rather than expose themselves to the enemy quitted their plantations, and, abandoning their women and children, threw themselves for safety upon the Virginians. Dr.

* The release of Chapelin, the Irishman who accompanied De Graffenried and Lawson as related by Humboldt, is one of the most remarkable incidents of history.

Hawks says there was hardly a white man to be found on the north of the Chowan River.* Gov. Hyde did the best he could under the circumstances. He communicated his perilous condition to the Governors of South Carolina and Virginia and implored their help. Christopher Gale, Chief Justice of North Carolina, was sent to Charleston. He arrived there on the 11th October, 1711. The Legislature of South Carolina happened to be in session and the Governor energetic. No time was lost. The Assembly voted four thousand pounds and ordered on active service one-half the entire military force of the colony. The Virginians contented themselves with asking Gov. Spotswood to declare war existed, and they even voted twenty thousand pounds to its prosecution, but omitted to provide the necessary ways and means for its collection. Gov. Spotswood accordingly assembled a force of sixteen hundred men, and solemnly marched with them to the Nottoway River, and then,—solemnly marched back again! The unhappy Carolinians who survived the massacre sheltered themselves in temporary forts erected at various places in the country watered by the Neuse, the Pamlico and the Chowan. Surrounded by a merciless foe instigated by renegades and traitors, with their helpless and hapless women and children abandoned by their natural guardians and protectors, they awaited their doom with the calm

serenity of despair. It was at this opportune moment that the South Carolina expedition arrived. It was commanded by Col. John Barnwell of Beaufort, South Carolina, a gentleman of Irish extraction, whose name had already become familiar and honored in the history of his country. In the wars with the French and Spaniards he had served with distinction under Col. William Rhett and had acquired some reputation for military skill. He was the father of John and Edward Barnwell of Beaufort, who afterwards obtained distinction in the Revolutionary War.

His command consisted of 218 Cherokees under Capt. Thurston, 79 Creeks under Capt. Hastings, 41 Catawbas under Capt. Cantey, and 28 Yemasees under Capt. Pierce, in addition to the regular white militia.

To reach North Carolina in time to save the colony there from utter extinction, the utmost expedition was required. The Santee river was then the dividing line between the Northern and Southern settlements. The two were separated by a dense wilderness two hundred and fifty miles in extent, intersected by five great rivers, the Santee, the Great and Little Peedee, the Waccamaw and the Clarendon. These streams traverse the country at intervals of fifty miles, flowing in a general direction north-northwest to southeast. There were no roads in this wilderness or across these streams. Communication between New Berne and Charleston is now easily effected by rail in about twelve hours. Then,

* History N. C., 2 vol.

it was almost impossible. Vast swamps and savannahs untrodden by the foot of man, and now almost equally impassable, stretched on both sides these rivers. There were no ferries or bridges. There were no inhabitants and no human habitations other than rude shelters. In them lurked hostile Indians eager for prey, and indifferent whether the object of their pursuit was a human victim or a beast of the chase. Denizens of this unbroken forest, they roamed there unchecked by any law save their own will, and encountered no beings less fierce or untameable than themselves. No white man can live in these dismal wastes, fit only for the Mongolian tribes who infested them. It was a savage *boscage* which had been scorched for ages by the blasts of war and the no less deadly breath of pestilence. It was the scene of deadly contests in the past, of which fortunately there remains no record, except fragments of bones which lie here and there in vast heaps or pits, and which belonged to races now unknown, whose very differences have passed with them into oblivion, and whose existence might be denied if it were not for these remains, which prove their vast numbers, and the fact of their mutual destruction. Alas! civilization can hardly yet be said to have reclaimed these frightful wastes, or to have found amidst their melancholy solitude a permanent home. Everywhere else on the habitable globe the human race has left on the soil or on the plastic rock some footprints of its march which seem to say, Here has

man once been; here he lived, and here he perished. Here a social human organization once followed the ordinary routine of birth, life and extinction; but the Carolinas and Georgia contain no relics of their former ages and former civilization, if they had any. There are no ruins, no remains, save those of human beings engaged in slaughter; no soil marks save those which record a recent strife akin to many which preceded it, and which will also soon themselves disappear. We build no edifices like those of former days and other lands. Stone and marble disintegrate in this climate; the land itself is as unstable and restless as the sea. The monuments in our cemeteries crumble into dust almost as soon as the bodies they are erected to commemorate. We establish no empire. The past and present face each other across an unbridged chasm, upon whose barren walls no verdure germinates, in whose silent gloom all history is entombed.

It was neither possible for Barnwell to carry rations for his men nor to purchase or procure them on the way, and there was no road or pathway through the intervening wilderness. The little army had to encounter the pangs of hunger and a merciless ambuscade at every step. They had no commissariat, and subsisted themselves by hunting as they went along. They left Charleston early in December, 1711, and, marching night and day, living, as I have said, on what game and roots they could find, they reached the Neuse river in less than twenty-eight days. This was

indeed a wonderful march! When Barnwell struck the savages he drove them before him with the energy which might have been expected of such a commander. In his first battle he killed three hundred of them and took one hundred prisoners.

The last and final encounter with the Tuskeroras and their allies took place on the 29th January, 1712. On that day he came up with them at the spot I have elsewhere described. Here they were strongly entrenched and determined on making their final stand. Barnwell was here reinforced by Col. Mitchell, of New Berne, and two hundred men. The Indian force being also largely augmented, the savages enclosed their non-combatants in the fort, and boldly advancing across the field, upon Barnwell's approach rushed forward and gave him battle. Barnwell received their assault with equal impetuosity, and at the first onset drove them back with great slaughter. Taking refuge in their entrenchments he there completely surrounded them except on the side toward the river. Col. Mitchell, however, having brought with him a battery of two guns and obtained possession of a commanding eminence, directed a well-sustained fire therefrom upon the crowded fort. He also succeeded in pushing to the wall a large amount of combustibles, and was about to burn them out of their stronghold when they sued for mercy and offered to surrender. They might easily have now been exterminated on the spot. It was impossible for one to escape. There

had already been killed, wounded and captured more than a thousand of them, and Barnwell was himself desperately wounded. Great dissatisfaction was expressed by the North Carolina troops at his resolution, but he accepted their surrender and allowed them to withdraw. They fled to the neighboring swamps and forests. The South Carolinians had forty-one killed at Fort Barnwell and seventy wounded, more than one-tenth of their force.

The news of Barnwell's success was of course received with great joy by Gov. Hyde and his council. It was especially grateful to the refugees in Virginia, who now returned to their homes. The insurrection was subdued. For the first time in nearly three years there was peace in Carolina. A formal vote of thanks was ordered, and Lieut.-Col. Thomas and Thomas Boyd, Esq., members of the Board, were deputed to convey the thanks of that body to the Hon. Col. John Barnwell, Esq., commander-in-chief of all the forces, for his great care, diligence and good conduct, and to congratulate him on his victory.

Five hundred bushels of Indian corn were ordered to be delivered to his order. They also requested the South Carolina authorities to authorize Barnwell to concert with them and Virginia such measures as would prevent the recurrence of these massacres in the future.

Thus far all seemed prosperous, and the happy Barnwell enjoyed the confidence of the people he had rescued.

In the eastern part of North Carolina tradition has preserved a respectful remembrance of his name. Dr. Hawks, the historian, was born near the scene of these exploits, and, inquiring among the most aged and respectable of the citizens found none* in that region, who had ever heard any disparaging imputations upon the South Carolina officer. The place where the fort stood is yet called "Fort Barnwell," in compliment to him. He had indeed done an important public service. Not only was the rebellion subdued and the Indians chastised, but civil authority was restored and Carey and his adherents pursued, arrested and exiled, and Hyde firmly established in authority. Barnwell, however, reaped nothing from his victory but wounds and ingratitude. He became anxious to return to Charleston in consequence, but, of course, had to remain until relieved by some other military force. In addition to other annoyances the question of provisions began to embarrass him, and he was out of ammunition. His requisitions on Gov. Hyde were unheeded, and his men began to suffer and to complain. Even the five hundred bushels of corn were not delivered, and in addition to this disappointment he began to meet reproaches. Instead of "the great care, diligence, and success" for which he had been formally credited and complimented, the Governor and his friends affected to discern great and culpable remissness in permitting the Indians to escape after the battle; and

* Hawks' N. C.

at last throwing off all disguise, Gov. Hyde became openly unfriendly. They who had given least aid to the prosecution of the war were most conspicuous in these complaints, and the very council which had supplied but two hundred four-months men, and no money and no food, took the lead. In January they complimented him, but in May they invited complaints against him to which they greedily listened and entertained so far as to direct an investigation. They even resolved in advance that should these charges be found true, application would be made for his recall. No such application was ever made to the South Carolina authorities, and the charges were abandoned. This treatment appears to have been felt as it was intended to be by the victim of these jealousies, but there does not seem to have been any foundation for the persecutions with which they were accompanied, and the only suggested ground of dissatisfaction was Col. Barnwell's acceptance of the surrender of the Tuskeroras. Instead of massacring them outright, he had magnanimously granted them their lives and dismissed them on parole of good behaviour. This engagement the Indians observed, and they remained quiet as long as Barnwell was in the country. The murder of a defeated and disarmed foe did not comport with this South Carolinian's ideas of honorable warfare. But these ideas were those of a soldier, and were not derived from men who had not the courage to meet their enemies in battle, and had made no re-

sistance or defense to their attacks. Barnwell experienced a fate very usual with successful soldiers. His talents and courage were equal to the conduct of military operations, but he wanted the tact and versatility necessary to the wordling and the politician. He was misrepresented by Spotswood of Virginia, who had the mortification to see him succeed on the field on which he had "snuffed the battle from afar," and he was misrepresented by Hyde, who had to acknowledge Barnwell accomplished what he could not even attempt. As it was, suffering the greatest agony from his wounds and the distress of his men, embarrassed by the want of food and ammunition and the Governor's jealousy, Barnwell retired to Bath until the latter part of July, when some troops arrived from Virginia, and then leaving a few Indian companies behind him he embarked in a sloop sent for him from Charleston and returned to that city with the remainder of his detachment.

None of the complaints to which I have alluded, I assert, affected the reputation of Barnwell at home. The confidence of the South Carolina authorities in him never for a moment wavered, and hardly had he embarked than the war was renewed by the Indians with greater rage and more atrocious cruelties. Relieved of the restraint of his presence, some of the South Carolina Indians, suffering from hunger, committed violences and made depredations upon the conquered Tuskeroras, and the war was renewed.

The North Carolina Assembly met on the 12th of March, 1712, and finding everything at stake and another Indian war on their hands, voted supplies to the amount of four thousand pounds.

On the 2d of June they sent Mr. James Foster for assistance from the Saponas Indians. They ordered a new fort built on Core Sound, which they called Fort Hyde, and authorized another at Read's plantation on Tar river. On Mr. Foster's return from the Saponas, he was sent to South Carolina on the same errand. Gov. Spottswood of Virginia, seemed interested in the perils of the Carolinians, and expressed his sympathy in very neat and graceful words, but relief came, as before, from South Carolina. The legislature of that province at once despatched another military force to the rescue, and the command of this second South Carolina expedition was offered to Col. Barnwell by Gov. Craven, but the wounded hero was not yet sufficiently recovered from his wounds and was obliged to decline the proffered honor.

The second South Carolina expedition had their rendezvous on the Congaree. There they were reviewed and inspected by Gov. Craven, who finally entrusted the command to James Moore, the son of the Governor of that name and Miss Yeamans, the lovely daughter and heiress of Gov. Sir John Yeamans. His father was the son of Roger Moore, formerly of old Charleston on the Cape Fear, and the same who is known there as "King Roger," and who is mentioned

in Irish History as a conspirator against Cromwell. His command consisted of 40 whites and 800 Indians. He marched from his camp on the Congaree on the 15th of December, 1712, and reached the Chowan river on the 17th of January, 1713. The Indians had a fort near the present village of Snow Hill, in Greene county, which they called Nahucke and here, on Moore's approach, they retired. On the 20th of March, Moore laid siege to the place and soon became master of it. A large number of Indians were killed, and 800 of them sent to South Carolina by him and sold into slavery. I have searched for the evidence and find no evidence that Col. Barnwell sold Indians into slavery. Moore lost 58 men at Cahucke, of whom 22 were whites, so that more than half the white men were killed. His wounded were 80, of whom 24 were whites, so that of his white force at Cahucke, all were either killed or wounded. The South Carolina Indians returned after the battle to Charleston, excepting about 180 who remained in North Carolina, with their commander, at the request of Gov. Hyde. James Moore died there in 1777, and was the brother of Maurice Moore, who was the founder of the town of Brunswick. James was also Colonel of the First Regiment, North Carolina Continental troops which, in June, 1776, assisted in the memorable defence of Fort Moultrie, in Charleston Harbor.* Jasper belonged to the 2d Carolina.

*Wheeler's North Carolina Sketches, Vol. II., pp. 47-48.

Such of the Indians as escaped from Nahucke fled to Kahuoke, another fort forty miles distant, and being followed there by Moore, they abandoned the place. The greater part of them then ascended the Mahock, now Roanoke, river, and ultimately settled on a tract of land on the south side of that river, in the county of Bertie. This land was assigned them by Gov. Edens, under a treaty between the state and the Tuskeroras, dated 5th of June, 1717. In June, 1803, the Tuskeroras, leaving one of their tribe in the county of Martin, as their agent, removed to New York and joined the famous Five Nations of Iroquois, making the sixth. Their language, which was originally Celtic and Irish, soon assimilated to the Iroquois dialect. Col. Moore found no further difficulty with the Indians. The Matihapungos fled to the swamps and the Cores were encountered and subdued by him in Carteret county, not far from the present town of Beaufort. Col. Moore with one hundred men reached Charleston on his return in June, 1713. The Legislature passed him a vote of thanks and presented him with £100 in addition to his pay.

The Tuskeroras are the last remnant of the ancient Irish and Keltic inhabitants of Carolina, and their history as an independent nation terminates here and with their migration to New York and their incorporation with the Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy. To you their name is familiar as one of the Six Nations. I shall esteem myself happy if to-night I have succeeded in

awakening your kind interest in their former history and descent. I shall reserve for a future occasion the Pre-

Columbian settlement of this country by their Irish ancestry.

EDWARD CANTWELL.

THE BAR AND BENCH OF DENVER AND COLORADO.

IV.

JOSEPH C. HELM.

SOME one has said the history of a race is embedded in its surnames. Domesday Book furnishes nearly all modern English patronymics, numbering about three hundred thousand heads of families, forebearers of the surnames of the English speaking men and women of to-day. The names of Andrew and Emma de Helme are also inscribed upon the rolls of the Antiquarian Society of Normandy.

An interesting fact concerning this surname is its heraldic associations. *Cassis tutissima virtus*, or "virtue is the safest helmet," was the motto of the founders of this family in the days of chivalry. The shield was charged with a steel helmet on a field of gold, while the crest consisted of a demi-dragon holding in a dexter claw across, and supporting with the sinister an escutcheon also charged with a helmet.

It is not proposed to trace in this paper the family genealogy of Chief Justice Helm to this ancient source. The origin and significance of his name is all that is contemplated. But in this search a characteristic of the man—this descendant, it will be assumed, of this old English family, was found embedded in the motto just quoted, "True cour-

age is the safest helmet," a sentiment which the career of Chief Justice Helm as a soldier, civilian and jurist has attested in a striking manner.

His earliest recollections date back only a short period beyond his eighth year when his mother died and left him without property and among strangers in Iowa, with his father absent in California, seeking, vainly it seems, to better his fortunes, or rather his misfortunes. But there is in his rising from that humble horizon to the position of Chief Justice of Colorado, within the period of one generation, one of the most remarkable instances of success in the history of this Western country. It is a career that befittingly illustrates the ancient family sentiment whether his blood was fetched from thence, or whether he is what he is, regardless of the law of heredity.

His father, a native of the state of New York, was of English descent—that is about all that is known on that line. His mother, a Canadian by birth, was of Scotch ancestry. They removed to Chicago where Joseph C. Helm was born June 30, 1848. A removal to Prescott, Canada, soon afterwards followed.

Here and now begin his recollections of the privations, not the pleasures, of his boyhood. About 1854 his mother removed to Iowa, his father then being gold-seeker upon the Pacific Coast.

Five years after his mother's death, when a thirteen year old boy, he enlisted in the First Battalion, 13 U. S. Infantry, at the outbreak of the Rebellion, and was mustered as a private, but on account of his age and slight physique was detailed as a drummer boy. After two years, in this capacity, he entered the ranks as a private. He was in active field service most of the time from 1861 to 1865, and remained in the army nearly a year after the close of the war, receiving an honorable discharge in 1866. He was in many of the engagements in which his battalion distinguished itself, notably Champion Hills, Vicksburg (campaign, siege, and assault), Jackson and Colliersville. The latter was one of the most hotly contested of the war for numbers engaged and duration. Gen. Sherman and escort (the First Battalion) had been surrounded by the Confederates under Gen. Chalmers, whose forces outnumbered the Federals seven to one, and were also supported by a battery of five guns. Sherman was *en route* to Chattanooga, and was surprised as well as surrounded. The conflict lasted from noon until almost evening when the rebels retreated, having, however, taken a number of prisoners, one of whom was the boy-soldier Helm. He was taken to Mobile, then to Atlanta, and then to Richmond and

placed upon Belle Isle; was afterwards paroled and exchanged, and immediately rejoined his regiment at Nashville.

When Gen. McPherson was killed before Atlanta young Helm was detailed as one of the special escort to accompany that lamented soldier to Clyde, Ohio. After the expiration of his original enlistment, he re-entered the service as a veteran and was assigned to Gen. Hancock's corps, in which he served until his final muster out in 1866.

In modest vein Judge Helm has written a historical sketch of the First Battalion, which contains many incidents of thrilling interest. One is as follows, depicting the first approach to Vicksburg, which occurred in 1862:

"On December 29th the battalion went into action five miles from the city, at the battle of Chickasaw Bayou. Though this was its initial engagement, and though exposed from early in the morning until dark to a destructive fire of musketry, the men conducted themselves like veterans. The conspicuous coolness and gallantry displayed, and the marked efficiency shown while acting as sharpshooters, won words of commendation from the Brigade and Corps commanders. Its casualties, though not comparable with its losses in later battles, were amply sufficient to make its baptism a stern reality.

"We will never forget the long, dreary, rainy night that followed this engagement. We were lost. We had retreated after dark to low, swampy,

and unfamiliar ground, where in the morning we discovered high water mark on the trees several feet above our heads. The ground was so level and the night so dark that we could not find a dry spot upon which to rest. We were compelled to stand up all night long without fire, in the cold, drenching rain; for to have lain down and gone to sleep in our exhausted condition would have been certain death. Bayonets were fixed and muskets were inverted and stuck in the marshy ground to keep them from filling with water. And such muskets! transformed in the short space of one night from clean, bright and effective weapons to guns of a rusty and almost worthless condition. Add to this the dispiriting rumor circulated during the night that we were to dig our way through the rebel breastworks in the early morning, and it will be confessed even at this distant day that the outlook for the morrow was indeed a gloomy one. With all our fervent patriotism, even though it had been backed with the prospect of a General's commission, there would have been no inducement for some of us to have remained could we have honorably retired. But with the returning day and the inspiration drained from a quart cup of hot coffee that feeling vanished never to return."

The five years of absence from school in the war had passed like a dismal dream. He awoke to realize that he was far behind those of his age in point of education. When, therefore,

he entered the State University of Iowa, in the fall of 1866, the youth of eighteen found himself classed with those who were but eight years of age when he became a Union soldier.

The assertion is ventured that Judge Helm never was subjected to a severer test of manhood than the embarrassment caused by this disparity of age when he entered his class. There is not a moment in the history of this gentleman when the unalloyed metal of this character shone more brightly than when he resolved under these circumstances to go on in pursuit of an education.

He attended that institution the ensuing four years, making his expenses, above a few hundred dollars saved from the army, by work during summer vacations, and by various employments during the school year.

In 1870 he accepted the position of principal of the public schools of Van Buren, Arkansas, at which place he remained one year. Two years immediately afterwards he was principal of the high school in Little Rock. In 1873 he returned to the State University of Iowa and entered the law department, graduating therefrom in the summer of 1874, second in a class of ninety-four.

There could have been no time wasted in accomplishing this within the period named. The days must have uttered speech and the nights showed knowledge to the diligent and aspiring student whose college life was thus crowned at last with gleaming success. The mental dissipation incident to

camp life was followed by mental discipline and development as exceptional and noteworthy as it is ever the privilege of the historian to record.

Early in 1875 he came to Colorado and located at Colorado Springs, when he began to lead the life of a lawyer. The following year he was elected to the lower house of the First General Assembly from El Paso county. He was elected to the State Senate two years afterwards, representing the tenth district, and served at the legislative sessions of 1877-79. In the fall of 1880 he resigned as State Senator to accept the office of Judge of the Fourth Judicial District to succeed and fill the unexpired term of Hon. Thomas M. Bowen, late U. S. Senator. Judge Helm's district at that time contained fourteen counties, including Lake, with the city of Leadville. He was elected to the Supreme Bench of Colorado in the fall of 1882, and entered upon the duties of that office in January, 1883, at the age of 34 years. In January of the present year he succeeded under the State Constitution, by virtue of seniority in service, to the position of Chief Justice of Colorado.

The following tribute to Chief Justice Helm was written by a prominent lawyer and ex-judge of Denver, as a contribution to the history of the Bar and Bench of Colorado:

"His recognized abilities as a lawyer, and his sterling qualities as a man, early secured for him the esteem and confidence of his professional brethren, and of the people among whom he lived;

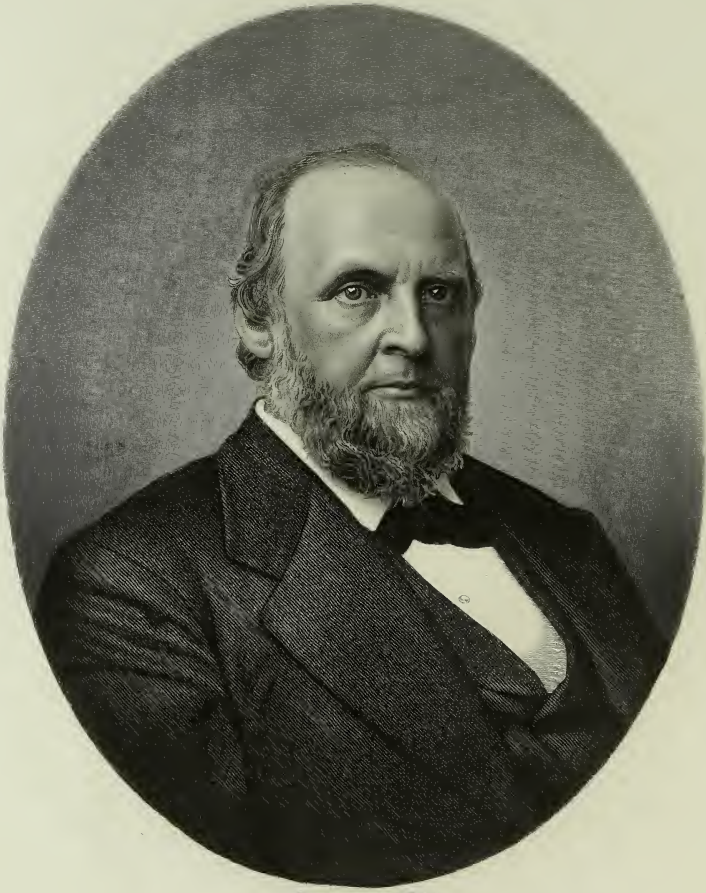
and won for him such success, both as lawyer and legislator, as but few persons achieve in so short a time.

"It is the universal testimony of the lawyers who practised, as well as of the litigants whose cases were adjudicated in the District Courts over which Judge Helm presided, that he was a model trial judge. Firm, but always courteous; industrious and seeking to dispatch the business of the court, but never confused or impatient; always having perfect control of himself, he easily controlled and guided the proceedings of his court, without giving offense to any one.

"During the past six years many novel and important questions have been passed upon and decided, by the Supreme Court of the state, in which Judge Helm has prepared the opinions of the Court. These opinions bear indubitable evidence of careful and extended research, and show the possession by him, of an honest, clear, logical mind; the grasp of legal principles, the unflinching purpose and independent courage, which surely lead him to right conclusions. It is but simple justice to say, that the marked abilities he has shown in the discharge of his duties on the Supreme Bench of the state, have fully justified the confidence of his friends, and already firmly established for him an enviable position and reputation as a jurist."

Judge Helm married, in 1881, Miss Marcia Stewart of Colorado Springs.

It is an axiom that the higher the civilization of a people the more pride



Engraved by H. W. Carter

Samuel Snowden

and individuality there is in their surnames. The union of the names, Marcia, Stewart and Helm gives ground for the indulgence of this pride. The meaning of "Helm" is obvious. "Stewart" recalls to memory Walter, third high Steward of Scotland, who was the first to adopt "Stewart" as a surname, whose father, Alan, of the third Crusade, was the son of Flaald, a Norman, who obtained the castle of Oswestry in Wales, soon after the Norman Conquest. Walter was the active partisan of the Empress Maud, in her conflict with Stephen for the English crown, for which he obtained large possessions in Scotland, and was made by David II., High Steward of Scotland, *magnus senes-*

chalis hospitii regis, A. D. 1177; from him descended the royal house of Stuart. "Marcia" carries the mind still farther backward to a "very noble gens of Sabin origin which gave a king to Rome and afterwards was famous in high-spirited and gentle-hearted Marcus Coriolanus, whose daughters were called Marcia."

Mrs. Marcia Stewart Helm is a lady of marked individuality of character, whose literary tastes and acquirements render her the charm of her home and an ornament to society, while her intellectual vivacity is tempered with indescribable grace.

HENRY DUDLEY TEETOR.

BALTIMOREANS OF TO-DAY.

SAMUEL SNOWDEN.

Samuel Snowden has spent all the years that have been so far measured in a busy and useful life, in or near Baltimore, where he now holds a prominent position at the bar; a position that has been fairly earned by close study, a natural adaptability for the law, integrity in business and personal affairs, and that species of courage that leads a man through all difficulties when spurred on by a proper professional ambition.

Mr. Snowden was born in Anne Arundel county, Maryland, on October 13, 1833, the son of Samuel Snowden, who, in turn, was the son of Philip and Patience (Hopkins) Snowden; and the

family traces its descent directly back to Richard Snowden, of Wales, who secured a new home in Maryland, in the seventeenth century. The mother of Mr. Snowden, whose legal career finds brief outline herein, was Mary Richardson, of West River, Anne Arundel county; and through these two lines of ancestry he inherited those qualities and powers that have enabled him to win the share of success that has come within his grasp.

The early education of Mr. Snowden was obtained in the public schools near his father's home; and in 1846, when thirteen years of age, he commenced an attendance at St. John's College, where

he remained until 1849. He then went to Columbus, the capital of Ohio, where he clerked in a store until 1852, when he returned to Annapolis and found like employment with James Iglehart & Co. until 1855, when he once more made his home in Columbus, this time as book-keeper for J. G. Butler. But he had begun to understand the field of labor for which nature had intended him, and following the bent of his desire and ambition, he decided to devote himself to the law. In 1857, when twenty-four years of age, he removed to Baltimore and became a student in the law office of Hon. Henry F. Garey. Diligent study and a liking for his work, enabled him to make fine progress, and in 1859 he was admitted to the bar. His advance in the profession from the day of entrance was steady and marked, until he long since found his way to the front rank of the bar of Maryland. He has secured this eminence by no lucky chance or isolated stroke of achievement, but has made his footing secure by solid work and earnest endeavor, at every advance or turning point of his legal career. He has always thoroughly prepared his cases, and his arguments and propositions of law are highly respected by the bench. His knowledge of law is accurate and extensive. As a result, he has had the largest trial docket of any lawyer at the Baltimore bar, as well as a lucrative practice. His professional work is indicated in the Maryland reports, where numerous important cases in which he has been employed are set

forth. The cases number over ninety, involving such questions as the right of a vendor to a lien upon leasehold property; the marshalling of funds between mechanics' lien creditors and second mortgagees; the liability of a corporation for stock fraudulently issued by its treasurer for his own benefit, known as the Crawford frauds; the rule for damages in an action for breach of a contract to sell real estate, where the vendor in good faith sold more land than he could convey; the right of receivers to recover the balance of subscriptions to the stock of insolvent corporations; the right of the assured to recover upon a policy issued to a firm of which the assured was a member, upon property owned by the individual partner, and afterwards mortgaged to the firm, and purchased at a foreclosure sale by another partner to whom the policy was assigned; and very many other cases involving questions of more or less importance. The briefs in all the cases were prepared by him. He has been for years, and yet is, one of the most active members of his profession, and in the conduct of important cases, and office counsel, sustains his reputation as a wise and cautious advocate, and a legal adviser whose opinion can be safely followed. Cautious and candid, he knows when to strike and when to withhold; and when he has once entered upon a line of policy that his judgment and experience approve, he has the courage to fight it clear to the end, no matter what opposition or discouragements oppose. In



Charles J. Baker

his personal relations he is the courteous gentleman, the true friend and the good citizen, whose personal interests have little weight against the public good.

Mr. Snowden entered the legal profession with the single purpose of making it his life work, and has resolutely set his face against all overtures in the line of office-holding, and declined to entertain all propositions looking in that direction. The one exception he allowed himself, was his service as school commissioner of Baltimore in 1867-68. In politics he is a Democrat. He is a member of the Masonic order, and also of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, and was sent by the latter organization in 1869 as Grand Representative to the Grand Lodge, which met in San Francisco. He is a member of the Mount Vernon Place Methodist Episcopal Church.

The chief recreation Mr. Snowden has found from the heavier studies and mental exactions of his profession, has been sought in his extensive and carefully selected library, where the choicest works of English literature are his companions, and especial lines of literary examinations are followed as his time permits. Shakespearian literature has found a favored place in his studies, and fills an ample place upon his shelves. History, the arts and other departments, have not been overlooked. While it is profitless to inquire what one might or might not have done had he his life to live over, it would not be far amiss to prophesy that had Mr. Snowden devoted himself to letters, he would have achieved as great a success in that line of mental effort, as he has in the more active and gladiatorial profession of the law.

CHARLES J. BAKER.

Charles J. Baker, yet another of the active and able men of the Baltimore of to-day, is the heir of such natural gifts as an able and honorable ancestry can bequeath, although his chief claim to distinction lies in his own busy and beneficent life. He comes of an old and distinguished Welsh family that made a home in America in an early day, his paternal grandfather being born near the Blue Ridge, where the present town of Reading, Pennsylvania, is located. This pioneer passed through eventful experiences in this new and wild land of the West, as he

was but six years of age when he and a little sister were the only persons saved from a general massacre by the Indians, and upon his rescue he was taken to Philadelphia, whence he was removed to Baltimore when twelve years old.

Charles Joseph Baker was born at "Friendsbury," Baltimore City, on May 28, 1821, the son of William and Jane (Jones) Baker. He resides at present at his beautiful country seat "Athol," in Baltimore county, adjoining the city. Mr. Baker was married to Elizabeth Bosserman, of Carlisle, Pa., January 4, 1842. Their children

are: William, Jr., Charles E., Geo. B., Mary H., Bernard N., Richard J., Jr., Frank M. and Ashby Lee. All are at present married, and in active business life; having twenty grand-children, making a family of thirty-eight, often present at the same time at the old homestead.

In 1835 he entered the grammar school of Dickinson College, at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and graduated with the class of 1841. In 1836, while at the grammar school, he united with the Methodist Episcopal Church, in Carlisle, the seat of the college. He improved every hour of all this extended educational course, laying deep and broad the foundations for future usefulness in the world.

After graduation the young man entered the counting room of his father, who was a well-known manufacturer of window glass, whose factory was located at the foot of Federal Hill, Baltimore. In connection with his brother, Henry J. Baker, he entered, in 1842, the paint, oil and glass trade, their chosen location being No. 2 North Liberty street. The active and intelligent industry, and honorable methods, of the firm, commanded success from the start, and opened and widened their field of operations. They soon became the proprietors of the Baltimore Window Glass, Bottle and Vial Works occupied previously by Shaum & Reitz. Their business continued so to increase that they enlarged by a removal to No. 42 St. Charles street, the firm now being known as Baker &

Brother. Their two warehouses at this location were destroyed by fire in 1850, with all their contents, and \$75,000 of stock. But the young partners were not the men to become discouraged, and they immediately rebuilt the commodious warehouses, and in the same year established the house of H. J. Baker & Brother, in New York City. The firm soon became one of the most important of even that great commercial mart, doing a large trade in paints, plate glass, etc.

In 1851 Joseph Rogers, Jr., was admitted to the firm at Baltimore, which was thereafter known as Baker Brothers & Co., and continued thus until 1865, when Charles J. Baker purchased the entire establishment, and admitted his sons William and Charles E., and subsequently George B., to the firm. With the advent of these able and industrious assistants in the many labors of the great establishment, Mr. Baker was relieved of a portion of his responsibility and enabled to give more of his time and attention to other interests and good works.

Mr. Baker was, in 1859, elected a director in the Franklin Bank of Baltimore, and in 1866 made its president, which office he has since held. He has given to this important financial institution his close attention and greatest care, and has expended in its service the experience and knowledge gleaned in a life of important business labors. And it has not been the only channel through which he has made his capital and ability tell upon the business life

of Baltimore. In 1859-60, he took an active part in the Municipal Reform movement of that year. He was elected, by a large majority, to the second branch of the City Council, on the same ticket with George William Brown, for Mayor. Although the youngest member, Mr. Baker was made President, which position he continued to fill during the memorable days of April 1861, and the period which followed—acting as Mayor of the city, *ex officio*, from September 1861 to January 1862, while Mayor Brown was a prisoner in Forts Lafayette and Warren. In 1860 he was made a director in the Canton Company, and in 1870 its president, which office he resigned seven years later. He is also largely interested in the Maryland White Lead Company, the Maryland Fertilizing and Manufacturing Company, the Chemical Company, of Canton, of which he is the president, and in various other business enterprises needless to enumerate here.

In connection with William G. Harrison and others, Mr. Baker largely aided in the construction of the Union Railroad and tunnel, giving two roads—the Northern Central and Western Maryland—a tidewater terminus at Canton, increasing immensely the manufacturing and mercantile interests of Baltimore. Aside from those enterprises in which he has been personally interested, Mr. Baker has ever manifested an interest in the commercial advance and development of Baltimore, and has unselfishly aided and contributed to the development and extension

of public enterprises, and very often of a nature calculated to rival his private interests, which he has never permitted to stand in the way of the public good. Not content with individual efforts to advance the general interests of Baltimore, Mr. Baker at one time purchased a controlling interest in the *Gazette*, a daily paper, by the aid of which he hoped to enlarge his sphere of usefulness, but in the midst of his varied interests was too busy to give it the attention needed for the realization of his desire, and in consequence sold out.

Mr. Baker, in every relation which he has sustained or yet sustains in the business or social life of Baltimore, has won the respect of all, and well deserved the honor and confidence in which he is held. His mercantile life has been far above resort to misrepresentations or attempts to impose shoddy goods upon the market. By the character of material and workmanship he has stamped his goods in every market with the imprint of true worth. His personal character is above reproach. In youth he fixed upon a high standard, and he has ever lived the life of a true and conscientious Christian. His life has been carried forward upon a high plane; and he has never permitted prejudice or passion to warp his judgment, or swerve him from the straight and manly course. His great force of character, public spirit, benevolence, and quick comprehensive intellect, have made him a marked figure in the city of his home, and enabled him

to work faithfully and well in the service of his day and generation.

Mr. Baker's interest in religious matters has never abated since, in his college days, he identified himself with the church. He had an early connection with associated religious work as a trustee and member of the Baltimore City Station of the M. E. Church, in rebuilding and extending the Eutaw Street Methodist Church, and in the building of the Madison avenue M. E. Church. Mr. Baker also took a very lively interest in the cause of missions, especially the German Mission, under Dr. Jacoby, in Bremen, Frankfort and elsewhere in Germany. Also in Italy and France. In 1860—61, owing to the dissensions which disturbed the peace of the M. E. Church in Baltimore, he severed his connection with that body, and assisted in organizing the Chatsworth Independent Methodist Church, and in building the house of worship; and in 1867 he aided in building the Bethany I. M. Church at Franklin Square; in 1882,

in erecting the Epworth Independent Methodist Church; in 1888, in building Friendsbury Methodist Chapel, and in 1889, in building the William Street Independent Methodist Church.

The Maryland Bible Society and all of the benevolent institutions and charitable associations of the city, have secured his aid and support.

Mr. Baker is still hale and hearty, with all his power of mind and body in full maturity and unimpaired, the result of a systematic and *temperate* life, and promises yet many years of effort in behalf of all those enterprises incumbent on the wealthy citizen and incident to the man of high character in the community to which his energies are devoted. His charities are large and general, and while his religious opinions are very decided, they are unclouded by bigotry and uncircumscribed by sect or denomination, embracing in philanthropy the whole brotherhood of man.

JAMES SLOAN, JR.

James Sloan, Jr., has, for a third of a century or more, been connected with the various financial and commercial interests of Baltimore, and in a quiet and modest manner has so well performed the various tasks that have come to his hand, that he well deserves a place in any enumeration of the active and vital forces of the Baltimore of today. His whole life has been passed in that city, in which he was born on De-

cember 8, 1834; the son of James Sloan, who came to America some sixty-five years ago to secure for himself and family the advantages offered in the New World.

The son was educated in the schools of Baltimore, and in 1854, when of the proper age to be doing for himself, entered the office of the Adams Express Company, but newly established in Baltimore. It was at a period when



Thomas Swan Jr

that form of commercial transportation was yet in its infancy, and managers and employees were left largely to their own resources as to the best method of building up new business and taking care of that already offered. Mr. Shoemaker was then in charge of the Baltimore office, and among the employees were many who have since won distinction in that or similar lines of business—John King, Jr., now president of the Erie Railway Company, W. H. Trego, now the resident manager of the United States Express in Baltimore, John Quincy Adams Herring, manager of the Adams Express Company, and others. The office was located on Baltimore street, near Calvert, the Baltimore & Ohio building now covering the original site.

Mr. Sloan's special duty in this newly created business, was as money clerk, having charge of the sorting and distribution of the money destined to all points in the Southern states; a branch of labor that was as yet hardly developed, and which Mr. Sloan by his executive skill and close attention to all the details of his department, helped to create and make successful. He remained in this employment for two and a half years when he became assistant book-keeper in the Union Bank, which he held one year, when he was promoted to the position of teller in the Farmers & Merchants' Bank, an institution established in 1808, and in all its long and honorable career recognized as one of the soundest and strongest of the financial organizations

of Baltimore. Such service as Mr. Sloan was sure to give was certain to secure promotion, and in 1862 he was advanced to the office of cashier, which he held until 1879, when he was elected president, and has occupied that high responsibility until the present day. In 1865, the bank was reorganized under the national law and, as the Farmers & Merchants' National Bank of Baltimore, has worthily held and maintained the reputation the old institution had so well earned. In the various important positions which Mr. Sloan has held, he has given the best fruits of his industry, energy, and financial genius to the discharge of his duties, and has faithfully fulfilled every duty and obligation such service implied. The bank has recently erected the largest banking building in Baltimore—of brown stone, five stories high—and from the commencement upon the plans until the last stone was in its place, Mr. Sloan took a deep interest in the structure and watched every detail connected with it with the closest care; and as long as it stands it will serve as one of the monuments to his administration of the affairs of the bank.

While Mr. Sloan has endeavored to remain entirely within the line of his personal business, and has never been a candidate for any political position whatever, he has not been allowed to follow the line of his desires, but has in more than one instance been called to the public service, in places where his financial skill and experience

could be made of special use. He has served as one of the financial commissioners of the city of Baltimore from 1877 to the present time; is state agent of Maryland for the payment of interest on the state debt, and his bank is the depository of the state in the city; and he was elected a director in the Baltimore & Ohio railway company in 1877, and since the death of T. Harrison Garrett has held the important position of chairman of the finance committee. Mr. Sloan has also been president of the Academy of Music since 1884; is a director in the Consolidation Coal Company of Maryland, the largest coal company in the state, and for a number of years was a director in the Ohio & Mississippi railroad company—whose line extends from Cincinnati to St. Louis—and was chairman of its executive committee when the road was taken out of the hands of a receiver and given back to its stockholders. These

are a few of the enterprises which Mr. Sloan has found time to take part in, outside of the work that he has made the main labor of his life.

In the midst of these labors, and from a natural taste that has grown with its exercise, Mr. Sloan has found time to become much more than a business man; and by reading, travel, thought and observation has stored his mind with a wealth of mental resource that is freely drawn upon in his conversation, and that enables him to make interesting any theme upon which he may touch. He keeps keen watch upon all the movements in the intellectual and political world, and exerts his influence whenever it can be made effective, for the bettering and enlightening of mankind; is generous, public-spirited, patriotic, and withal a modest, unassuming, and high-minded gentleman.

WOODWARD ABRAHAMS.

Woodward Abrahams, also one of the men of modern Baltimore who have had an influence for good in various ways upon his day and generation, comes of a family that has had a part in the affairs of New England, and afterwards of Maryland, for many generations past. He traces the line of his ancestry back to Joseph Abrahams, who emigrated from England to Massachusetts about 1660, and transferred to this country the sturdy virtues of a good old

stock. The first Woodward Abrahams upon this side of the sea, was born in 1727, and in 1751 was married to Tabitha Smythers. He was prominent in the affairs of his home, in Marblehead, serving as postmaster and collector of customs, besides filling other positions of trust. His son, Woodward Abrahams, was born at Marblehead, on July 14, 1762; and he in turn had a son, William Abrahams, who was one of the defenders of the three-gun battery, on



Yours truly &c
W. Abraham

the Patapsco river, during the war of 1812. Another son, Woodward, was possessed of a longing desire for the sea, and he gave himself thereto, with the purpose of following it as the occupation of his life. But when at Baltimore with his ship in 1802, he met Miss Hannah Wooley, of Hartford county, Maryland, and courtship and marriage followed the meeting. Held in the new chains of a home and family after his restless life upon the sea, Capt. Abrahams determined to remain on shore; and after the loss of his ship, the *Adriana*, on a voyage from London to Baltimore, he settled upon a farm called "Lucky Mistake," in Cecil county, Maryland, on the Susquehanna.

Woodward Abrahams, now the fourth generation to bear the name, was born on October 2, 1814. His early days were spent upon the farm, and in the usual school life of boyhood. In 1844 he was married to Miss Margaret E. Littig and upon the death of the father, the family removed to Baltimore. Mr. Abrahams learned the printer's trade; was interested in a printing establishment in Petersburg, Virginia; and was afterwards one of the publishers of the *Eastern Express*, and the *Kaleidoscope*, both of Baltimore; of recent years he has been a member of the firm of Cochran & Co., one of the largest ice

dealers in Baltimore, and has contributed largely to its success. In all his business relations he was industrious, capable and honest, and the success that rewarded him was but a just reward for the endeavors he had so willingly made. His business labors however, did not deter him from a broad cultivation of his mind; and, as a liberal patron of the fine arts, and a worker in many of the charitable institutions, he was long since known by the people of Baltimore as one of their representative and most useful men. He has a deep affection for Masonry, and has so well progressed along that honorable road, and has attained to the highest degrees in all the different branches of masonry. He is also allied with Odd Fellowship. In both business and social circles, Mr. Abrahams is a popular and genial gentleman, and at his pleasant home dispenses a refined and generous hospitality. A lover of books and of works of art, he has surrounded himself with many evidences of culture, and in his selections has exhibited the possession of rare taste and discernment. Careful in his habits, a lover of mankind, just, generous and sincere in his convictions, he has passed a life of usefulness and is now in the enjoyment of a quiet and happy old age.

DAVID L. BARTLETT.

Any enumeration of the commercial and industrial forces that make Baltimore the active and stirring mart it is

to-day, that made no mention of the part contributed by David L. Bartlett—only one among the busy many, it is

true, but one who has done his share well and willingly—would be incomplete. One of the oldest of the iron men of the East, Baltimore has been the scene of his labors since 1844.

Mr. Bartlett comes of a good New England ancestry, from whom he received the essential elements of character to make his life a success. He was born in Hadley, Massachusetts, in December, 1816, the son of Daniel and Louisa (Stockbridge) Bartlett, both of Hadley. The families connected by this union were both well-known in New England for a number of generations back, and were in many ways connected with the history of that section. His education in his childhood was commenced in one of the best of the many public schools in which Massachusetts even then abounded, and continued in an academy which was noted for its thorough course and its excellence in training its pupils in all the essentials for a business life.

Upon reaching manhood, Mr. Bartlett commenced the labor of life as an iron manufacturer in Hartford, Connecticut, where he commanded a fair measure of success. In 1844 he removed to Baltimore, where he established a foundry in President street, but removed in a short time to Leadenhall street, and in 1850 established his foundry permanently on the corner of Scott and Pratt streets, where the present firm of Bartlett, Hayward & Co. have built up a very large business and achieved great success. The company has become one of the great industrial concerns of Bal-

timore, employing a force of five hundred skilled workmen, and filling a vast number of orders and contracts.

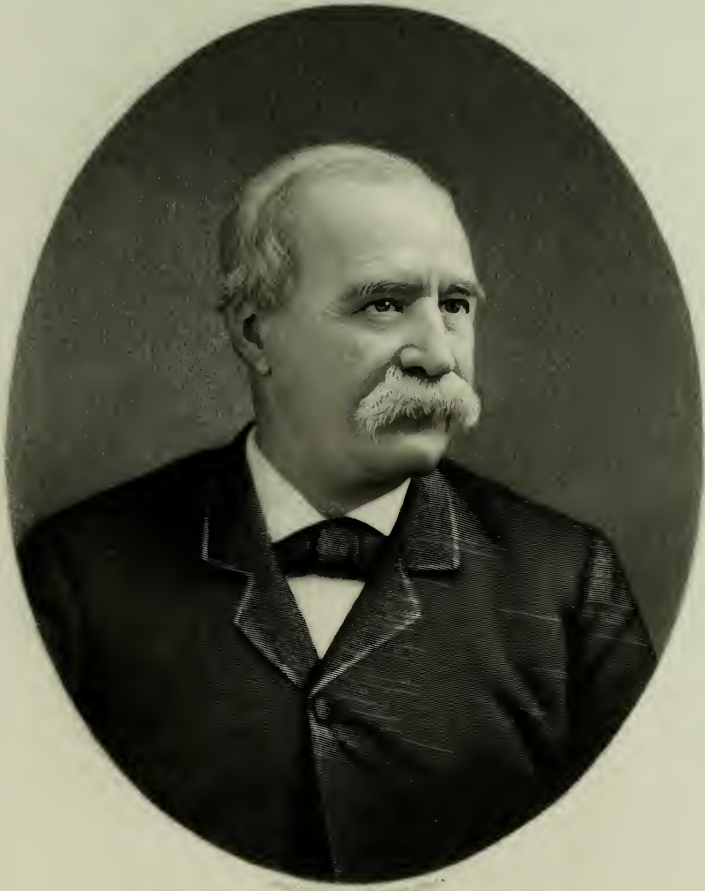
While Mr. Bartlett's main labors have been given to the great industry which he has built up, and of which he has been so many years the head, he has found time for private and public usefulness in other directions. He has been more or less identified with a number of measures designed for the good of the public. He was a member of the committee appointed by the Mayor of Baltimore to report upon a proper means of encouraging manufactories, and in that work his practical knowledge, long experience and mature judgment were of great benefit in the solution of the problem. He has served as one of the trustees of the McDonogh school fund; has been one of the managers of the Maryland Institute; a director of the Farmers and Planters' Bank; and has other like connections needless to enumerate here.

Mr. Bartlett has had no taste for public or political life. He was a Whig until the dissolution of that famous old organization and has been a Republican since.

In the autumn of 1887 he was overpersuaded by his friends and consented to the use of his name by the Republicans and Reform Democrats as candidate for Mayor of Baltimore. He polled a large vote but was not elected.

He is a communicant in the Protestant Episcopal Church and takes an active interest in its welfare.

In every relation of his long and use-



D. L. Bartlett

ful life, Mr. Bartlett has shown himself a good citizen, a just employer, a loyal friend, and possessed of that form of courage that led him to do what he believed to be the right. With a mature judgment and ripe experience he has brought to every undertaking a faithful, conscientious discharge of duty, which has secured him the entire confi-

dence of the community in which he has so long lived. Commanding in presence, urbane in manner, social and generous in his relations to all, he is one of the high landmarks of character that light others along the road that leads to success and the nobler forms of manhood.

EXTRACTS FROM A PIONEER'S NOTE-BOOK.*

My sleeping place in the old Paine log-house (in Painesville, Ohio,) was what was usually termed the loft, or garret, a place not very well chinked or secured against the winds, the rains and the storms of winter, and hence I have the distinct recollection of awaking many a morning during that winter and finding my bed quilt or spread covered with a few inches of snow, which fell during the night. At first I was somewhat alarmed thereby, thinking it would endanger my health; but the opening caused by my breath, around my mouth, giving my breathing apparatus access to abundance of fresh air, invigorated me amazingly, and hence I experienced no inconvenience from this exposure, but rather the contrary, and I have no remembrance of having at any time, felt

cold, or in any way suffered inconvenience therefrom. I also remember, during that winter, seeing many Indians. They would often, in squads of half a dozen, more or less, suddenly enter the house unceremoniously, stare around for awhile, utter a few grunts, and perhaps make some slight request, and as suddenly depart. They were friendly, and never offered any indignity, or behaved improperly. I think they belonged mostly to the Seneca tribe. My mother at first manifested considerable timidity, but soon became reconciled to and undisturbed by their sudden intrusions.

When my father moved with his family to Ohio, one member of it was a colored boy whom he received as a gift from a Colchester man. He was given at a time when slavery existed in Connecticut. He was about twelve years of age at the time of removal. I remember him as a kind-hearted youth, full of life and energy, and a faithful and diligent laborer in the field with the rest of us.

* In the sketch of the late William Williams, a pioneer banker of Western New York, that appeared in the *MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY* for April, reference was made to a note-book prepared by Mr. Williams in the leisure of his old age. We are permitted to copy from that record the interesting notes embodied in the above.

It may be said that Joel was, at the time of his death, the only negro known to be in the northern part of the state, except perhaps, a mulatto belonging in the family of Governor Huntington. In order to retain Joel within the state my father was obliged to give adequate bond guaranteeing that he should not at any time become a public charge.

Of course during the period of the war with England,* like all small boys of my age, my young heart overflowed with patriotic ardor which knew no quenching, and hence I was always largely interested and moved by the occurrence of any event which augured or promised good or ill to our own country; and hence on the memorable 10th of September, 1813, when it was supposed the conflict between the English and American fleets, for the supremacy of the lakes, must have been in progress, I well remember that a large number of our neighbors had gathered at my father's (in Painesville, Ohio,) to talk over the probabilities of the issue, and had in their anxiety adjourned to the yard in the rear of my father's house to try the experiment of lying down and putting an ear to the ground, in the hope of actually hearing the booming of cannon, and thus satisfying themselves that the forces were in actual conflict. This small boy of only ten years of age, might have been observed trying like them, and by like method, to catch the thunder of the guns of the brave Commodore

*The war of 1812.

(Perry), and thus to divine the success of our arms. It was during the war, and shortly after the surrender of Hull, that the authorities at headquarters ordered that means be provided to forward to our little army, forage, food and other necessaries for which it was supposed they might be suffering, since the evacuation of Detroit by Gen. Hull; and I well remember that in pursuance of this order my father, as well as many of his neighbors, responded to the call by furnishing teams and sleds to convey such articles as were calculated to prevent distress, and make more comfortable our little army then encamped near the Maumee. My father furnished a team and sled for this purpose, and my oldest brother, George, then not far from fifteen years of age, was installed as driver, by the consent of my father, and in the care and under the guidance of one of my father's trusty and careful neighbors.

It was not far from the time (1819 to 1825) when the old State Bank system was in high repute, and generally regarded by the most eminent financiers as the only means of supplying a sufficient amount of circulating medium for the wants of the business of the country, which was at that time rapidly increasing. Banks of issue were being chartered and established in every place which could give promise of success.

In the early part of January (1825) I left by the daily stage (from Paines-

ville) for Buffalo. My departure occurred near the close of the day. The ground was hard frozen, the weather very cold and dry, but clear and pleasant, and no snow. An open two-horse lumber wagon was the improvised stage, and although this was the regular line and its proper time for passing, there was only one passenger, myself, with the driver, who sat in front of me in an old split-bottomed kitchen chair, while I occupied the same kind of a seat in the centre of the wagon, the hinder part of the wagon being fully filled and crowded with Uncle Sam's mail pouches. In this way, and without a single additional passenger, we passed over the seventy-two miles distance from Painesville to Erie. It being very cold our transit was made as rapid as good and fresh horses could make it, and although our stretches were only ten miles long, we were glad enough to halt and change teams, and try to find fire and live coals enough to warm our cold fingers and feet. After reaching Erie I was transferred for the remainder of my trip to the ordinary stage coach. After leaving Erie no special event, as I recollect, impressed me, until reaching Fredonia; I remember it was early in the night, and it was here, for the first time, I had a view of lighting a village with natural gas, which to me was not only wonderful, but a great curiosity; and although the stage was not long delayed, I found time to make my way to the creek whence it was gathered, to learn, if possible, how it was brought about. It was only a few rods distant from the

hotel. I found it was gathered from the surface of the small stream by placing over its surface and place of escape a gasometer of sufficient capacity to hold the desired quantity, to which pipes were connected, leading to the various places where it was used; and if I am rightly informed, its flow remains undiminished up to the present date.

There was then in the village (of Buffalo) but one Presbyterian church and congregation, having a small wooden structure, which was weekly filled by a devout audience. It was a long, low, wooden structure of one story, and placed under the charge and care of a good, faithful and talented pastor, by the name of Crawford; and although bent over by deformity, he was highly esteemed and greatly respected for his talents and untiring labors and ability. This building was occupied for public service to the time of the erection of a much larger and more commodious brick edifice, capable of holding and comfortably seating a congregation of twelve hundred or more. This house of worship was built by funds borrowed from the old Hartford bank, on the note or notes, without other security, of the then trustees of said church and society. On the completion of the edifice the pews were duly appraised as to their relative value, and advertised and sold at public auction, and the avails appropriated and paid over by said trustees in liquidation and payment of the loan made from the Hartford bank.

When I went to Buffalo in January, 1825, the Erie Canal was near its completion. A small section of its western termination remained unfinished, by reason of unlooked for and unexpected obstacles, arising from the influx of quicksands, which were exceedingly difficult to arrest. This difficulty, however, was finally overcome, and the completion of the canal effected, so that on the 25th day of October, 1825, the canal commissioners announced its completion and readiness for use, by the firing of cannon along the line, as previously notified. The completion of the canal filled the hearts of the entire population with abounding joy, and naturally suggested the propriety of its appropriate celebration as an event of untold importance to the prosperity and commerce of the state. Hence there was inaugurated a conjoint effort all along the line of the canal and throughout the community, aided and approved by the canal commissioners, to celebrate in an appropriate manner this grand event. Among these arrangements and in aid thereof a canal packet boat was prepared and properly furnished and supplied with every Western product and curiosity which could be gathered for this purpose, among which were to be found specimens of the wild men and animals, as well as all available varieties of other products of our Western wilderness, and primitive culture, as earnest of future and greater harvests to be expected, not neglecting a barrel or so of the pure, fresh water of Lake Erie, with which to

commence the celebration and completion of the nuptials of the two oceans. Thus made ready and prepared for its sacred trip and mission, and being crowded and fully weighted with its invited guests and other renowned men and citizens of the state, who stood foremost as the originators and promoters of the canal system, the said boat proceeded slowly and deliberately along this remarkable waterway toward the great city of New York and the Atlantic ocean, amidst the shoutings and rejoicings of the people who lined its banks, and amidst the booming of cannon and the making of speeches and the congratulations of the multitude, until it reached, with its peculiar freight, the great Atlantic ocean. When there, in the bay of New York, the marriage of the two oceans was in part celebrated, with suitable thanksgivings to God, by the mingling of the fresh waters of Lake Erie with the briny deep of the great Atlantic; after which, and being liberally furnished with the salt waters of the Atlantic, the boat turned its prow Westward again, and proceeded through the great canal to Lake Erie, where the marriage received its final completion by the mixing of the salt waters of the Atlantic with the fresh waters of Lake Erie.

Sometime during this year another remarkable event also occurred, namely the visit of Gen. La Fayette, who was the guest of the nation by invitation of President Monroe. It was his last visit

to the scenes and stirring events of his earlier life in aid of the struggling colonies of the British Crown, to free themselves from the tyranny and oppression of their fatherland. He was accompanied by his son, and reached Buffalo on his way from his Western trip to Boston, to aid in laying the foundation stone of the Bunker Hill monument, in commemoration of the final success. He embarked at Dunkirk for Buffalo on the old steamer *Superior*, then running for the accommodation of travel between these places, and after a few hours reached his destination, where he had been invited to stop and receive the congratulations of the people, and enjoy in some measure if it might be, the effusions of their love and gratitude. It was here, and at this time, he met his, and Washington's, old friend, whom he had not seen until now since the close of the war—Red Jacket, the famous chief of the Seneca Indians, and the head and ruler of the Six Nations, the great Indian Confederacy. The chief drew forth from its hiding place in his bosom the medal given him by Washington, in the hour of peril, in testimony of his loyalty and constancy in the dark hours of the Revolution. On his arrival in Buffalo, La Fayette was received with appropriate respect and honor by the authorities in charge of all ceremonies having reference to his visit. He was taken by them from the boat and placed in a suitable vehicle prepared for the occasion, drawn by four span of white horses through the main streets,

amidst the shouts and welcome of a grateful people, and safely landed at the famous Eagle tavern, kept by Benjamin Rathburn, where he was to meet and receive the good cheer and welcome of the people. It was my good fortune to find myself in this great crowd of enthusiastic admirers of the greatest and truest of patriotic men. The next day after receiving the welcome of a grateful people, the great and good man took his departure, and went by the Falls of Niagara eastward, to fulfill his appointment to be present in Boston at the laying of the corner stone of the famous Bunker Hill monument.

At the period of my location in Buffalo, there was no harbor, with perhaps that of Presque Isle (Erie), and the Maumee, on the whole south shore of Lake Erie, available for entrance for any sized vessel or craft which could be entered for protection in case of bad weather or a storm. The mouths of all these streams were effectually closed against their entrance by the deposits of soil brought down by their currents and deposited at the junction of the river's current with the waters of the lake, so as to form a solid bar across the same, on which travel might safely pass, on dry ground; and it was only occasionally that this bar was washed away by some extraordinary freshet in the stream, and then only for an uncertain period. It was sure to fill up again in a short time, and thus the mouths of all the rivers may be said to

have been useless as harbors, and blocked against the entrance of any craft. This made the navigation of the lake not only difficult but extremely hazardous, endangering many valuable lives and destroying by the frequent disasters of shipwreck large amounts of property, so that it largely diminished its value as a channel of commerce. To find out and settle upon the best way to remedy this evil, and to open the mouths of these rivers for the easy and safe entrance and departure of vessels, was the thought of all who felt an interest in the commerce of the lake. The *Walk-in-the-Water*,* a fine steamer, had been built by a company and put upon the lake, largely as a matter of experiment to ascertain how a vessel of this character would behave in a storm and amid the waves, before building anything of that nature for the navigation of the Sound, or any part of ocean travel. Its action was approved, and swept aside any doubts as to the feasibility of the system, as applicable to ocean navigation. After running one season or so, it was ascertained, however, that the *Walk-in-the-Water* was in some points weak and quite uncertain of endurance under the pressure of some of our lake gales, and hence liable to disaster.

* The first steam vessel on Lake Erie.

She was built at Black Rock, and never entered the harbor of Buffalo, on account of the obstructions at the mouth of Buffalo creek. In all her trips she was drawn by oxen up the rapids of the Niagara river, to the lake, as in that early day no steam vessel had sufficient power in the engine alone to propel a boat up these rapids. It was in the fall of the year, say some time in November, that, with a large load of passengers and freight, she commenced her last trip for the season, intending to proceed to Mackinaw. But after leaving, and in the afternoon of the day, one of our severe autumn storms struck her when only a few miles from Buffalo, and after a good deal of struggle, and by skillful management, she was run ashore on the beach, a little west of Buffalo harbor, and her passengers all saved, and as much of the freight as might be safely landed. She was literally broken amidships. No loss of life happened, but she lay nearly high and dry out of the water, and her wreck I have often, in later years, visited. My brother-in-law, my sister, and oldest brother were passengers on this ill-fated vessel, and often have I listened to them, in relating the incidents of this shipwreck.

WILLIAM WILLIAMS.

GENERAL KEARNY IN NEW MEXICO, IN 1846.

It has recently been noised abroad that a secret organization is sedulously working to recapture Lower California, and it is reported that at least a thousand men connected with the civil and military departments of this secret order are now engaged in making active preparations. To place New Mexico and California under the benign influences of a government, which has conferred more benefit on man than ever flowed from any other human institution, cost the United States much treasure, and the flag of the Union will always protect the people within its boundaries.

In the fifth decade of the present century, Col. S. W. Kearny, U. S. A., then stationed at Fort Leavenworth, was ordered by W. L. Marcy, Secretary of War, to march with his command and take possession of New Mexico and California, in the name of the United States Government. In obedience to orders, Col. Kearny immediately marched with two batteries of artillery under Major Clark, three squadrons of the First dragoons under Major Sumner, the First regiment of Missouri cavalry under Col. Doniphan, and two companies of infantry under Capt. Agney. This force, called the "Army of the West," was detached in different columns from Fort Leavenworth and concentrated at a camp near Bent's Ford. The portion of the

country which they traversed was then frequented by nomadic tribes of Pawnees, Sioux, Osages and Comanches, whose range was seldom further East than Council Grove. The territory abounded also with antelope, deer, elk; and great droves of buffaloes were occasionally seen. When the army reached the waters of the Timpas and the Los Animas, news came that the Navajoes had attacked a village near Pulvidera, and that a fight was going on when the messenger left. Capt. Moore was immediately sent with Company C to defend the inhabitants; and Col. Doniphan was ordered to make a campaign in the Navajo district to aid the people of New Mexico living on the Rio Abajo. In some of the settlements, through which our troops passed, opposition by the natives was encountered, but in no instance did they manage to intimidate our brave boys. A squadron of Mexican cavalry dashed forward, near the crossing of the Cimarron, seemingly with the intention of annihilating our little army; but the Mexicans were quickly put to flight by a charge of the First dragoons. As they appeared, mounted on diminutive donkeys, they presented a ludicrous contrast with the big men and horses of Major Sumner's dragoons. At Vermejo, a guide brought intelligence that Gov. Armijo had issued a proclamation calling all the citi-

zens to arms, and placing the whole country under martial law. He also said that two thousand Pueblo Indians and fifteen hundred Mexicans, armed to the teeth, were hourly expected, and their determination was to drive the Americans back to Fort Leavenworth. Col. Kearny was informed that resistance would be useless, and he would act wisely to get ready his white flag. Col. Kearny, with a grim smile, ordered an advance; and at this moment an aid from Gen. Armijo came dashing up with a letter which read thus: "You have notified me that you intend to take possession of the country I govern, and the people have risen in my defense; if you conquer us it will be because you, Col. Kearny, and your men, prove the strongest in battle. Stop at Sapillo and I will march to the Vegas where we can meet and negotiate." Col. Kearny sent back the answer—"Say to Gen. Armijo that we shall soon meet and I hope it will be as friends." During the night it was reported that six hundred men had collected at the pass which debouches into the Vegas, to oppose the march of Kearny's command. Early the next morning Major Swords, Capt. Weightman and Lieutenant Gilmer arrived from Fort Leavenworth bringing with them Col. Kearny's commission as a Brigadier-General in the army of the United States. They had heard that a battle was soon to be fought, and to be present and participate, they rode that night sixty miles. Entering the Vegas, Gen. Kearny was met by the chief alcalde, and some of his principal

officials, who extended their hospitality; for the reason that, according to Tacitus, more is accomplished by prudence than by force. At the interview Gen. Kearny said: "We are here to take possession of your country, in the name of the United States, and to protect you by its laws; we come, not as conquerors, but as friends, and wish to do you no injury. Henceforth you are absolved from allegiance to the Mexican government, for Gen. Armijo is no longer your Governor."

The oath of allegiance to the United States was then forced upon the alcalde, who was permitted to remain in office, after which Gen. Kearny, by rapid marches, advanced toward San Miguel and Picos. Here, from a remote period, the sacred fires of Montezuma had been burning, even up to the time when the Roman Catholic Church supplanted the ancient religion of the country. Passing through those places without opposition, Santa Fe was soon reached, the stars and stripes were raised over the palace, and a salute of thirteen guns fired from the artillery planted on an eminence overlooking the town. A reconnaissance was then made, the site of a fort selected, within six hundred yards of the heart of the town, and a small force of men was detached from the army to complete the fortification. As the work progressed the awe-stricken people gazed with wonder and amazement; for the population of the town was then only about three thousand souls, and composed of the poorest people in the province. Leaving a

small garrison at the fort, Gen Kearny continued his march, and when within a few miles from Santo Domingo, he was met by a band of mounted Indians. Their hideous bodies were adorned with the horns, skulls, tails and claws of animals. As they rode past, at full speed, they kept up a running fight, handling with great dexterity their lances, bows and arrows. A few well directed cutlass strokes, and a plentiful supply of cold lead soon forced them to seek refuge beyond the reach of carbines. Passing through San Domingo the detachment entered Bernallilo, where Gen. Kearny and his staff accepted an invitation to dine with one of the magnates. The banquet was a queer mixture of refinement and barbarism; and the dining hall was strewn with cushions upon which the guests were expected to recline. The table was loaded with viands of various kinds, and at every cover a plentiful supply of good bread was placed. Native wine served by the host and female serfs was handed to the guests in handsome cut glass, and red peppers stuffed with mince meat was also offered; these pungent delicacies brought tears to the eyes of the Americans, but not for the sole reason that they were overcome by such courteous treatment. "Chile" is considered by Mexicans as the "chef d' oeuvre" of the cuisine, and they esteem it a necessity at grand dinners. Having enjoyed the hospitality of the Mexicans, the officers joined their commands and the troops moved forward toward Perdilla, where officers and

men were entertained by Don Jose Charvis. After a sumptuous repast, a "fandango" was given, and dancing in the style of the country was in order. The senoras and señoritas, who graced the occasion with their presence, arrived in the primitive conveyances of the country, which were boxes on wheels cut from large slabs of cotton wood. Over the boxes were spread blankets, and inside were huddled the women and their grown up daughters. While at this place orders came designating the force which was to march on to California. It consisted of three hundred dragoons under Major Sumner, and a battalion of Mormons, five hundred in number, commanded by Capt. Cook.

Col. Doniphan's regiment was to remain in New Mexico until relieved by Col. Price's regiment, which was daily expected to arrive from the United States, when Col. Doniphan's regiment was to effect a junction with Gen. Wool at Chilhuahua. Major Clark's two batteries of artillery were divided; Capt. Fisher's company was ordered to remain in New Mexico, and Capt. Weightman's company was attached to Col. Doniphan's command. The battalion of foot, under Capt. Agney, was directed to remain in Santa Fe.

Thus was the "Army of the West" divided into three columns, to operate in regions remote from each other, and never again to unite in one body.

Subsequent events are to be recorded in another paper to be presented, through these columns, at some future time.

CHARLES W. DARLING.

THE AMERICAN RAILROAD: ITS INCEPTION, EVOLUTION AND RESULTS.

XVI.

SOME STIRRING FEATURES OF A BUSY YEAR.

IN the midst of this advance movement of railroads, and moral and physical victories of railroad projectors, engineers, managers and inventors, there were forces of criticism and opposition presenting themselves, as in all improvements or reforms in the mental or physical world. One striking example of this character was furnished by an excited mob in Philadelphia in the spring of that busy year—1840—of which we now write. From a reliable authority* we learn that the Trenton Railroad Company desired to lay in that usually quiet city a single track along Front street, from the turn of that road down Maiden street to their depot in the upper part of Kensington. The matter had been fully argued in the Court of Common Pleas, and decided in favor of the company, and against such citizens as had gone into the courts to oppose; and who, when the decision was rendered in the lower tribunal, appealed to the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. But the company were tired of delays, and started

to lay their track and by possession of the street secure nine points in the law.

When the laborers appeared in the streets and commenced to string their ties and irons, an excited crowd poured down upon them; tore up the wooden cross-pieces and rails as fast as they could be laid down; filled up excavations as rapidly as they could be made; enraged women, "forgetting their sex and sphere," as the reporter informs us, taking part and hurling stones at the railroad men. The sheriff was appealed to, and with a posse appeared and made a number of arrests. But this did not appease the anger of the people, who felt that the railroad authorities were determined to defy even the law itself by going ahead pending the appeal, and at eight or nine o'clock at night the ties and all railroad lumber that could be found lying about were collected in a heap and set on fire. The Northern Liberty Hose Company,—in those days when Philadelphia was so proud of her volunteer firemen,—turned out, but "were received with such demonstrations" as caused them "for the preservation of their appa-

* The *United States Gazette*, of March 13, 1840.

tus," to "retire from the scene." The railroad people finally concluded that patience was the better part of virtue, and agreed to take no further steps until word could be had from the Supreme Court.

Railroad openings were still celebrated with all the enthusiasm and evidences of joy of the earlier days, and the progress of the iron horse to points still further West and South was met with a profuse and vigorous welcome. The road from Wilmington, North Carolina, to the Roanoke river, one hundred and sixty-one miles in length, was completed in the early part of the year under consideration, 1840, and on March 9th the first car passed over the entire line, being met on arriving at Wilmington by "a salute of one hundred and sixty-one guns and other demonstrations of joy." The completion of the Raleigh & Gaston line, in the same state, a few days later, was hailed by the Raleigh *Register* of March 24th with an outburst characteristic of the times, and somewhat amusing, even at this late day: "*Phizz-zzz-zzz!* This is as near as we can come in type towards expressing the strange sound which greeted the ears of the assembled population of our city on Saturday evening last. About six o'clock of that day, the first steam locomotive that ever snorted amongst the hills of crab-tree reached the limits of our city and was enthusiastically welcomed with every demonstration of joy. The bells rang, the artillery roared, and the people cheered. *Huzza! Huzza!! Huzza!!!*

The Raleigh & Gaston railroad is completed and no mistake. The passenger cars are expected here to night, and we jolly cits can now amuse ourselves with railroad incidents until the assembly meets. 'Last bell, sir; last bell! Hurry, sir; hurry, ma'am.' 'Where's my trunk? I can't go till I see my trunk—a round top kivered with flowered paper.' 'All safe, ma'am—all in the baggage car.' *Phizz-zzz-zzz—ding, dong, bell—ding, dong, bell.* 'Make haste, make haste.' 'Oh, my, Mr. Zeigenfuss, I've dropped my bag!' 'Get in, ma'am.' 'Gracious! you'ns almost jerked my calash off my head. Please, Mr. Zig——' *Phizz—clack—clack—clack—lack—lack—ack—ack—ck—ck—k—k—k—away they go!*

"Magnificent enterprise! We have now ocular demonstration of *that*, which no man would have believed thirty years ago to be within the compass of human power. Truly has it been said, that the last few years have unfolded more that is novel, vast and wonderful, than the whole eighteen centuries of the Christian era." It was in this spirit of wonder and amusement mingled, that the American people received their first impressions of the locomotive, in their first personal views of its achievements.

The writer adds the information that this road was eighty-six miles in length, and had been constructed altogether by individual stockholders, the state having declined to take any part in the enterprise.

In the April following the Norwich &

Worcester road, in Massachusetts, was finished, uniting with the Boston & Worcester line, and thus, as the New York *Sun* tells us, "completes an unbroken railroad communication from Norwich to Boston, without a change of cars or baggage. In connection with a line of daily steamboats from New York to Norwich, it affords the most rapid and agreeable route between Boston and New York, at the very reasonable fare of five dollars through." In August of the same year, the city of New York began to take a deeper interest in the long contemplated line to Albany, sending committees of the common council and boards of trade and commerce over the country between the two cities, with a view to the best location of a line. "The decided action of New York in this matter is urged from the circumstance that the railroad communication between Albany and Boston is being pushed with great energy—a new impetus having been given to this latter work by the subscription made to it by the city of Albany, and by the payment, within a few days past, of the installment of one hundred thousand dollars toward it."*

Under date of June 30, the London correspondent of the New York *Courier* indicates something of the condition of railroads upon the other side of the sea. "The single exception to the general depression is in railroad properties, the value of which has recently advanced. There is to-day and to-morrow, a great opening of the lines of

railway connecting London with Leeds and York, and on Saturday was opened a continuation of the railroad from Preston to Lancaster, besides the opening of other less important lines. All the pressure in the money market has not prevented a large speculative business in the shares of the last of these railway lines. The Birmingham & Gloucester railway company, have received six locomotive engines from Mr. Norris of Philadelphia, and the first experiment was made on Friday last; the result, according to the Birmingham *Herald*, having 'surpassed all expectations.' That steam locomotive engines should be imported from Philadelphia to Birmingham, is indeed a 'carrying of coals to Newcastle,' and one of the curiosities of the present curious age." In this connection it may be remarked that the *National Gazette* of near the same date, estimated that the income of the English railways for the year would not be less than two and one-half million pounds sterling; "from which, deducting sixty per cent. for expenses, would leave a profit of one million pounds, which at five per cent. is capable of sustaining a capital of £20,000,000."

SIMON CAMERON'S EXPERIENCE.

An interesting episode, long since forgotten, and now of no account except as showing that the outspoken frankness of a railroad director was desired no more by his associates of the last generation than it is in some cases at present, had its commencement in the early part of the year now under

* Niles' National Register, Aug. 1, 1840.

discussion. Simon Cameron, afterwards United States Senator, Secretary of War, and a trusted leader of the Republican party, had testified before a committee of the Pennsylvania legislature in a manner not satisfactory to the other directors of the Harrisburg, Portsmouth, Mt. Joy & Lancaster railroad company—now a part of the Pennsylvania system—and steps were taken to express the feelings of the board in a very forcible manner. The action taken is thus chronicled by a newspaper of the day:

“The Board of Directors of the Harrisburg & Lancaster railroad company, at a meeting held on the 21st ult., formally expelled Mr. Simon Cameron, a member of it, from all association with it as a director of the company. The proceeding, which is rather novel in these days, is based on the assumption that Mr. Cameron, when examined as a witness before a committee of the House of Representatives, did take an attitude hostile to the interest of the stockholders of the company, and did endeavor to the extent of his ability to injure the character of the property of the company by untruly representing the railroad of which he was a director as dangerous to life and property. The act of expulsion is set forth under seal of the company, and is ordered to be published in the newspapers of Philadelphia, Lancaster and Harrisburg.”

Through the courtesy of the venerable Senator Cameron, the writer of this has been given access to the records

of the road in question, and allowed a copy of the whole transaction, in the following words, taken from the minutes of the board of directors of the Harrisburg, Portsmouth, Mt. Joy & Lancaster Railroad Company, of March 21, 1840:

“The following preamble and resolutions on motion of Mr. Sharp were considered, and after mature deliberation were unanimously adopted:

“Whereas, The president of this company did at the last meeting of this board submit thereto a statement of the conduct of Simon Cameron, one of the directors of this company, when recently in the presence of the committee of the House of Representatives, of Pennsylvania, appointed to inquire into the condition of this company's railroad, in which the said Simon Cameron did assume an attitude hostile to the interests of the stockholders of this company, and did endeavor, to the extent of his ability, to injure the character of the property of this company by untruly representing this company's railroad to be dangerous to life and property in their transportation over it, and by protesting against the said committee being influenced in their opinion by the report of an accomplished engineer of the commonwealth, Mr. John C. Stocker, who had been appointed by the committee to examine the company's railroad, and under oath to report thereupon, did attempt to create in the minds of the committee a doubt either of his honesty or his professional ability; and

“Whereas, John Moss, Esq., a stockholder of this company, was present on the occasion referred to, and does confirm the statement above mentioned of the president; and

“Whereas, Other gentlemen were present who have, since the statement of the president and Mr. Moss has been made to the board, confirmed to the directors in every particular, these and other allegations of grossly palpable and wickedly treacherous conduct* of the said Simon Cameron towards the stockholders of this company; therefore,

“Resolved, That by this conduct the said Simon Cameron has committed a flagrant breach of the most sacred trust, by which he has forfeited the respect and esteem of his associate directors, and has rendered himself unworthy of the confidence of the stockholders of the company; and it is further

“Resolved, That this board do now expel Simon Cameron from all association with it as a director of this company, and that he be, and hereby is, deprived of the rights and privileges attendant upon the office of a director of this company.

“Resolved, That as this outrage upon the stockholders was committed by Simon Cameron upon a public occasion and in the presence of a committee of the representatives of the people, justice to the stockholders and the self-respect of the directors require that publicity

* By the severity of these words one is led to believe that Mr. Cameron must have told considerable truth of some kind about the road.

should be given to these proceedings, and it is hereby ordered that the same be attested by the president and secretary of the company with the seal of the corporation attached; and that they be published in the newspapers of Philadelphia, Lancaster and Harrisburg, respectively.”

Those who know anything of Gen. Cameron's career, need not be told that he received his justification, and came out in measurable form at the end. Turning forward a few pages in the record book of that company, we come across the following, which was adopted at a meeting of the board of directors on November 18, 1841 :

“Resolved, That the following preamble and resolutions be agreed to as follows :

“Whereas, The board of directors of the Harrisburg, Portsmouth, Mt. Joy & Lancaster Railroad Company, did, on the 21st day of March, 1840, pass a preamble and resolutions expelling Gen. Simon Cameron, then a member of said board of directors ; and

“Whereas, Events have since occurred, and the position of the parties are now such as to justify and warrant the repeal of said resolutions ; therefore

“Resolved, That the preamble and resolutions above alluded to be, and the same are, hereby repealed.

“Resolved, That the secretary be directed to endorse the preamble and resolutions expelling Gen. Simon Cameron, with red ink, in a plain and legible hand, and sign the endorsement

as secretary of the company,—*Repealed*—*Nov. 18, 1841.*

“Resolved, That the secretary of the company be directed to transcribe the foregoing preamble and resolutions, and transmit the same to Gen. Simon Cameron, with the action of the board.”

The endorsement appears in red ink as directed, and is signed by John L. Linton, secretary of the company. Gen. Cameron was re-elected a member of the board, at a special meeting held on February 23, 1842.

B. AND O. RESULTS.

Early in September 1840, we are told by the *Keystone* that “the Emperor of Russia, by his agent, has closed a contract with Mr. Norris of Philadelphia, for two hundred locomotive engines, forty of which are to be delivered each year; for which the Emperor is to pay \$1,400,000. These engines are principally to run upon the great railroad now in construction between St. Petersburg and Moscow;” an order which speaks well for a country that imported its first engine from England only a dozen years before. A little later the opening of the Houston & Brazos road of Texas, was celebrated with the usual ceremonies; and, as if to encourage all the new ventures of steam, the pioneer Baltimore & Ohio in its fourteenth annual report, under date of October 1, comes to the front, with cheering news. “The statements,” says the president, Louis McLane, “show a steady increase in the amount of trade and travel on the main stem, and a continued diminu-

tion in the cost of transportation. The latter, in consequence of the alteration in the inclined plane, and various other measures, completed and in progress, has been reduced, as compared with previous years, about one cent per ton per mile; and it will be seen that the entire expenses chargeable against the revenue since the 30th of September, 1839, are \$43,529.80 less than they were the preceding year. . . . Within the last three years nineteen and a half miles of the old track have been reconstructed with a heavy rail upon an improved plan, requiring an inconsiderable amount for repairs; the planes at Parr’s Ridge have been altered, and adapted to the use of locomotives, and the location of the road has been in many parts changed so as to avoid the most difficult and expensive curvatures. Nearly the entire line of the main stem, which from the inadequacy of the company’s resources, could not be reconstructed with the improved rail, has been readjusted and thoroughly renovated; the same improvement is now making of the remaining ten miles, for which abundant materials are already provided, and by the first of December next the whole will be substantially renewed, and in a condition of greater efficiency and durability than at any previous period. . . . In 1837 there were thirteen old locomotives; such of these as were capable of being repaired have been thoroughly refitted, and in some instances entirely renewed, and eleven new engines for the use of the main stem have been purchased. Most

of the burthen and all of the passenger cars have been thoroughly repaired, so as to adapt them to the increasing demands of the public, and a number of new cars of each description, costing together not less than \$50,000, have been constructed and are now in use." The report shows that the line is being extended from Harper's Ferry to Cumberland, as rapidly as possible. A dividend of \$2 per share was declared, and 4 per cent. on the Washington branch.

It is somewhat surprising that even at this period when the cheapness, value and usefulness of the railroad had been again and again demonstrated, there could be those high in authority who would declare for the common road as most advantageous to the public generally; yet Gov. Bagby, of Alabama, in his annual message in the fall of the year, did so declare in so many explicit words. "In deciding in favor of either of these modes,"—the canal, railway, or macadamized road—"the relative cost, advantages, conveniences, and adaptation to the condition of the country, and particularly to the productions of the sections that would be connected by it, must be taken into the estimate. Without intending to disparage or to discourage the adoption of either of the other modes, a macadamized road has, in my opinion, advantages over either of the others; although it is not improbable that, in expressing the opinion, I shall subject myself to the imputation of a retrogressive spirit, not congenial with the improvements of the age.

"The arguments which to my mind gave to this mode of improvement advantages over every other, are cheapness in the construction and repairs, greater practicability, less liability to accidents,* and greater adaptation to the convenience of the great body of the people. But the main reason in favor of macadamized road is that the country to be connected by this work with Mobile is emphatically a provision bearing region; and even if the heavy productions in which it abounds could be transported on railroads, it would have the effect of greatly enhancing the cost of transportation, and throw out of employment a considerable portion of the capital employed in raising those productions, for a considerable portion of the year. Whereas, if the other description of road be adopted, the hands, the teams, and the wagons used in making the produce could be profitably employed in transporting it to market. In fine, to repeat a sentiment that cannot be too often repeated, or deeply inculcated, it would produce 'the greatest good to the greatest number.'"

In this argument will be seen reflected that of the frocked carters of England who objected to canals in the early day, because there would be no

* The attention of Gov. Bagby should have been called to this fact, published only a few days before his message: That trains upon the Great Western Railway of England had then run 29,200,000 miles, and carried 1,500,000 passengers without *any accident fatal to a passenger*—and this, over a period of two years and three months.

further employment for their horses and themselves.

ONE MANUFACTURER'S EXPERIENCE.

In a previous portion of this work* some space has been given to the beginning and advance of locomotive building as illustrated in the life and labors of Matthias W. Baldwin, of Philadelphia. This pioneer in a great American industry had kept faithfully and steadily at work, and had made changes and added many inventions, as the demands of the growing business presented themselves and experience and experiments suggested. About the beginning of the decade of 1840-1850 it was clearly seen that the time had come for more powerful locomotives than had been in use before, and Mr. Baldwin set himself to meet that demand so far as lay within his establishment and himself. From about 1836, the period at which we left him in the preceding mention, he had made a number of changes which can be properly referred to here. These have been briefly summed up as follows, as quoted from the document described below.†

The subject of burning anthracite coal had engaged much attention. In October, 1836, Mr. Baldwin secured a patent for a grate or fire-place which could be detached from the engine at pleasure, and a new one with a fresh

coal fire substituted. The intention was to have the grate with freshly ignited coal all ready for the engine on its arrival at the station, and placed between the rails over suitable levers, by which it could be attached quickly to the fire-box. It is needless to say that this was never practised.

Up to 1838 Mr. Baldwin had made both driving and truck wheels with wrought tires, but during that year chilled wheels for engine and tender trucks were adopted. His tires were furnished by Messrs. S. Vail & Son, Morristown, N. J., who made the only tires then attainable in America. They were very thin, being only one inch to one and a half inches thick; and Mr. Baldwin in importing some tires from England at that time, insisted on their being made double the ordinary thickness. The manufacturers at first objected, and ridiculed the idea, the practice being to use two tires when extra thickness was wanted, but finally they consented to meet his requirements. All his engines thus far had the single eccentric for each valve, but at about this period double eccentrics were adopted, each terminating in a straight hook, and reversed by hand-levers.

At this early period Mr. Baldwin had begun to feel the necessity of making all like parts of the locomotives of the same class in such manner as to be absolutely interchangeable. Steps were taken in this direction but it was not until many years afterward that the system of standard gauges was perfected, which afterwards grew to be a

*See Chapter XI.

†These statements are made upon the authority of a work entitled, 'History of the Baldwin Locomotive Works, from 1831 to 1881.' Published by J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1881.

distinguishing feature of the establishment. In March 1839 the records show that he was building a number of outside connected engines, and had succeeded in making them strong and durable. He was also making a new chilled wheel, which he thought would not break.

On the one hundred and thirty-sixth locomotive, completed October 18, 1839, for the Philadelphia, Germantown & Norristown railroad, the old pattern of wooden frames was abandoned, and no outside frame whatever was employed—the machinery, as well as the truck and pedestals of the driving-axles, being attached directly to the naked boiler. The wooden frame thenceforward disappeared gradually, and an iron frame took its place. Another innovation was the adoption of eight-wheeled tenders, the first of which was built at about this period.

The business of the country, as has been said, had reached a point where more power to each locomotive was needed to obtain the greatest possible results at the least possible expenditure of labor and money. It had for some years been felt that, for freight traffic, the engine with one pair of drivers was insufficient. Mr. Baldwin's engine had the single pair of drivers placed back of the fire-box, while that made by Mr. Norris had one pair in front of the fire-box. An engine with two pair of drivers, one pair in front and one pair behind the fire-box, was the next logical step, and Mr. Henry R. Campbell, of Philadelphia, was the first to carry this

design into execution. Mr. Campbell was the chief engineer of the Germantown railroad when the famous old "Ironsides" was placed on that line, and had since given much attention to the subject of locomotive construction. February 5, 1836, Mr. Campbell secured a patent for an eight-wheeled engine with four drivers connected, and a four-wheeled truck in front; and subsequently contracted with James Brooks, of Philadelphia, to build for him such a machine. The work was begun March 16, 1836, and the engine was completed May 8, 1837. This was the first eight-wheeled engine of this type, and from it the standard American locomotive of to-day takes its origin. The engine lacked, however, one essential feature; there were no equalizing beams between the drivers, and nothing but the ordinary steel springs over each journal of the driving-axle to equalize the weight upon them. It remained for Messrs. Eastwick & Harrison to supply this deficiency; and in 1837 that firm constructed at their shop in Philadelphia a locomotive on this plan, but with the driving-axles running in a separate square frame, connected to the main frame above it by a single central bearing on each side. This engine had cylinders twelve by eighteen, four coupled driving-wheels, forty-four inches in diameter, carrying eight of the twelve tons constituting the total weight. Subsequently Mr. Joseph Harrison, Jr., of the same firm, substituted "equalizing beams" on engines of this plan afterwards constructed by

them, substantially in the same manner as since generally employed.

In the *American Railroad Journal* of July 30, 1836, a woodcut showing Mr. Campbell's engine, together with an elaborate calculation of the effective powers of an engine on this plan, by William J. Lewis, Esq., civil engineer, was published, with a table showing its performance upon grades ranging from a dead level to a rise of one hundred feet per mile. Mr. Campbell stated that his experience at this time (1835-36), convinced him that grades of one hundred feet rise per mile would, if roads were judiciously located, carry railroads over any of the mountain passes in America, without the use of planes with stationary steam power, or, as a general rule, of costly tunnels, an opinion very extensively verified by the experience of the country since that date.

A step had thus been taken, to continue our extracts from the document above cited, toward a plan of locomotive having more adhesive power. Mr. Baldwin, however, was slow to adopt the new design. He naturally regarded innovations with distrust. He had done much to perfect the old pattern of engine, and had built over a hundred of them, which were in successful operation on various railroads. Many of the details were the subjects of his several patents, and had been greatly simplified in his practice. In fact, simplicity in all the working parts had been so largely his aim, that it was natural he should distrust any plan involving

additional machinery, and he regarded the new design as only an experiment at best. In November, 1838, he wrote to a correspondent that he did not think there was any advantage in the eight-wheeled engine. There being three points in contact it could not turn a curve, he argued, without slipping one or the other pair of wheels sideways. Another objection was in the multiplicity of machinery, and the difficulty of maintaining four driving wheels all of exactly the same size. Some means, however, of getting more adhesion must be had, and the result of his reflection upon this subject was the project of a "geared engine." In August, 1839, he took steps to secure a patent for such a machine, and December, 31, 1840, letters patent were granted him for the device. In this engine an independent shaft or axle was placed between the two axles of the truck, and connected by cranks and coupling-rods with cranks on the outside of the driving wheels. This shaft and a central cog-wheel engaging on each side with intermediate cog-wheels, which in turn geared into cog-wheels on each truck-axle. The intermediate cog-wheels had wide teeth, so that the truck could pivot while the main shaft remained parallel with the driving-axle. The diameters of the cog-wheels were, of course, in such proportion to the driving and truck-wheels that the latter should revolve as much oftener than the drivers as their smaller size might require. Of the success of this ma-

chine for freight service, Mr. Baldwin was very sanguine. One was put in hand at once, completed in August, 1841, and eventually sold to the Sugar-loaf Coal Company. It was an outside connected engine, weighing thirty thousand pounds, of which eleven thousand seven hundred and seventy-five pounds were on the drivers, and eighteen thousand three hundred and thirty-five on the truck. The driving-wheels were forty-four and the truck wheels thirty-three inches in diameter by sixteen inches stroke. On a trial of the engine upon the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad, it hauled five hundred and ninety tons from Reading to Philadelphia—a distance of fifty-four miles—in five hours and twenty-two minutes. The superintendent of the road, in writing of the trial, remarked that this train was unprecedented in length and weight, both in America and Europe. The performance was noticed in favorable terms by the Philadelphia newspapers, and was made the subject of a report by the Committee on Science and Arts of the Franklin Institute, who strongly recommended this plan of engine for freight service. The success of the trial led Mr. Baldwin at first to believe that the geared engine would be generally adopted for freight traffic; but in this he was disappointed. No further demand was made for such machines, and no more of them were built.

In 1840 Mr. Baldwin received an order, through August Belmont, Esq., of New York, for a locomotive for

Austria, and had nearly completed one which was calculated to do the work required, when he learned that only sixty pounds pressure of steam was admissible, whereas his engine was designed to use steam at one hundred pounds and over. He accordingly constructed another, meeting this requirement, and shipped it the following year. This engine, it may be noted, had a kind of link motion, agreeably to the specifications received, and was the first of his make upon which the link was introduced. His patent of December 31, 1840, already referred to as covering his geared engine, embraced several other devices, as follows:

1. A method of operating a fan, or blowing-wheel, for the purpose of blowing the fire. The fan was to be placed under the foot-board, and driven by the friction of a grooved pulley, in contact with the flange of the driving-wheel.

2. The substitution of a metallic stuffing, consisting of wire, for the hemp, wool, or other material which had been employed in stuffing-boxes.

3. The placing of the springs of the engine truck so as to obviate the evil of the locking of the wheels when the truck-frame vibrates from the centre-pin vertically. Spiral, as well as semi-elliptic springs, placed at each end of the truck-frame, were specified. The spiral spring is described as received in two cups—one above and one below. The cups were connected together at their centers by a pin upon one and a socket in the other, so that the cups

could approach toward or recede from each other, and still preserve their parallelism.

4. An improvement in the manner of constructing the iron frames of locomotives, by making the pedestals in one piece with and constituting a part of the frame.

5. The employment of spiral springs in connection with cylindrical pedestals and boxes. A single spiral was at first used, but not proving sufficiently strong, a combination or nest of spirals, curving alternately in opposite directions, was afterwards employed. Each spiral had its bearing in a spiral recess in the pedestal. In the specifications of this patent, a change in the method of making cylindrical pedestals and boxes is noted. Instead of boring and turning them in a lathe, they were cast to the required size in chills. This method of construction was used for a time, but eventually a return was made to the original plan as giving a more accurate job.*

*In this connection may be noted the fact that, at a later day, in 1842, Mr. Baldwin, under an arrangement with Mr. Ross Winans, constructed three locomotives for the Western Railroad, of Massachusetts, on a plan which had been designed by that gentleman, for freight traffic. These machines had upright boilers, and horizontal cylinders which worked cranks on a shaft-bearing cog-wheel engaging with other cog-wheels on an intermediate shaft. This latter shaft had cranks coupled to four driving-wheels on each side. These engines were constructed to burn anthracite coal. Their peculiar uncouth appearance earned for them the name of "crabs," and they were short-lived in service.

As has been shown, the geared engine had not proved a success. It was unsatisfactory, as well to its designer as to the railroad community. The problem of utilizing more or all of the weight of the engine for adhesion remained, in Mr. Baldwin's view, yet to be solved. The plan of coupling four or six wheels had long before been adopted in England, but on the short curves prevalent on American railroads he felt that something more was necessary. The wheels must not only be coupled, but at the same time must be free to adapt themselves to a curve. These two conditions were apparently incompatible, and to reconcile these inconsistencies was the task Mr. Baldwin set himself to accomplish. He undertook it too, at a time when his business had fallen off greatly, and he was involved in the most serious financial embarrassments. The problem was constantly before him, and at length, during a sleepless night, its solution flashed across his mind. The plan so long sought for and which, subsequently, more than any other of his improvements or inventions, contributed to the foundation of his fortune, was his well-known six-wheels-connected locomotive, with the four front drivers, combined in a flexible truck. For this machine he secured a patent, August 25, 1842. Its principal characteristic features are now matters of history, but deserve brief mention here. The engine was on six wheels all connected, as drivers. The rear wheels were placed rigidly in the beams, usually behind the fire-box,

with inside bearings. The cylinders were inclined and with outside connections. The four remaining wheels had inside journals running in boxes held by two wide and deep wrought-iron beams, one on each side. These beams were unconnected and entirely independent of each other. The pedestals formed in them were bored out cylindrically, and into these, cylindrical boxes, as patented by him in 1835, were fitted. The engine frame on each side was directly over the beam, and a spherical pin, running down from the frame, bore in a socket in the beam midway between the two axles. It will thus be seen that each side beam independently could turn horizontally or vertically under the spherical pin, and the cylindrical boxes could also turn in the pedestals. Hence, in passing a curve, the middle pair of drivers could move laterally in one direction—say to the right—while the front pair could move in the opposite direction, or to the left; the two axles all the while running parallel to each other and to the rear driving-axle. The operation of these beams was, therefore, like that of the parallel rules. On a straight line the two beams and the two axles formed a rectangle; on a curve, a parallelogram, the angles varying with the degree of curvature. The coupling rods were made with cylindrical brasses, thus forming ball-and-socket joints, to enable them to accommodate themselves to the lateral movement of the wheels.

Although the inquiry may lead us somewhat beyond the year now under

consideration, 1840, it seems proper at this point to glance ahead at the results obtained from this valuable invention, in the immediate future. The first engine of the new plan, was finished early in December, 1842, being one of fourteen engines constructed that year, and was sent to the Georgia Railroad, on the order of Mr. J. Edgar Thomson, then chief engineer and superintendent of that line. It weighed twelve tons and drew, besides its own weight, two hundred and fifty tons up a grade of thirty-six feet to the mile. Other orders soon followed; the new machine being received with general favor in the railroad world. The loads hauled by it exceeded anything so far known in railroad practice, and sagacious managers hailed it as a means of largely reducing operating expenses. On the Central Railroad of Georgia, one of these twelve-ton engines drew nineteen eight-wheeled cars, with seven hundred and fifty bales of cotton, each bale weighing four hundred and fifty pounds, over maximum grades of thirty feet per mile, and the manager of the road declared that it could readily take one thousand bales. On the Philadelphia & Reading railroad a similar engine of eighteen tons weight drew one hundred and fifty loaded cars—total weight of cars and lading, one thousand one hundred and thirty tons—from Schuylkill Haven to Philadelphia, at a speed of seven miles an hour. The regular load was one hundred loaded cars, which were hauled at a speed of from twelve to fifteen miles per hour, on a level.

In a letter written on August 10, 1844, Mr. G. A. Nicolls, superintendent of the Philadelphia & Reading, speaks of the performance of the machine as follows: "We have had two of these engines in operation for about four weeks. Each engine weighs about forty thousand pounds, with water and fuel, equally distributed on six wheels, all of which are coupled, thus gaining the whole adhesion of the engine's weight. Their cylinders are fifteen by eighteen inches. This train is hauled over the ninety-four miles of the road, half of which is level, at the rate of twelve miles per hour; and with it the engine is able to make fourteen to fifteen miles per hour on a level. Were all the cars on the road of sufficient strength, and making the trip by daylight, nearly one-half of them being performed at night, I have no doubt of these engines being quite equal to a load of eight hundred tons gross, as their average daily performance on any of the levels of our road, some of which are eight miles long."

This flexible-beam truck also enabled Mr. Baldwin to meet the demand for an engine with four drivers connected. Other builders were making engines with four drivers and a four-wheeled truck of the present American standard type. To compete with this design he modified his six-wheeled connected engine by connecting only two out of the three pairs of wheels as drivers, making the forward wheels of smaller diameter as leading wheels, but combining them with the front drivers in

a flexible beam-truck. The first engine on this plan was sent to the Erie & Kalamazoo railroad in October, 1843, and gave great satisfaction. The superintendent of the road was enthusiastic in his praises, and wrote to the manufacturers that he doubted "if anything could be got up which would answer the business of the road as well." Another was sent to the Utica & Shenectady railroad a few weeks later, of which the superintendent remarked that "it worked beautifully, and there were not wagons enough to give it a full load." In this plan the leading wheels were usually made thirty-six and the drivers fifty-four inches in diameter.

At about this period, Mr. Baldwin's attention was called by Mr. Levi Bissel to an "air spring" which the latter had devised, and which it was imagined was destined to be a cheap, effective and perpetual spring. The device consisted of a small cylinder placed above the frame over the axle box, and having a piston fitted air tight into it. The piston rod was to bear on the axle-box, and the proper quantity of air was to be pumped into the cylinder above the piston, and the cylinder then hermetically closed. The piston had a leather packing which was to be kept moist by some fluid—molasses was proposed—previously introduced into the cylinder. Mr. Baldwin at first proposed to equalize the weight between two pairs of drivers by connecting two air springs on each side by a pipe, the use of an equalizing beam being covered by Messrs. Eastwick & Harrison's patent.

The air springs were found, however, not to work practically, and were never applied. It may be added that a model of an equalizing air spring was exhibited by Mr. Joseph Harrison, jr., at the Franklin Institute, in 1838 or 1839.

The adoption of the plan of six-wheels-connected engines opened the way at once to increasing their size. The weight being almost evenly distributed on six points, heavier machines were admissible, the weight on any one pair of drivers being little, if any, greater than had been the practice with the old plan of engine having a single pair of drivers. Hence engines of eighteen and twenty tons weight were shortly introduced, and in 1844 three of twenty tons weight, with cylinders sixteen and one-half inches diameter by eighteen inches stroke, were constructed for the Western Railroad of Massachusetts, and six of eighteen tons weight, with cylinders fifteen by eighteen, and drivers forty-six inches in diameter, were built for the Philadelphia & Reading road. It should be noted that three of these latter engines had iron flues. This was the first instance in which Mr. Baldwin had employed tubes of this material, although they had been previously used by others. Lap-welded iron flues were made by Morris, Tasker & Co., of Philadelphia, about 1838, and butt-welded iron tubes had previously been made by the same firm. Ross Winans, of Baltimore, had also made iron tubes by hand for locomotives of his manufacture before 1838. The advantage found to result from the use of iron

tubes, apart from their lessened cost, was that the tubes and boiler-shell being of the same material, expanded and contracted alike, while in the case of copper tubes the expansion of the metal by heat varied from that of the boiler-shell, and as a consequence there was greater liability to leakage at the joints with the tube-sheets. The opinion prevailed largely at that time that some advantage resulted in the evaporation of water, owing to the superiority of copper as a conductor of heat. To determine this question an experiment was tried with two of the six engines referred to above, one of which, the "Ontario," had copper flues, and another, the "New England," iron flues. In other respects they were precisely alike. The two engines were run from Richmond to Mount Carbon, August 27, 1844, each drawing a train of one hundred and one empty cars, and returning from Mount Carbon to Richmond on the following day, each with one hundred loaded cars. The quantity of water evaporated and wood consumed was noted with the result shown in the following table:

UP TRIP, AUG. 27, 1844.

	"Ontario" (copper flues.)	"New England" (iron flues.)
Time running... ..	9h. 7m.	7h. 41m.
Time standing at stations.....	4h. 2m.	3h. 7m.
Cords of wood burned..	6.68	5.50
Cubic feet of water evaporated.....	925.75	757.26
Ratio, cubic feet of water to a cord of wood.....	138.57	137.68

DOWN TRIP, AUG. 28, 1844.

	"Ontario" (copper flues).	"New England" (iron flues).
Time running	10h. 44m.	8h. 19m.
Time standing at sta- tions	2h. 7m.	3h. 8m.
Cords of wood burned . .	6.94	6.
Cubic feet of water eva- porated	837.46	656.39
Ratio, cubic feet of water to a cord of wood	100.67	109.39

The conditions of the experiment not being absolutely the same in each case, the results could not of course be accepted as entirely accurate. They seemed to show, however, no considerable difference in the evaporative efficiency of copper and iron tubes.

The period under consideration—following still our quotations from the work above mentioned—was marked also by the introduction of the French & Baird stack, which proved at once to be one of the most successful spark-arresters thus far employed, and which was for years used almost exclusively wherever, as on the cotton-carrying railroads of the South, a thoroughly effective spark-arrester was required. This stack was introduced by Mr. Baird, then a foreman in the works, who purchased the patent right of what had been known as the Grimes stack, and combined with it some of the features of the stack made by Mr. Richard French, then master mechanic of the Germantown Railroad, together with certain improvements of his own. The cone over the straight

inside pipe was made with volute flanges on its under side, which gave a rotary motion to the sparks. Around the cone was a casing about six inches smaller in diameter than the outside stack. Apertures were cut in the sides of this casing through which the sparks, in their rotary motion, were discharged, and thus fell to the bottom of the space between the straight inside pipe and the outside stack. The opening in the top of the stack was fitted with a series of V shaped iron circles perforated with numerous holes, thus presenting an enlarged area, through which the smoke escaped.

In 1845 Mr. Baldwin built three locomotives for the Royal Railroad committee of Wurtemberg. They were of fifteen tons weight, on six wheels, four of them being sixty inches in diameter, and coupled. The front drivers were combined by the flexible beams into a truck with the smaller leading wheels. The cylinders were inclined and outside, and the connecting rods took hold of a half-crank axle back of the fire-box. It was specified that these engines should have the link motion which had shortly before been introduced in England by the Stephensons. Mr. Baldwin accordingly applied a link of a peculiar character to suit his own ideas of the device. The link was made solid and of a truncated V section, and the block was grooved so as to fit and slide on the outside of the link.

During the year 1845 another important feature in locomotive construction, the cut-off valve, was added to Mr. Baldwin's practice. Up to that

time the valve motion had been the two eccentrics, with the single flat hook for each cylinder. Since 1841 he had contemplated the addition of some device allowing the steam to be used expansively, and he now added the "half-stroke cut off." In this device the steam-chest was separated by a horizontal plate into an upper and lower compartment. In the upper compartment a valve, worked by a separate eccentric, and having a single opening, admitted steam, through a port in this plate, to the lower steam chamber. The valve-rod of the upper valve terminated in a notch or hook, which engaged with the upper arm of its rock-shaft. When thus working it acted as a cut-off at a fixed part of the stroke, determined by the setting of the eccentric. This was usually at half the stroke. When it was desired to dispense with the cut-off and work steam for the full stroke, the hook of the valve-rod was lifted from the pin on the upper arm of the rock-shaft by a lever worked from the foot-board,

and the valve-rod was held in a notched rest fastened to the side of the boiler. This left the opening through the upper valve and the port in the partition plate opened for the free passage of steam throughout the whole stroke. The first application of the half-stroke cut-off was made on the engine "Champlain," built for the Philadelphia & Reading Railroad Company in 1845. It at once became the practice to apply the cut-off on all passenger engines, while the six and eight-wheels-connected freight engines were, with few exceptions, built for a time longer with the single valve, admitting steam for the full stroke. After building, during the years, 1843, 1844 and 1845, ten four-wheels-connected engines on the plan above described, viz., six wheels in all, the leading wheels and the front drivers being combined into a truck by the flexible beams, Mr. Baldwin finally adopted the design, to which he afterwards held, of four drivers and a four-wheeled truck.

J. H. KENNEDY.

(To be continued.)

THE RAILROAD MEN OF AMERICA.

THOMAS A. SCOTT.

Thomas Alexander Scott and the railroad system of the United States were identified in the youth of both, and grew up together. He was born at Loudon, Franklin County, Pennsylvania, on December 28, 1824, where his father kept the Stage Coach Inn. The boy learned the practical lessons of life at an early age. Almost all the

education he received was at the village school before he was 12 years of age. About that time his father died, and his mother was left with slender means for her family's support. The boy made his first venture in life as a driver on the state canal, but was soon afterwards taken into the store of Diller & Baker, who had extensive iron works in

Huntington county, and kept a company store in connection therewith. In 1839 when Gov. Porter appointed Major James Patton collector of tolls at Columbia, the latter made Scott, who was his brother-in-law, a clerk in his office. He soon became very popular in the neighborhood because of his social qualities and proved himself an excellent business man, competent to discharge the most difficult task to which he should be assigned. Major Patton left the collector's office in 1841, and was succeeded by Dr. Given, who recognized the young man's ability by raising him to the position of chief clerk, and giving him an advance of salary.

He remained in the office two years longer, and then went into business for himself, forming a partnership with Dr. Given to start a saw mill in Columbia. They secured a state contract to furnish lumber for building bridges, and for a time the enterprise was profitable, but a heavy freshet wrecked the mill and they gave up the business. While the mill was running smoothly, Mr. Scott was married to Miss Margaret Madison, of Columbia. When the mill closed he did not remain idle long, but formed a partnership with one James Vaughn to build an ice house at Wrightsville, just across the river from Columbia. They sent ice to Baltimore, and did a brisk business for a time, but this, too, proved a failure and was abandoned. Then he secured a clerkship in the office of Alexander Cummings, collector of tolls at Philadelphia, and soon

became chief clerk there. After two years here, he returned to Columbia, and took a position as Westward shipper in the great transportation house of Leech & Co., and here as elsewhere he soon made himself conspicuous by his energy and activity.

It was at this period that Thomas A. Scott entered upon the great work of his life—that of the railroad. In 1850 the Pennsylvania Railroad Company desired an agent at the Duncansville station, then the Western terminus of the road, and he was engaged for the place. From that time his life was identified with the service of that company. He very quickly made himself master of his duties, and in his somewhat responsible position gave the greatest satisfaction to his employers. He showed special judgment in the selection of his subordinates, learning men's character after a very short acquaintance, and surrounding himself with assistants on whom he could depend for intelligent and faithful service. He had great influence over all subordinates, and his quick, energetic ways set them an example which they were ashamed not to follow. He so well discharged the duties of his post that when the line was completed to Pittsburgh he was promoted to the position of superintendent of the Western division, with his office at Pittsburgh. Before this time, however, he had lost his wife, who died in April, 1855, and was buried at Columbia. In 1857 General Superintendent Lombaert resigned, on account of ill health. J. Edgar

Thomson was then president of the company, and he immediately installed Scott in the vacant position, with headquarters at Altoona. The road by this time was no longer a local affair. By the purchase of the State Railroad from Philadelphia to Columbia, it had become a through line from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, and Mr. Scott had an opportunity to display to their full extent his accurate knowledge of men and ready mastery of situations.

Early in the year 1860, William B. Foster, vice-president of the company, died, and president Thomson again sent for Scott, whom he informed that it was intended to make him first vice-president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. "But," stammered Scott, taken by surprise, "I am not eligible to the place. The person elected to that position must have at least \$10,000 worth of the company's stock for six months before the election, and I do not own a single share."

"You must be mistaken," said the president quietly, "the books show that 200 shares of stock have been registered in your name for more than six months."

After that there was nothing for it but to accept the position, and from that time Thomas A. Scott was a guiding spirit in the company's affairs. After his election to the vice-presidency he met and married his second wife, Miss Riddle, a daughter of the then editor of the *Pittsburgh Commercial Journal*, and a highly accomplished lady.

In his new station he showed wonderful acumen in railroad management, and was especially noted for the accuracy and finish of the legal papers he was called upon to prepare. Trained lawyers had to admit that his articles of agreement in railroad contracts were simply perfect. President Thomson and vice-president Scott worked harmoniously together, and formed a happy combination of intellectual force. Thomson was acute of intellect, but slow in movement, and inclined to be conservative. Scott, on the other hand, was quick, impulsive and fond of brilliant moves. The two minds formed an admirable counterpoise. Thomson thought, weighed, planned and decided, after mature deliberation, schemes which Scott's impulsive nature grasped at once, and, when the word was given, quickly carried out. Scarcely was the latter fairly installed in his new office, when the president engaged him in carrying out his pet project of extending the Pennsylvania Railroad. The first step was the purchase of the Mount Joy road, running from Lancaster to Harrisburg, and from Columbia to Middletown. The road had been built by Simon Cameron, and was then owned by private persons. Its acquisition shortened the line between Harrisburg and Philadelphia, is the branch now used for passenger traffic, the old road between these two points being principally used for freight. The next move was the purchase of the Cumberland Valley Railroad, running from Harrisburg to Chambersburgh,

and then came the acquisition of the Sunbury & Erie road, now the important Philadelphia & Erie branch of the Pennsylvania. Col. Scott next secured control of the Northern Central Railway, running from Williamsport to Baltimore, and connecting both the Erie and Pennsylvania systems with the latter city.

The work of acquiring new branches and building up the Pennsylvania Railroad was interrupted in 1861, when the war broke out, and Mr. Scott was summoned to another field of labor. Almost immediately after the movement of troops was begun, Gov. Curtin called him to Harrisburgh, to act as a member of his staff, and take charge of military transportation. Here he soon brought order out of confusion, and his work brought him to the notice of Simon Cameron, then Secretary of War. The Baltimore & Ohio railroad had declined to carry troops from Baltimore to Washington, and, under pretence that its cars and engines were not safe in Baltimore, sent nearly all its rolling-stock to Martinsburg, where the rebels captured and destroyed it. This action deprived Washington of communication with the North, and Gen. Cameron telegraphed to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company asking that cars and engines be sent by water to Annapolis, to re-open communication by means of the Annapolis & Elk Ridge road. The supplies were promptly shipped under Scott's direction, but Gen. Cameron very soon found that he could not afford to waste time by this roundabout

method of procuring troops and munitions. So, early one morning he left the War Department in company with Gen. Stone, drove to the Baltimore & Ohio depot in Washington, took possession of a solitary engine and one passenger car, which he found there, and placed Stone in charge of the road. Then he sent this telegram to Scott at Harrisburg: "This department needs at this moment a man of great energy and decision, with experience as a railroad officer, to keep open and work the Northern Central Railway from Harrisburg to Baltimore, for the purpose of bringing men and munitions to this point. You are, in my mind, the proper man for this duty. Will you report to me to-morrow morning?"

Two days afterwards Scott was in Washington in charge of the transportation of troops. Gen. Butler's command was the first to reach Annapolis, and the next day Mr. Lincoln called at the War Department to ask when connection with that point would be opened. Scott replied that it was already open, and some of Butler's troops were then in Washington, while others were on the way. The President was astonished and delighted. He grasped the hand of the energetic railroad man, and exclaimed, "Then we are all right again!" During the first few weeks after the breaking out of the war, everything was in confusion at Washington, and the work of gathering an army was performed in the most available fashion, without much regard to routine or red tape. Scott worked

for a while without either rank or pay, but on May 1, 1861, he was commissioned as Colonel of the District of Columbia Volunteers in order that he might have some official standing; and on the 23d of the same month Secretary Cameron issued an order placing him in command of all the railroad and telegraph lines operated by the Government, with sole authority to act on them. Col. Scott placed Thomas T. Eckert in charge of the wires and attended to the railroads himself.

Of Col. Scott's services in these trying times, we have Gen. Cameron's personal testimony: "No other man in America, in my judgment, could have at the time fulfilled the requirements of the service as Col. Thomas A. Scott did. It needed a man of untiring energy, quick decision and great nerve to deal with the every-day requirements of the situation, and no man possessed all these qualities in such a degree as he did. It was a part of my policy at the beginning of the war not only to take and operate railroads in the enemy's country which we captured, but to build lines of railroad to follow the army, as nearly as practicable. Most of our old army officers thought this could not be done, but Col. Scott demonstrated its entire feasibility almost at the beginning of his career as military railway manager. In an infinitely short time after he came to the department, he had his office placed in telegraphic communication with all the army stations that could be reached, and with every telegraphic station in

every loyal state. He had great responsibilities and a great work to do. I had taken possession of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad before he arrived, and it of course passed under his management as soon as he took charge. He then built a line of railroad through the streets of Washington, to the Long Bridge, so as to make a direct railroad connection with the Orange & Alexandria Railroad beyond Alexandria. In less than a month he had so systematized his portion of the duties of the department that he could tell the capacity for transportation to every division of the army. His marvelous mastery of details, connected with his business capacity, and his power to reach your judgment almost without explanation, were characteristics of his mind, which seemed to make him in every respect the greatest railroad manager that ever lived.

"When Congress met, one of its first acts was to pass a law authorizing the appointment of an Assistant Secretary of War. Up to this time Col. Scott had no position or authority other than that conferred upon him as colonel of the District Volunteers, and my order making him manager of the military railroads and telegraphs. When the law was passed creating the office of Assistant Secretary of War, the question as to the selection of a man came up in a cabinet meeting. Mr. Lincoln suggested David Davis. Montgomery Blair desired the appointment of Gen. Sherman. I said, 'No, gentlemen; what we need is a man who can deal

with railroads and the transportation of troops and munitions of war, and I have a candidate for the place whom I think you will be pleased with.' Mr. Chase said, 'Who is he?' 'Col. Thomas A. Scott,' said I. Mr. Lincoln, who had seen something of him in the department, at once said, 'I am for Mr. Scott,' and that day Mr. Scott was made Assistant Secretary of War. From the day he took control I gave myself very little concern about matters connected with his department. He was the readiest man with his figures and plans I ever met. He had been Assistant Secretary less than a month when Mr. Lincoln said to me, 'Cameron, you deserve credit for selecting such a man. He is a perfect master of the situation.'"

In January, 1862, Edwin M. Stanton, who had succeeded Gen. Cameron in the War Office, sent Col. Scott to the West and the Southwest on a tour of inspection of the various camps and of the facilities for transporting troops and war material, as well as to inquire into and suggest measures to promote the efficient actions of the army, the safety of the Government, and the protection of public property. He returned in about six weeks, after nearly five thousand miles of travel, and was immediately dispatched on a similar mission in the Eastern department, with particular reference to moving the army of the Potomac westward to Cairo. This was almost the end of his connection with the Government at that time. On June 1, 1862, he resigned his position as

Assistant Secretary of War, and returned to his duties as vice-president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. Secretary Stanton upon this occasion said to him: "It is proper for me to express my entire satisfaction with the manner in which you have discharged your duties during the whole period of our official relation. These duties have been confidential and responsible, requiring energy, prudence and discretion, and it gives me pleasure to say that to me you have proved to be in every particular an able and faithful assistant."

With the close of his public labors, Col. Scott returned again to his office and devoted his energies to the extension and aggrandizement of the Pennsylvania Railroad. He was of great service in the difficult work of consolidating a number of lines built under charters from different states and controlled by a number of rival corporations, into the magnificent system operated by the Pennsylvania Company—a distinct organization from the Pennsylvania Railroad Company—of which he was made president long before he became president of the latter. This company was organized in 1871, and Scott was immediately made president of it, a position which he held until, in 1880, increasing infirmities made it necessary for him to lay down all his responsibilities. In addition to the heavy load he had to labor under in the effort to carry the Texas & Pacific scheme through the depression which followed the panic of 1873, Col. Scott was

at the same time the brains of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and had that business also to maintain, for President Thomson's failing health left him little ability to attend to the great affairs of the company. The next year Mr. Thomson died, and on May 27, 1874, Col. Scott was elected to the position. By this time the Pennsylvania had become the largest railway system under one management in the world. The annual meeting of 1874 was an important one, for the stockholders, rendered suspicious and distrustful by the financial crashes that were recurring all around them, appointed a committee to examine into its affairs, investigate everything, ascertain the amount of its debts, and estimate its resources. The report vindicated Col. Scott's management, and had a beneficial effect on the stock. The depression, however, continued, a series of disastrous trunk line contests began, which involved great losses in freight and passenger transportation, and in 1877 a series of disasters culminated in the destructive riots at Pittsburgh, in which the company's losses were figured at \$2,000,000. This was the last great crisis of Col. Scott's life. During the riots he took personal charge of everything; the riots were suppressed, and the credit of the road maintained; but at the next annual meeting it was found impolitic to declare a dividend, and this gave rise to another attack from Col. Scott's enemies, which, like the first, did him more good than harm.

For six years Col. Scott continued at

the head of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company and the system of lines controlled by it. During this time it was consolidated and extended, the important New Jersey system of lines added to it, its branches made to work harmoniously and unitedly, and its roadbed and rolling stock improved to the highest point known to railroad science. But the weeks of anxiety which followed the Pittsburgh outbreak were too much for the man who had done the work of two busy men during all his life and who had begun to feel the effect of the strain. A partial attack of paralysis warned him to stop and take some rest, and his associates in the company seconded the warning by giving him an unlimited leave of absence and urging him to take advantage of it. He accordingly went abroad, spent the winter at Nice, traveled leisurely over the continent and up the Nile, and came back recuperated but not fully restored. He found himself obliged to withdraw from one enterprise after another, for at this time he was president of a large number of roads, and at last retained only the presidency of the Pennsylvania, and the Texas & Pacific. Finally, on May 1, 1880, he sent to the Board of Directors of the Pennsylvania, a letter of resignation, saying: "After a service of nearly thirty years with the company I find it necessary to tender my resignation as its president, and as one of its directors, to take effect June 1." The resignation was accepted, and the long service came to an end.

Among some of the main connections of Col. Scott other than those named above, were the following: President of the Union Pacific Railroad Company; president of the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad; controlling director of the Southern Railway Security Company; a director of the Kansas Pacific and the Denver & Rio Grande; a director of the Pennsylvania Steel Company; commissioner of Fairmount Park, Philadelphia; besides minor offices needless to enumerate here.

But the inevitable result of his life of intense activity came in a second, and yet a third, stroke of paralysis, which came on May 4, 1881. He rallied for a time, and was removed from Philadelphia to his country seat, Woodburn, near Darby, ten miles below Philadelphia. The change seemed to do him good, and he was looking forward to spending the summer in the country, when the relapse came, and the weakened frame succumbed to it. He died on the evening of May 21, 1881.

This brief sketch of Col. Thomas A. Scott's career can be closed in no more fitting manner than by quoting the language used some time before his death by his friend, Col. John W. Forney, in description of his character: "His cheerful and buoyant temper, his bright face, genial, gentle manners, and above all the readiness with which he answered every request and the

grace with which he would say no, as he had frequently to do, proved that official labors came easy and natural to him, and that the cares so sure to break down an ordinary man bore lightly upon him. It was pleasant to note how quietly he met the leaders of armies and the leaders of the Senate, and how in every circle, no matter what the theme, he was unconstrained and self-poised. Perhaps one of the secrets of his popularity was his avoidance of all political discussions. Intensely attached to his country, Col. Scott is claimed by no party, and has as many friends in one as in the other. He possesses two inborn gifts uncommon to one who has not seen the inside of a school house since his eleventh year—intuitive mathematical perception and singular ability in preparing legislation. He dispatches business with electric facility. He dictates to his shorthand reporter as rapidly as an expert, and when he rises to speak in any of the business conventions his suggestions are so many flashes of intellect, and his sentences short, terse, and clear. He is happy in the capacity of getting rid of difficult questions in a moment. One subject dropped, he seizes the other at the proper time, and is as punctual to a promise, an engagement or a contract as he is faithful to a friend."

DANIEL R. GARRISON.

Of the enterprising band of St. Louis capitalists who secured the completion of the Missouri Pacific and its southwest branch none was more ardent, self-sacrificing, or energetic than Daniel Randall Garrison. Mr. Garrison was born near Garrison's Landing, Orange county New York, November 23, 1815. His father, Capt. Oliver Garrison, owned and commanded the first line of packets that ran between New York and West Point, early in the present century before steamboats were known. Capt. Garrison was of old New England Puritan stock, and his wife was of a Holland family that settled in New York at an early day. Her connections embraced such historic names as the Schuylers, Buskirks, and Coverts.

Young Garrison's youth passed without special incident until his removal with his father to Buffalo in 1829, where he obtained employment with Bealls, Wilkinson & Co., engine-builders, with whom he remained until 1833, when he went to Pittsburgh and was engaged in one of the largest machine-shops in that city. In 1835 he removed to St. Louis.

While he was in Buffalo Daniel Webster visited the place, and young Garrison was one of three young men who presented the great "expounder of the Constitution" with an elegant card-table, as a testimonial of their indorsement of his tariff views. The table was a mosaic, composed of nearly every

description of American wood, and was accepted by Mr. Webster with flattering acknowledgments. The admiration which Mr. Garrison thus early formed for the great statesman has continued undiminished ever since.

Upon arriving in St. Louis, Mr. Garrison secured employment at the head of the drafting department in the foundry and engine-works of Kingsland, Lightner & Co., and although less than twenty-one years of age, was soon distinguished as one of the ablest and most trustworthy mechanics in the city. This engagement continued until 1840, when, in connection with his brother, Oliver Garrison, he started in business as a manufacturer of steam-engines. Manufacturing establishments in the West were comparatively few at that time, and nearly all manufactured articles were brought from the East; but coal and iron existed in abundance in Missouri, and the Garrisons reasoned that St. Louis presented many unsurpassed advantages as a manufacturing point. Their start was moderate, but as business prospered the capacity of their works was increased until nearly every kind of steam machinery then in use was made by them. Their success had a stimulating effect on other enterprises of the kind, and gave a great impetus generally to the manufacturing interests of the city. During these years Mr. Garrison worked incessantly; all the drafting of the establishment was

done by him, and every piece of work turned out passed under his personal inspection at every stage of its manufacture.

In 1848 the discovery of gold in California agitated the whole country, and a tidal wave of immigration swept westward. Believing that as the Pacific slope was settled, a large market would be created for steamboat and mill machinery, the Garrisons immediately began to manufacture for that region, and Daniel was sent to California early in 1849, to supervise the introduction of their products. He went *via* the Isthmus; and upon his arrival at Panama found the discoveries of gold fully confirmed, and he wrote to his brother Oliver at St. Louis to send on three engines immediately. These reached him in California in the fall of the year (1849), were quickly sold at a handsome profit, and were the forerunners of other extensive and profitable shipments of the kind.

One of the engines was sold to the Hudson Bay Company, and Mr. Garrison went to Oregon to deliver it. Here was displayed a signal illustration of his fertility of resource in unforeseen emergencies. On the voyage the main couplings of the engines had been lost overboard, and it was necessary that Garrison should supply them; but since to order them from St. Louis, would, in those days of slow-going sail-vessels by way of Cape Horn, have involved a protracted delay in the ordinary course of affairs, Garrison undertook to make the couplings himself.

The nearest known iron ore was on the upper Willamette, a hundred miles or so distant, and the only way to get it down to him was by means of Indians and mules. This was done, however, and when the ore arrived Garrison had a blast furnace ready and made his iron and poured his casting. This is believed to have been the first iron manufactured on the Pacific coast. He also built the boat for his engine,—one hundred and eighty feet keel, twenty feet beam and six feet hold,—also no doubt the first steamboat ever constructed on the waters of the Pacific.

Mr. Garrison returned to St. Louis in 1850, and soon after the brothers retired from the foundry, each having made an ample fortune. Daniel R. Garrison then settled down upon his beautiful farm in West St. Louis, embracing a large tract in what is now the fashionable "Stoddard's Addition." This tract was covered with woods when Mr. Garrison established himself there, and through its shady recesses he and his neighbors had often hunted deer and other game. It is now traversed by handsome avenues, and is dotted with charming residences.

After a brief period spent in the enjoyments of country life, Mr. Garrison, at the earnest solicitation of his friends and many prominent citizens of St. Louis, undertook the task of completing the Ohio & Mississippi railroad,—an enterprise partly finished, but just then in what seemed a most helpless and hopeless condition. The directory of the company embraced such

strong men as George K. McGunnege, Judge Breeze, of Illinois, Col. Christy, Col. John O'Fallon, W. H. Belcher, H. D. Bacon and Mr. Garrison himself. The others all turned instinctively to Mr. Garrison as the one man to lift the project out of the "slough of despond." First stipulating that he should have absolute power in the premises, he accepted the trust, and ultimately succeeded in finishing the work, but not without almost herculean labors in the face of obstacles that only those intimately acquainted with the circumstances can have any idea of. To Daniel R. Garrison, therefore, unquestionably belongs the honor of having completed the first railroad that connected St. Louis with the East. The completion of the road was a marked event in the history of St. Louis, and the merchants of the city gave Mr. Garrison a magnificent service of solid silver, as a testimonial of their appreciation of his invaluable labors.

Mr. Garrison continued to manage the Ohio & Mississippi until 1858, and then left it in fine condition. Meanwhile he had become interested in the Missouri Pacific Railroad Company. When the war broke out this road was finished from St. Louis to Sedalia, where it stopped, owing to lack of money to carry it forward. The enterprise was involved in the greatest embarrassments, and Mr. Garrison was appealed to to extricate it. He refused the presidency of the road, but was made vice-president and general manager, and, armed with full powers, succeeded in complet-

ing the road to Kansas City in the face of obstructions that seemed insurmountable. The war was in active progress at the time, and in Missouri hostile armies were continually fighting for the possession of the splendid domain through which the Missouri Pacific was to run. While the road was being built, therefore, he was placed between two hostile armies, and more than once he periled his life to push forward his great undertaking. As he was an unpromising Union man, he repeatedly received warnings that his life was in danger, but these threats did not affect his composure in the slightest degree: he kept on, and before the war was over cars were running into Kansas.

In 1869 it was desired to reduce the gauge of the road from five and a half feet to the standard gauge, and in July of that year Mr. Garrison superintended the execution of the work. So complete were his arrangements that this great feat was accomplished in twelve and one half hours without the slightest interruption to travel, over the whole distance from St. Louis to Kansas City and Atchison, a distance of 348 miles.

Mr. Garrison remained as vice-president and manager of the Missouri Pacific railroad and its connections until 1870, when he retired. In 1873 however, he was elected vice-president and manager of both the Missouri Pacific and the Atlantic & Pacific, and so remained until the sale of those great properties.

As a railroad man, Mr. Garrison had cultivated an enlarged view of the

future of the Mississippi valley, and naturally regarding iron as the base of its prosperity, he interested himself upon his first retirement from the management of the Missouri Pacific in the organization of the Vulcan Iron Works in South St. Louis, employing nearly one thousand men, and the first mill of the kind established west of the Mississippi. Very soon thereafter he and his friends built the Jupiter Iron Works, one of the largest furnaces in the world, and still later he brought about a consolidation of the two interests under the title of the Vulcan Iron and Bessemer Steel Works. For years he was managing director of these giant establishments, and conducted them with signal success. When he finally retired from the position a few months ago his employees presented him with a finely engrossed testimonial expressive of their appreciation of his kindness as a humane and thoughtful employer, and of regret that the relations between master and men, so signally pleasant in every particular, were about to be sundered.

It would be difficult to name one who has done so much for the real prosperity of St. Louis and the West as has Mr. Garrison, and there are not many who, having accomplished so much, would take so modest a view of their labors as he does of his; for he is one of the plainest and most unassuming gentlemen of which the city can boast, and yet one of the most courteous and approachable. He is tall and of robust frame, is still capable of great physical and mental endurance, and possesses

to a pre-eminent degree a "sound mind in a sound body." Upon scarcely any other man in St. Louis, and perhaps in the whole West, have rested such great responsibilities as frequently in his later career have devolved upon him. In every demand made upon him he has shown the finest executive ability. It has been justly remarked that Mr. Garrison "has compassed within his own experience an amount of beneficent, enterprise and well-directed labor that, if parceled out among a score of common men, would make the life-work of each very large." All this Mr. Garrison has accomplished by sheer native energy and ability, for he is a self-made man in the most literal sense of the expression. He came to St. Louis a poor young man, and is now one of its wealthiest citizens; but his wealth is not merely in stocks and bonds; it consists also in the valued esteem of his fellow business men and the citizens of St. Louis, who gladly honor him for his unstinted labors in behalf of their city and state.

The biographical edition of Reavis' "St. Louis, the Future Great City," was dedicated to Mr. Garrison in these appropriate words:

"To Daniel Randall Garrison, a citizen great in the attributes of manhood, one who has woven out from his individuality, his superior brain and restless activity, a large contribution to the city of my theme and to my country, one who in building up his own fortunes has impressed his character upon many material interests, and who

gives promise of still greater usefulness in the future, this volume, which illustrates a fadeless hope and a profound

conviction in the future of St. Louis, is respectfully inscribed by the author."

DR. ISAAC M. RIDGE.

THE changes that have so marvelously followed each other in Kansas City in the four decades past, some of which we have already outlined, have had a living witness in the person of Dr. Isaac M. Ridge, who, as one has aptly said, "was among the first to watch the shadow of the Indian, as he was forced to take his departure south for his present home in the Indian territory." He made that place his home in 1848, and in season and out of season has been the tried and true friend of the little hamlet in which his lot was cast, of the village that succeeded it, and of the great city it has at last become.

Born in Adair county, Kentucky, on July 9, 1825, his youth was passed in Kentucky and Missouri, to which his parents had removed, and when old enough to understand the bent of his ambition and the direction of his talents, by the advice and aid of his brother, J. G. Ridge,—to whom the doctor feels that he very greatly owes the elevated place he now occupies among his fellows and in his profession—he came to the wise conclusion to devote himself to the practice of medicine. He studied under Dr. I. S. Warren, of Dover, Missouri, and he pursued the usual course at the University of Transylvania, at Lexington, Kentucky, from the medical depart-

ment of which he graduated in 1848, with the honors of his class.

He had already settled in his mind that upon the site of the present Kansas City there would eventually be built a great metropolis, and with that practical wisdom that has always been one of his distinguishing characteristics, he determined to have a part therein. He opened an office at the corner of Main street and the Levee, and entered energetically upon the practice of both medicine and surgery. As may be imagined, to use the words of one biographer of Dr. Ridge, the demands for his services were for a considerable time by no means frequent, for the Indians had their own "medicine men," and the white settlers were few indeed. But he had come to stay, and he persevered, answering such calls as came, waiting and watching for the tide of immigration to flow in this direction. The Indians were at that time numerous and troublesome, but the doctor was fortunate in cultivating their friendship to such an extent that the Wyandottes, who then occupied this portion of the country as their hunting ground, declared him in council their "pale-faced brother," and bestowed upon him the name of Little Thunder; and ever afterwards he exerted upon them a powerful influence, which extended

to other tribes that lived on the Western border of Missouri as it then was, but now is eastern Kansas. For the appellation above given, Dr. Ridge was indebted to the Walkers,—all of whom were half Wyandotte, but men of refinement and culture; men who were his particular friends and associates of the Wyandotte nation; particularly Gov. William Walker, first or provisional governor of Kansas, who was one of the most talented and educated men of his time. He indeed, was the intellectual giant of the men of Indian descent of his age. His was a friendship to be courted by all true men, and Dr. Ridge has the pleasure of knowing that he possessed it.

From 1850 to 1856 the country settled up quite rapidly, and the doctor's practice was so extensive that he was often compelled to ride from a hundred to a hundred and fifty miles in twenty-four hours.

During the memorable pro-slavery troubles that raged along the Missouri-Kansas border from 1856 to the days of the Rebellion, Dr. Ridge found himself called upon to act, in a certain measure, as a "physician of the times," as well as a healer of physical ills. He cast his lot with neither side during that series of struggles, wisely showing himself a friend to all, and using his great and effective personal influence in the healing of wounded feelings, in smoothing over personal difficulties, and in advising belligerents on both sides. But it must not be imagined from this that Dr. Ridge was wanting in

courage to defend personal friends. On more than one occasion did he prove this; and one instance of a memorable character may be recorded here. It was when the Governor of Kansas was arrested by a gang of marauding villains, who would have hanged or shot him, but for the timely interference of Dr. Ridge, who, being informed of the Governor's perilous situation, hastened to the rescue and found him in the hands of a gang of unprincipled partisans who were howling for their prisoner's blood. Dr. Ridge, who, like the man he was defending, did not know what fear was,—save the fear of wrong-doing—and who was known to the most of, if not all, the Governor's captors, defied them, and declared that only by the sacrifice of his own life at their hands, should they murder or harm his once strange friend. This act of daring is regarded by Dr. Ridge as having been a sacred privilege which all true men should be proud to extend to each other, particularly when one has been favored by services rendered in by-gone days by the one he saves.

Ex-Gov. Charles Robinson, of Kansas, is a living witness to the fact that this thrilling act of heroism in the life of Dr. Ridge, was but an act of gratitude, in return for Dr. Robinson's manliness and goodness of heart, in having traveled on horseback one stormy night in May, 1849, to administer to Dr. Ridge, who was in a collapse, and supposed to be dying of cholera. After exhausting his skill, and battling with this master of all diseases for thirty-six or forty-

eight hours, Dr. Robinson left Dr. Ridge a crazed and dying young man, and went on his journey to California. A few eventful years in California passed, Dr. Robinson returned to the East and pitched his tent in Kansas; was made Governor; and was in 1860, deemed worthy of death by that howling mob who had him prisoner; when that young man he had left crazed and apparently dying in May, 1849,—the knowledge of whose miraculous recovery had not reached him,—made his appearance in the presence of the would-be murderers, and in vehement and determined language, demanded the prisoner's release. In the words of Dr. Robinson, in a speech delivered in the National Exposition building in Kansas City, Missouri, in 1880, "honors were easy between the two Dr. R's."

These troubles of the pre-war period had hardly passed by when the troubled days of 1860 followed, and Dr. Ridge again found himself between two fires, and for a second time forced to act as mediator, this time as both friend and adviser for Unionists and Confederates. In 1861 he was the only practising physician left in the section, and was often forced at the point of the bayonet or the muzzle of a pistol to visit the sick and wounded, to administer medicine, or perform surgical operations; sometimes taken blindfolded to where his services were required, and returned in the same way to the place of starting. Those were indeed exciting times, and the doctor passed through many a thrilling scene that might be

dwelt upon with romantic interest did space permit. On every hand he found opportunities to imitate the Good Samaritan, and many a luckless fellow, blue-coat and grey-coat, lives to bless him for his skill and liberality. Legitimately and through compulsion, the doctor did a business of from twenty to fifty thousand dollars during the war, for which he never received a cent; and for several years after that stormy period his practice was unprecedentedly large.

The labors of Dr. Ridge, during his years of active service in his profession, were mainly given to the demands of that profession, and he had little leisure or desire for ventures into other paths of public usefulness. He avoided rather than sought office of any kind, despite which fact his friends compelled him to serve some time as city councilman. He was also the city physician for several years, and it is a noteworthy fact that during his incumbency of that office the city passed through cholera and small-pox epidemics. He was once placed by his friends in nomination for state senator. He retired from practice of medicine about 1875, to attend to his numerous other interests that had been growing steadily on his hands. He had invested the proceeds of his extensive practice in land from time to time, in and about the city, and the growth thereof long since placed him among the wealthy men of the state.

Dr. Ridge has been for many years an ardent and devoted and prominent

Mason, doing all that lies in his power to uphold the noble principles of the order, and to advance its interests; and in more than one instance during the war did its secret but powerful influence intervene to save his life, and raise him up friends in the midst of enemies.

An instance or two of the greatest interest may be cited in illustration. The circumstances of the first have been thus related:* A woman had reported the doctor to Col. Jennison as disloyal, and the colonel sent over a squad of men to "take care" of the doctor. It was forty against one, and as a last chance he gave a Masonic sign which was immediately recognized by a young Prussian lieutenant in command, who waved his sword over his head, calling out in broken English, "Poys, shust put up dem guns; dot man ish all ridght!" The second instance of Masonry saving the life of Dr. Ridge occurred during the Rebellion, in the winter of 1861 or spring of 1862. It will be remembered that the celebrated Col. Jennison, of Kansas notoriety, entered Missouri in the winter of 1861-62 with his regiment of marauders; and it will also be remembered that one Hoyt, of equal marauding proclivities, was his lieutenant-colonel. After a short campaign of assassination, arson, pillage, and cruel warfare against women and children, the military authorities of the Missouri district became disgusted with these miscreants and

ordered them to Shiloh, Miss. Refusing to obey the order, they marched to Leavenworth, there disbanding. After disbanding, the very accomplished young legal light, a bright son of Massachusetts, now Col. Hoyt, of Kansas, conceived the idea of putting out of existence all men and destroying all families of Missouri whom he adjudged were in any manner favorable to or in sympathy with the Southern cause or Southern people; and to accomplish this the more successfully than had heretofore been thought of, organized a lot of scapegoats—Kansians and renegade Missourians, of meaner origin, if possible, and more hatred—their cruel hearts full of vindictiveness and revenge, with murder in every thought and purpose. These "hell-hounds" of earth were organized by that brave young man, Hoyt, into what is known as the "Red Leg Band," whose reputed object was to counteract similar organizations called the "Bushwackers." All good men of truth and honor who survived that bloody, murderous, unprincipled struggle on the line of Missouri and Kansas, can testify to the unheard-of, barbarous and brutal murders perpetrated by Hoyt's band of fiends. The "Red Legs'" chief, Col. Hoyt, and one of his minions, a famous citizen of Independence, Missouri, B. F. Swain, whose soubriquet was "Jeff Davis," adjudged Dr. Ridge worthy of being assassinated by their patriotic band. So these two worthies constituted themselves into a committee to execute the holy deed. Preparatory to

*These incidents are quoted verbatim from the "History of Kansas City," published by D. Mason & Co., Syracuse, New York.

the committing of their contemplated feat they stole round Kansas City all one afternoon in the month of December, 1861, or January, 1862, endeavoring to ascertain as best they could, the most convenient means of murdering the doctor. In their rambles on that memorable afternoon they strolled into the barber shop of one Louis Henderson, a colored man who was free-born; he was raised and educated in Ohio, but had been a resident of Kansas City some three or four years, respected by all, both white and black. These two brave men, while lounging in the chairs, concluded to amuse, and as they thought, highly elate the two colored men who were preparing to serve them, talking to each other, twitting and swearing how they intended to make the "d——d rebel doctor" dance that night, and what tortures they would inflict before dispatching him. Little did they think that Louis Henderson, one of the men they were trying to entertain so gloriously, was not only a devoted friend of the doctor they were going to murder, but a staunch Masonic admirer. The doctor always recognized Henderson as a Mason, whom he saved from trouble a short time before through his Masonic influence, as will be shown in the colloquy that took place between Hoyt and Henderson as the latter was preparing to shave Hoyt. Henderson took occasion to spend unusual time in strapping his razor, so as to satisfy himself of whom the gentlemen were talking. Finally being satisfied that Hoyt

was talking about Dr. Ridge, although neither he nor Swain had mentioned Dr. Ridge's name, Louis squared himself before Hoyt in barber style, as if to commence operations, and exclaimed: "Col. Hoyt! I observe you are a Mason," pointing to a square and compass, the insignia of a Master Mason, which Hoyt had pinned on the lappel of his coat. "Yes," replied Hoyt, "and I observe that you are one also," for Henderson wore an emblem also. "Now, Col. Hoyt," demanded Henderson, "before I shave you I demand the name of the doctor you propose to kill before sleeping to-night." Without hesitating Hoyt quickly replied: "That enemy of your race and old fiend of a rebel, Dr. Ridge," supposing this would be all right with the darkey. "Well, Col. Hoyt," said Henderson, "you may call Dr. Ridge what you please; one thing I know of him that you cannot disprove, he is a better Mason and a bigger one than you or me, and will do more for a Mason in distress than you will or could under any circumstances, without bringing into question the Mason's color, but knowing him to be worthy of assistance." As proof Henderson related a circumstance that occurred in Lexington, Mo., at the Price and Mulligan battle, where he (Louis Henderson) had been captured by Price's men and jailed for safe keeping, till he could be sent as contraband of war to the South. "Ascertaining from the jailer, who was an old acquaintance of Dr. Ridge, that the doctor was in Lex-

ington, I sent for him," said Henderson. "He took me out of jail, set me at liberty, and I returned home with him. Another case," said Henderson: "the doctor took a colored man out of Col. Bill Martin's camp at Lexington, at two o'clock in the morning, setting him at liberty. This man," continued Louis to Hoyt, "was a character whose life, as it were, hung on a slender thread, and had the men of Martin's regiment known his true name would never have held him as a prisoner of war. Col. Martin had no idea whom he was. So after my release from prison Dr. Ridge took me in his buggy to Col. Martin's camp, where we found Fields, the colored man, wanted by them, cooking for them. On alighting from the buggy, Fields approached me, and with great emotion said: 'Henderson, I must hang before sunrise to-morrow. These men of Martin's have been howling for the blood of the negro for whom Dr. Ridge was made a prisoner of war; now he will make me known, and the matter of life is over with me. Will you not approach the doctor and intercede for me?' 'Yes,' I replied, and seeking the doctor laid Field's case before him; he quickly rejoined, 'Henderson, I understand the situation; keep your mouth shut about this business, and tell Fields to do the same; no one knows him but you and myself in camp, and I will release him from his perilous position before to-morrow morning.' The next morning Fields was neither cook nor waiter for Col. Martin's

camp, but was free from his imprisonment, and far from the rebel camp." "This, sir," continued Henderson, "was the act of the man and Mason you would dispose of without giving him a show of defense or a moment's warning. Now, Col. Hoyt, you have heard me through, and I must say to you that I cannot shave you or favor you in any way whatever unless you take back your declared purpose, and pledge yourself to me that you will never molest or injure Dr. Ridge in any manner, or permit your men to." When the barber had finished his story, Hoyt raised up in the chair and exclaimed, "Louis, do you tell me as a Mason that all you have stated to me is true?" "It is, sir," replied Henderson, "and neither you nor myself, sir, could have the moral courage or the Masonic daring and goodness to have overcome wrong treatment, and have exercised such unselfish philanthropy toward a man of color, or any other nationality, as did Dr. Ridge in treatment of Fields." At this, Col. Hoyt pledged himself as a Mason to Louis Henderson, not only that he would never interfere with the doctor in any manner, but that the "Red Leg" band as a whole, should have orders to ever respect, and ever protect Dr. Ridge should they find him in peril. For two years after the doctor met these "Red Legs" in squads of from two to fifteen or twenty on many occasions when practising his profession, and can truthfully assert that they were faithful to observe in the most

punctillious manner the promise given by Col. Hoyt to Louis Henderson. Who can say that man to man cannot be true, even though one be white and the other black. "A mon can be a mon for a' that."

In 1850, Dr. Ridge was married to Miss Eliza A. Smart, daughter of Judge Smart, of Kansas City. Five children were born to this union, three of whom are still living—William E. and Thomas S. Ridge, both prominent in the business circles of Kansas City, and Mrs. Sophie Lee Lakman, also of this city. She was a most devoted wife and mother, esteemed for her noble traits of character, of unusual literary attainments; and when she was called into the higher life there were many in all circles of life to mourn her loss, and miss her many acts of quiet beneficence. In 1882 Dr. Ridge was married to Miss May D. Campbell, the talented and accomplished daughter of Bartlett Campbell, one of the best known of the business men of Cincinnati, Ohio. She is a highly cultured pianist, and as a vocalist has few superiors in this country. His home is one of the notable places in the city; internally, because of its culture, elegance and generous hospitality; and externally because of its commanding position. The site of "Castle Ridge," as it is

called, is of such altitude as to afford a wide and charming view of the city, and of the surrounding country in every direction. In the center of this beautiful elevation is the doctor's elegant residence, the designs and plans for which were all outlined by himself. The structure is in the form of a Greek cross, and in architecture combines the Tuscan and Corinthian orders, and is beautified by a mansard roof, and crowned by imposing towers and minarets.

Dr. Ridge has well earned the rest and leisure he now enjoys, and in the quiet evening of his days can look back upon a long life of labor crowned with success, and filled with deeds of good to his fellow men. Of pleasing address and courteous manners, he is a generous and warm-hearted gentleman, whom all greet with pleasure, and whom many poor and unfortunate have cause to remember with gratitude. He has contributed largely in money and influence toward the upbuilding of the city. Generous and liberal in his sentiments, enjoying the confidence, respect and esteem of the community, having good health and the capacity to enjoy the comforts his wealth can command, there are, let us hope, many years of happiness and usefulness yet before him.

EDWARD L. EAMES.

KANSAS CITY AND MANIFEST DESTINY.

III.

THE BANKS AND BANKERS.

As has been said in a previous chapter, Kansas City lacked banking facilities until 1859, when branches of the Mechanics' Bank and Miners' Bank of St. Louis, were then established for the purpose of supplying the demands of business, which the natural growth of the place and the surrounding country had greatly increased. Johnston Lykins was first president, and D. L. Shouse, cashier of the Mechanics' Bank; and H. M. Northrup, first president, and John S. Harris, cashier of the Union Branch. Previous to the establishment of these regular institutions, depending solely upon banking for their maintenance, a banking establishment was opened in 1856 by Coates & Hood, in connection with their real estate business, and the firm of H. M. Northrup & Co., merchants, had done a small exchange and deposit business, on the second floor of their store, on the corner of Levee and Walnut streets. "These banks were sound and safe institutions," one local historian tells us, "were well managed, and were of great benefit to the city. It was rather precarious banking during the war, especially when the guerillas, Quantrell and Todd, were roaming around the country, ready to take advantage of every

opportunity to plunder a town. For this reason, but little money was kept on hand, and little business done during the troublous times. A party of these marauders made a descent on the town in 1861, and plundered the bank of H. M. Northrup & Co., and the Union Bank, taking off five or six thousand dollars in gold."

The Union Bank, above referred to, was organized in July, 1859, into which was absorbed, in 1864, the bank that Messrs. Northrup & Co.,—afterwards Northrup & Chick—had previously established. The first directors of the Union were as follows: H. M. Northrup, C. E. Kearney, Thomas A. Smart, W. H. Chick, Thomas Johnson, N. T. Wheatley, Joab Bernard, Alexander Street and Edward Perry. The president was H. M. Northrup, and cashier, John S. Harris, as already stated. The Mechanics' Branch was organized on May 1, of the same year, and began business in the June following. The directors were: J. P. Wheeler, Kersey Coates, Dr. Johnston Lykins, Joseph C. Ransom, F. Conant, William Gillis, J. C. McCoy, J. Riddlesbarger and W. J. Jarboe; and the president and cashier, as already given.

The commencement of several of the

subsequent early banks, may be briefly noted: In February, 1866, Messrs. Bernard and Mastin opened a bank which was succeeded by the Mastin Bank; and the old First National Bank was established about the same time, with Major G. W. Branham at its head. Two years later saw the reorganization of the First National by Mr. Howard, Mr. Holden as cashier. The "Watkins Bank," as the old institution established by Northrup & Co. in 1857, had come, by a transfer of interest, to be known, was consolidated with the Bank of Kansas City, on December 8, 1877. When Messrs. Northrup & Chick had disposed of this bank to Watkins & Co., in 1864, they had gone to New York, where they were engaged in the banking business. Upon their subsequent return to Kansas City, Mr. Chick became cashier of the Kansas City National Bank, which had been established in 1872, and which was afterwards reorganized as a private bank, under the name of the Bank of Kansas City, with Mr. Chick as president.

The first great blow to the prosperity and rapid advance of the Kansas City banks, came in the panic of 1873, to which a glance must be given before proceeding with this brief record. That great event and its effects are fully and aptly described by Capt. W. H. Miller, in his "History of Kansas City." "The banks of Kansas City," he tells us, "suspended payment on the 25th of September, and for a time nearly stopped all business by locking up the

funds of their customers. The action of the banks, however, was rendered necessary by the suspension of their correspondents East. At that season of the year the movement of currency was to the West, and for them to have continued would have resulted only in paying out what currency they had on hand, which would have been done in a day or two, when they would inevitably have gone into bankruptcy. The merchants had a meeting at the Board of Trade that day and adopted resolutions approving of the course taken by the banks, pledging them their cordial support in whatever efforts they might adopt to remedy the difficulty. In a few days new accounts were opened by the banks with their customers, and new checks were paid from the new deposits, the banks promising to pay the old deposits as speedily as possible. This arrangement was acquiesced in by the people, and soon business was resumed, though on a much restricted scale.

"The First National Bank was at this time one of chiefest interest to the people. At an annual election in the winter of 1872, Howard M. Holden, Esq., had been elected president, having previously been its efficient cashier. By his enterprise and liberal management he had advanced the bank to a leading position, and at this time it was the chief dependence of the live stock, packing, and grain interests, which were now considerable, for money with which to move the products of the country. It was accordingly deter-

mined by the stockholders, who were all business men of Kansas City, to strengthen it, and to that end its capital was increased from \$250,000 to \$500,000.

“The effect of this panic was to cause great depression in local improvements and town developments, attended with a decrease of population, and the city did not recover from these effects until 1876; otherwise it was an advantage, for in the depression caused in the surrounding country it led merchants to trade here much more largely than they had done before. In their depressed situation they felt the importance of buying nearer home than they had been accustomed to do, so that they might not have to carry such large stock and so that they could turn their capital oftener. For the same reason a closer market became desirable to country shippers of all kinds, which caused Kansas City markets to be more liberally patronized. The same causes affected banks, and after the panic a much larger number of banks in the adjacent parts of the country and some in Colorado and Texas, began to keep their deposits here. Hence, the effect of the panic was to cause a development of trade and the markets, and make Kansas City much more of a financial center than she had ever been before.”

The next season of difficulty came when the mild, wet winter of 1877-78 had retarded the movement of grain and depressed pork-packing, the live stock market, and nearly all the other important

interests. The customers of the banks could not, therefore, meet their paper promptly, and were compelled to request unusual accommodations. A sudden shock came to the community when on January 29, 1878, the First National closed its doors without warning; its commercial deposits at the time amounting to some eight hundred thousand dollars. In a day or two there came also, from similar causes, the close of the Commercial National, adding to the excitement and increasing the financial troubles. The loss of the First National was a serious blow, not alone because of the large amount of funds thus locked up, but because of the loss of financial strength, and the disturbance of the course of business. The blow was one of considerable severity to the city; and, as one has well said, “To any other place it must have proved disastrous, and it would have been much more disastrous to Kansas City at a time when tangible wealth was less abundant with the people; but, situated at the gate to a great and populous country, its markets were filled with products which soon drew from the East the currency requisite to move them. Merchants had been unable to dispose of their winter stocks, and products were still unmarketed, and in addition to being deprived of such assistance as might ordinarily have been expected of the banks, they had to repay loans already secured which caused embarrassment, depressed the markets, depleted the currency, and stopped sundry enterprises which had

been begun or projected for the coming year. Yet the officers of the suspended banks were the recipients of an almost universal sympathy far different from the sentiments usually engendered by important bank failures, which found expressions in resolutions of confidence, and offers of aid from the live-stock commission merchants, the grain merchants, and merchants and business men generally." The effect of this shock had hardly passed away, when another came, in the failure of the Mastin Bank on August 3d, which

closed its doors with deposits amounting to \$1,300,000, of which sum about \$800,000 belonged to the commerce of the country, the rest being commercial deposits. Embarrassment from a lack of currency ensued for a time, but business soon resumed its normal tone, and went forward as usual; and one of the best evidences ever given of the financial stability of Kansas City and the energy of its people, is found in the fact that two such shocks could be sustained in one year without material and lasting harm.

JOSEPH S. CHICK.

Joseph S. Chick, who has been for many years prominently identified with the commercial and banking interests of Kansas City, can be rightfully called one of the financial pioneers of the new West; that West which lies beyond the Mississippi river, and has marvellously shown this generation, what American enterprise when allied to American courage can perform.

Mr. Chick is a native Missourian. He was born in Howard county, on August 3, 1828. His parents were Virginians. His father was a merchant, and his mother was the daughter of Mr. Joseph Smith, an importing merchant of Alexandria, before Baltimore became a rival to that once important commercial city.

In 1836 Mr. Chick's parents removed to Jackson county, Missouri, where the boyhood days of the son were passed.

When eighteen years of age he had passed through the educational opportunities open to the youth of his day, and being anxious to commence a business career, he began as a clerk in the store of Mr. H. M. Northrup, a leading merchant of Jackson county. The application of the youth was such that in 1852 he became his employer's partner.

At that early day the country west of the Missouri was owned and occupied exclusively by the Indian tribes. The house of Northrup & Chick was located at Kansas City, then within sight of Indian villages, and was a leading firm engaged in the Indian trade. The Government paid annually large amounts of money as annuities to the Indians. The commerce of the frontier was mainly confined to the Indian trade in furs, buffalo robes and government annuities. The trade across the plains with Mexico

was growing every year, and as that increased they became largely identified with it; Kansas City being a favorite starting and outfitting point for that distant land.

From 1852 to 1857 the firm of Northrup & Chick continued their business as wholesale grocers and in Indian and Mexican supplies. In 1857 the banking house of Northrup & Co. was formed; the mercantile house being continued in the name of J. S. Chick & Co.; the two gentlemen composing both firms, Mr. Northrup being in charge of the bank, and Mr. Chick the wholesale business. In 1861, Mr. Northrup went to New York to live and established the well-known bank of Northrup & Chick on Wall street. Mr. Chick continued his business at Kansas City in 1862, when the disorders growing out of the Civil War almost prostrated business on that border of Missouri and Kansas and decided him to take his family and a stock of goods to Santa Fe, New Mexico, where he remained several months. Order being apparently restored at home, he in the following spring returned and entered largely into the trade with Mexico. The country being again disturbed, the parties deemed it unsafe to continue their business at Kansas City and closed it out, Mr. Chick going to New York with his family, joining his partner, where he remained until 1874.

Messrs. Northrup & Chick were large stockholders in the New York Gold Exchange Bank. During Black Friday the bank lost largely and its

affairs being badly entangled, Mr. Chick was asked to become one of its directors, and, with his associates was instrumental in putting the bank on a solid basis, continuing in the board of directors until the stock reached par, and the object for which the bank was organized having ceased, it was placed in liquidation and the stockholders all received par for their stock.

In 1874 they returned to Kansas City, Mr. Northrup locating in Wyandotte, and Mr. Chick buying a controlling interest in the Kansas City National Bank. In November, 1875, associating with himself some of the best and most substantial men of the place, he organized the Bank of Kansas City, which was merged in the National Bank of Kansas City in 1886. Under Mr. Chick's conservative yet enterprising management these institutions have ever kept pace with the expanding commerce of the city, and the National Bank of Kansas City, with paid up capital of one million dollars, and large surplus and deposits aggregating six million dollars, is recognized as one of the most successful banking enterprises in the West. While Mr. Chick has given the greater share of his time and attention to these enterprises with which he has had direct identification and over which he has had personal control, he has been an efficient help in the upbuilding of Kansas City in other directions, and through enterprises which have felt the aid of his capital and his name. Among these the

National Loan and Trust Company, and the Kansas City Electric Light Company, may be mentioned, both of which are prominent corporations doing a large business. He gave an efficient service as president of the Board of Trade and is yet one of its directors.

"He is always," as has been well said, "in the front rank of the promoters of any project that promises to redound to the upbuilding of Kansas City or the welfare and benefit of its citizens, and he is known widely for his benevolence." His domestic life is a happy one, in the midst of his family, consisting of a noble wife, a bright and accomplished daughter—Miss Julia—in her eighteenth year; his son, Joseph,

junior; and his eldest son, Frank N. Chick, twenty-eight years old, being second vice-president of the bank, and showing in many ways that he is the possessor of many of his father's best traits of business ability and financial skill.

Mr. Chick stands to-day on the ground where his boyhood days were spent, an honored, respected citizen by all, and especially by the companions of his youth, who like himself are now advanced in life. They intrust their money to his care with implicit faith and come to him for counsel.

In all his life no man has assailed his integrity.

W. B. CLARKE.

The trite saying that the Ohio man finds his way everywhere, and has a part in all that is going on, impresses one as a truth when he passes about the country to any extent, or looks into the past of any body of men who have won success in the battle of life; for wherever he goes there is the Buckeye, and among almost any ten who have aided in building up the West, at least one son of Ohio may be discovered.

These remarks are suggested by the fact that in Kansas City so many Ohioans have located, and among them special mention may be made of William Bingham Clarke, without reference to whom no history of finances in Kansas City could be written. Mr. Clarke was born in Cleveland, Ohio,

on April 15, 1848, the son of Aaron Clarke, formerly of Litchfield, Connecticut, and Caroline E. Bingham, of Andover, of the same state. His education was received in the excellent public and private schools of Cleveland, and at the proper age he commenced the study of law, and was admitted to the bar. But a natural financial skill, and the direction of circumstances, led him into another field of labor, but as banker, financier and capitalist he has ever found his legal knowledge of efficient use. He spent some time in two of the largest banks in Cleveland, where he acquired a practical knowledge of the business, and in 1869 paid a visit to the Northwest and Kansas in search of a favor-

able locality for engaging in banking upon his own account. He at length decided upon Abilene, Kansas, then the headquarters of the Texan cattle trade for the West, and a place of rapid growth and much promise.

It was a place, however, which yet had all the wild characteristics of the typical frontier town. But Mr. Clarke, ever strictly temperate, and wearing no weapons in the lawless community, was always treated with respect, and had no difficulty with the wild element with which he had to deal. He here located and carried on a successful and rapidly increasing business until, after the change and scattering of the cattle trade, he removed to Junction City, Kansas, and organized the First National Bank of that place, which he afterwards purchased and changed to a private banking house bearing his name.

Mr. Clarke's financial experience and knowledge led him to early see the advantages of buying bonds in all parts of the state, and negotiating them in the East, where money was plentiful, cheaper and seeking investment. He therefore established the Kansas Bond Bureau, which he has conducted for near twenty years, without the loss of a dollar to one of his clients. One episode of his career so well illustrates the character of the man, that we take space to relate it in full. Following the panic of 1873, a county upon whose bonds Mr. Clarke had advanced a large sum of money, repudiated its obligations, causing him a total loss of the

sum invested. On the heels of this misfortune came the suspension of several of his correspondents, followed by a run on his bank, which forced him to make an assignment for the benefit of his creditors. He called a meeting of the latter and made a statement of his financial condition, and the causes which led to it, and laid before them a proposition to pay them twenty-five per cent. of his indebtedness which, such was their confidence in his integrity, they accepted without a murmur and signed a full release. He was thus enabled to keep his bank open and continue his legal warfare against the delinquent county to recover the sum due him. Not long afterwards, to his own gratification, and much to the surprise of his creditors, he was enabled to declare a dividend of ten per cent. on his discharged indebtedness. At the end of seven years, having won his case through the United States Supreme Court at great expense, he collected the amount of the repudiated bonds, with interest, and at once declared a further dividend of sixty-five per cent. and interest, for the entire time depositors had been deprived of the use of their money. In his determination to discharge every shadow of obligation against him he even made good to certificate holders their losses in selling their claims, done at the moment of his suspension when the excitement was at fever heat. This way of doing business, all too uncommon everywhere, and which Mr. Clarke could not have been compelled legally to do, was widely commented

upon and discussed by the press throughout the country, no such record having ever been made by a banker before. No combination of circumstances could have inspired the public with greater confidence in Mr. Clarke, than this misfortune, and the able manner in which he extricated himself and others from its effects. After relieving himself from these moral obligations, which seemed to trouble him more than his creditors, he continued his banking and bond business with remarkable success, for he had come to be recognized as the most extensive and best informed dealer in municipal bonds in the West.

In 1886 Mr. Clarke was elected president of the Merchants' National Bank of Kansas City, in which he was already a large stockholder. He thereupon reorganized his private bank at Junction City, Kansas, into the First National Bank of that city, of which he retained the presidency, leaving its home management largely to those who had been associated with him for so many years. He then removed with his family to Kansas City, to assume the personal direction of the Merchants' National Bank, to which he imparted a perceptible and healthy impulse, which has resulted in placing it among the foremost banking institutions of the city.

Mr. Clarke has also been associated with other interests, public and private, that have had for their purpose the upbuilding of the community, and the commercial development of the West.

When the telephones were being introduced throughout that section of the country, his attention was directed to the utility of the new invention and he made large investments in the stock of the Missouri & Kansas Telephone Company, becoming its president. During his administration the business grew to a remarkable degree, largely covering the field indicated by its name, and the Indian territory, then already coming into prominence as a most promising and extensive section of the country contributing to the growth of Kansas City. Other important enterprises calculated to enhance the prosperity of the city and open up its tributary country, have always received his liberal and practical co-operation; and although not a resident of Kansas City for an extended period, he is already prominent in the city's financial, commercial, social and religious circles, and is helpful to all in a remarkable degree. He is a Knight Templar Mason, an executive officer of the Kansas City Club, a director of several benevolent associations, and conspicuously identified with various other interests of a charitable, social and business character. While ever interested in public questions he has been, like too many others of his class, too busy to enter the political field, and has declined several important political positions which have been tendered him. As a layman in the Protestant Episcopal Church, he has always been prominent, and still holds several offices of trust and responsibility in the diocese of Kansas, having

several times been elected delegate to the triennial conventions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.

Mr. Clarke's domestic relations are of the happiest, and his home is one of the most hospitable places in the city of his adopted home. He was married in 1876, at Junction City, to Miss Kate

E., daughter of Mr. George Rockwell, a native of Ridgefield, Connecticut, and Mrs. Catherine C. (Westlake) Rockwell, formerly of Newburgh-on-the-Hudson. They have two children, William Rockwell Carke and Bertrand Rockwell Clarke.

EDWARD L. EAMES.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

ONE by one the landmarks of Revolutionary days are passing away. A dispatch from Sandy Hill, New York, under date of May 4th, informs us that on the evening previous the antiquated building on the boulevard, just west of the street car company's houses, caught fire and was burned to the ground. It was an historic structure. In 1775, when a body of Continentals were summoned hurriedly to relieve Fort William Henry at Lake George, which was attacked by French and Indians, they were ambuscaded by a band of Mohawk Indians and were obliged to take refuge in this building and defend themselves. An incessant fight was kept up, but the rifles of the frontiersmen played sad havoc with the Indians. When about one-quarter of the Indians were killed and wounded they reluctantly retired from the scene, leaving the Continentals in possession of the structure. About a dozen of the latter were killed and wounded. The dead were buried in front of the old structure, while the wounded were taken to the strong works at Fort Edward. The remainder, consisting of about seventy-five men, marched to relieve their comrades at Lake George, where they did valorous service.

By another dispatch, from Louisville, Kentucky, on April 29th, the information is conveyed of the death of a pioneer Indian fighter and comrade of Daniel Boone. John L. P. McCune, who was the oldest man in Clark county, Indiana, died a short time previous at the home

of his daughter, Mrs. C. C. White, at Charlestown. He was a native of Jessamine county, Kentucky, and was born March 5, 1793. He served in the war of 1812. He participated in the battle of Tippecanoe, and was in the fight at Thames, October 15, 1813, where he saw Tecumseh fall. With Daniel Boone he was on the most intimate terms of acquaintance, and made many Indian raids with him. After settling at Charlestown he learned the trade of shoemaking and followed it for a living, making footwear for many of the most famous lawyers, judges, doctors, and other professional men of the early history of Indiana. When Gen. William Henry Harrison visited Charlestown Mr. McCune, who had heard of his coming in advance, made an exceedingly fine pair of boots for him, which were presented to the old warrior. In his day Mr. McCune was a great fiddler, and upon a still evening the notes from his violin could be heard all over the town, as he sat in his front door playing upon his favorite instrument. He was a familiar figure at the annual meeting of the old settlers, and was always down on the programme for an exhibition of his skill on the violin. At these gatherings he invariably played two pieces, which were his favorites, "Washington's Wedding March" and "Martha Washington's Lamentations." At the meeting last fall he attempted to carry out his part, but his strength had so failed him that only the faintest sound could be heard as his stiffened arm drew the bow across the strings of his

fiddle. A few years since his wife died. This was a great shock to him, and so sure was he that he would soon follow that he made all preparations for his death, even to buying and having set up his tombstone, with all of the engraving done upon it but the date of his death. It is located in the extreme western portion of the Charlestown Cemetary, and attracts the eye of every stranger who enters the ground. The peculiar part of it is a small type of 'Mr. McCune, which is surrounded by a glass-covered frame and set in the marble. He is dressed in his shop garb, and on his knee is a partially mended shoe, while in his hand is a hammer. The peculiar attitude and the fact that a live man had his picture adorning the tombstone which was to mark his grave was frequently commented on.

GEN. WILLIAM S. HARNEY, the then oldest officer of the United States army, died at Orlando, Florida, on May 9th. He was born in 1800, and was a soldier during his entire active life. He was appointed second lieutenant in the Nineteenth United States Infantry from Louisiana when he was eighteen years old. He distinguished himself in the Black Hawk and Florida wars, commanded several expeditions into the Everglades, and in 1840 was brevetted Colonel "for brave and meritorious services." In the Mexican war he was mentioned for his bravery at Medellin, and was brevetted Brigadier General for his bravery at Cerro Gordo. He completely defeated the Sioux on the Platte River in 1855, and in 1858 was placed in command of the Department of Oregon. In April, 1861, he was assigned to the command of the Department of the West, and while on his way to Washington was arrested by the Confederates at Harper's Ferry and taken to Richmond. He was urged by Southern leaders to join their cause, but he stoutly refused. He was soon released, and shortly after, in St. Louis, he issued several proclamations warning the people of Missouri against the dangers of secession. In May, 1861, he made an agreement with Gen. Price to make no military movement as long as peace was maintained by the state authorities.

He was soon after relieved of his command, placed on the retired list in 1863, and in 1865 was brevetted Major-General "for long and faithful service." In 1879 he removed from his home at Mount Olive, Missouri, to Pass Christian in Louisiana, where he purchased a handsome villa.

SPECIAL commendation must be given to an idea to be put into execution by the Oneida Historical Society, of Utica, New York, during the coming autumn and winter. This is the annual lecture course of the society, the main purpose in this instance being the collection and publication of a series of papers upon the Governors of New York. The subjects as so far arranged are classified as follows: "Life and Administration of Gov. Fletcher," by Gen. J. Watts De Peyster; "Life and Administration of Gov. Tompkins," by Col. Walter B. Camp; "Life and Character of Gen. Alexander Hamilton," by Col. Edward Cantwell; "Early History of Hamilton College," by Prof. Edward North; "Biographical Sketch of Judge Williams," by Hon. A. T. Goodwin. Declinations, for good and sufficient reasons, have been received from ex-President Grover Cleveland, Hon. B. J. Lossing, Rev. Anson J. Upson, D. D.; Rev. Dr. E. Dodge, President of Madison University, and Hon. G. S. Conover. Other parties are yet to be heard from, and the lecture course bids fair to be one of the most brilliant ever given in the city of Utica.

ON the evening of May 15th a special meeting of this society was held, on which occasion Mr. A. A. Graham, secretary of the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, gave an illustrated lecture on "Early Northwestern History." Maps were exhibited showing outlines of the Northwest, and explaining the course pursued by the early French discoverers, and the forts which they constructed along the Mississippi and Ohio rivers. The lecturer also traced the pioneer movement from the Eastern states, and threw upon the canvas pictures of the early settlements, of forts, and of the men who were prominent in the history of Ohio. Many inter-

esting facts and incidents relating to this history were given, and at the close of the lecture a vote of thanks was tendered to Mr. Graham. A vote of thanks was also tendered to the widow of the late Hon. Roscoe Conkling, for a portion of Mr. Conkling's library, which she generously donated to the society. A large number of resident members were elected; and W. T. Tisdale, Dr. E. C. Mann and Prof. B. S. Terry, of Madison University, were elected corresponding members.

WHEN Hon. Ellis H. Roberts, LL.D., was appointed Assistant Treasurer of the United States, it was thought that he would feel compelled to relinquish the presidency of the Oneida Historical Society, and would doubtless have done so had he not been persuaded that the work attached to the position could be as well performed as others, as if the title of chief executive should pass from the one by whom it is so worthily held. A precedent for such course was found in the case of Horatio Seymour, who held the office long after he was able to give his time to it, a vice-president taking charge in his absence. Mr. Roberts was urged to this course, among others, by Gen. C. W. Darling, the efficient secretary of the society, who would doubtless have become his successor had he resigned. Certainly no more worthy or deserving successor could have been found, and all who know him or his work will heartily endorse these words from a Utica exchange: "If, then, their president shall feel constrained to hand in his resignation, the local historians will be confronted with the necessity of selecting another leader. In their ranks there are many able to adorn the office and discharge its duties creditably. But there is one among them who outshines them all, who is a historical giant among historians, and whose frequent contributions to the secular press bristle with accurate chronological information. . . . He is the author of several short histories privately printed. He has been faithful in his service to the Oneida Historical Society, and as its corresponding secretary has excelled all others in zeal and industry. As he is at

present out of the city it is incumbent upon his friends to see that he is accorded the promotion which is his due. There should be but one ticket for president of the Oneida Historical Society, and it should bear in letters of gold the name of Gen. Charles W. Darling."

GEN. DARLING is the writer of an article in this issue of the MAGAZINE upon the expedition, headed by Gen. Kearny, to New Mexico, in the troubled days of 1846. It is an interesting contribution to the history of that period, and is to be followed—soon we hope—by one or more supplementary papers in the same direction.

GEN. DARLING makes mention of the part played by Col. A. W. Doniphan in that memorable expedition. Doniphan was, in a military way, a noted figure in his day and section, and has been so often mentioned in connection with the Mormon difficulties at Far West in 1838, that many believe that his part therein is his chief claim to historical mention. These generations have not been left without some knowledge of him, as the work quoted below* bears evidence. The author possessed a warm admiration for his hero that shines steadily through his sometimes turgid and wearisome style, and suggests that Doniphan possessed sterling qualities to command such steady respect and praise. We are given a glance at his character through this somewhat classical quotation: "When anyone inquires of Col. Doniphan why he does not choose to live in a more considerable town than Liberty (Missouri), he gives them Plutarch's reply, 'If I should remove hence, the place would be of

In 1848 there was published a now rare work entitled: "Doniphan's Expedition; Containing an Account of the Conquest of New Mexico; Gen. Kearney's [spelled in this case with an extra e]; Overland Expedition to California; Doniphan's Campaign against the Navajos; his Unparalleled March upon Chihuahua and Durango; and the operations of Gen. Price at Santa Fe. With a Sketch of the Life of Col. Doniphan, illustrated with Plans of Battle Field and Fine Engravings." By John T. Hughes, A. B., of the First Regiment of Missouri Cavalry. Cincinnati. Published by J. A. and U. P. James, 1848.

still less note than it now is.' Like Epaminondas, the great Boetian, Col. Doniphan has mostly lived in a house neither splendidly furnished, nor painted, nor whitewashed, but plain as the rest of his neighbors. While commanding the army, Col. Doniphan rarely wore any military dress; so he could not be distinguished, by a stranger from one of the men he commanded. He fared as the soldier and often prepared his own meals. Any private man in his camp might approach him with the greatest freedom, and converse on whatever topics it pleased him; for he was always rejoiced to gain information from anyone, though a common soldier. Whoever had business might approach his tent and wake him, when asleep, for he neither had a bodyguard nor persons to transact his business for him."

THE Colonel's rather important part in the Mormon difficulties is touched upon lightly: "He has long and honorably held the office of Brigadier-General in the militia of Missouri. In 1838 Gov. Boggs ordered a strong military force to proceed to Far West, the headquarters of the Mormon sect, and quell the disturbances and insurrectionary movement which had been excited by the Great Prophet, Jo Smith. This fanaticism and insubordination threatened to embroil the whole country. In a short time troops were in motion from all parts of the state. Military preparations were being actively pushed forward by the Prophet to meet the emergency. A sanguinary slaughter was expected to ensue. Gen. Doniphan, with his brigade (belonging to the division of Major-Gen. Lucas), rendered important service in overawing the insurgent forces and quelling the disturbance without bloodshed. This was Gen. Doniphan's first campaign."

DESPITE this "campaign," the Mormons and Col. Doniphan and his men became comrades under the same banner in the expedition the book describes: "Also about this period," to quote from pages 134 and 135, "Capt. Allen of the First Dragoons, acting under instructions from the War Department, proceeded to the

Council Bluffs, where the Mormons had been collecting for several months with the view to make a settlement, and there raised a body of five hundred Mormons, all volunteer infantry. This body of troops also rendezvoused at Fort Leavenworth, and having been outfitted, commenced its march, soon after the departure of Col. Price for the shores of the Pacific, a distance of 1,990 miles, where, having served to the expiration of one year, they were to be paid, discharged and allowed to found settlements and bring their families. They were to proceed first to Santa Fe, and thence to California, following the route of Gen. Kearney."

"THIS Mormon battalion consisted of five companies lettered A, B, C, D and E respectively, under Captains Hunt, Hunter, Brown, Higgins and Davis, commanded by Lieut.-Col. Allen; Dykes being adjutant, and Glines sergeant-major. It was attended by twenty-seven women for laundresses, and was mustered into the service on the 16th of June. Lieut.-Col. Allen, having delayed at the fort a short time after the companies began to march, to forward some supplies, was taken suddenly ill, and expired shortly afterwards on the 22d of August. . . . The Mormons were then conducted to Santa Fe by Lieut. Smith of the First Dragoons."

THE Ohio Society of New York City was formed in 1885 by a few leading citizens of New York City who claimed at some time of their lives residence in Ohio. In a short time it was found that there were many active business and professional men in the city whose home had been in Ohio, so that at this time there are upwards of 300 members in the society, which is constantly growing. A marked feature of the society's meetings is the recall and revival of memories and history connected with the Buckeye State. A few evenings ago Mr. A. A. Graham, of Columbus, secretary of the Ohio Historical Society, by invitation addressed the society. He gave what he most aptly termed a "Familiar Talk" about early Northwestern history. The talk was illus-

trated by some sixty stereoptican maps and views, showing the discoveries, explorations and claims of the various powers of the Old World in America—especially relating to the Northwest. Pictures of the prominent explorers, such as La Salle, Cartier and others were shown as well as those of the American period with the early American posts and sta-

tions. In addition to these Mr. Graham gave many views connected with the early settlement of Ohio, especially those illustrating the "Ohio Company" and its founders. The talk was full of reminiscences, of biographical, historical and topographical information, and was, by all who heard it, pronounced to be one of the most interesting given before the society.

AMONG THE BOOKS.

"HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS OF OHIO, in two volumes. An Encyclopædia of the State; History, both General and Local; Geography, with descriptions of its Counties, Cities and Villages; Its Agricultural, Manufacturing, Mining and Business Development; Sketches of eminent men and interesting characters, etc., with notes of a tour over it in 1886. Illustrated by about five hundred engravings. Contrasting the Ohio of 1846 with 1886-88. From drawings by the author in 1846 and photographs taken in 1886, 1887 and 1888 of cities and chief towns, public buildings, historic localities, monuments, curiosities, antiquities, portraits, maps, etc. The Ohio Centennial Edition." By Henry Howe, author of "Historical Collections of Virginia," etc. Published by Henry Howe & Son, Columbus, Ohio.

This extended title has been quoted because it presents in condensed form, an admirable description of the contents of Vol. I. of the Collections now before us. Mr. Howe has fulfilled all the promises he made during the preparation of this work, and has furnished a valuable supplement to the volume of Collections that has held so important a place in Ohio historical literature during the past forty years. The foundation of the present work was laid over forty years ago, when Mr. Howe visited every county in the state in order to prepare his first history of Ohio. For several years past he has been journeying again from county to county, and he treats each separately in his new history, with many wood-cuts and photogravures of the Ohio towns of 1846 contrasted with their appearance now. Mr. Howe has gone direct to the people, and much of his material is from the lips of pioneers, while his pictures are fresh

and taken on the spot. The first edition of the "Historical Collections of Ohio" was published in 1847, and is the best review we have of the features and conditions of the state at that period. Its pictures had not the modern elegance, but they were faithful wood-cuts from drawings made by Mr. Howe. The author wrote then in his preface: "The task has been a pleasant one. As we successively entered the various counties we were greeted with the frank welcome characteristic of the West." In his new work Mr. Howe says in the introduction: "When, in 1847, I had written the preface on the preceding pages, I could little imagine that forty years later I should make a second tour over Ohio and put forth a second edition. Not a human being in any land that I know of has done a like thing." Ohio in that year had but twenty-three men of native birth in its 107 legislators. "Only four years before had the state grown its first Governor in the person of Wilson Shannon, born in a log cabin down in Belmont county, in 1802, and to be soon thereafter a fatherless infant, for George Shannon, whose son he was, in the following winter, while out hunting got lost in the woods in a snow-storm, and, going around in a circle, at last got sleepy, fell and froze to death. The present Governor, J. B. Foraker, that very year of my tour, was born in a cabin. The very State Capitol, as shown on these pages, in which the Legislature assembled, was a crude structure that scarce any Ohio village of this day would rear for a school-house." "Throughout are occasionally introduced traveling notes, so that it should combine the

four attractions of history, geography, biography and travels. . . . One effect of my work will be to increase the fraternal sentiment that is so marked a characteristic of Ohio men wherever their lot is cast, and that leads them to social sympathy and mutual help. And if we look at the sources of this state love we will find it arising from the fact that, Ohio being the oldest and the strongest of the new states of the Northwest, by its organic law and its history has so thoroughly illustrated the beneficence and power of that great idea embodied in the single word Americanism."

The introductory articles in the first volume occupy 221 pages, and form a "symposium" of special articles, embodying a summary of leading historical facts with the latest scientific research in the state. First comes an outline of history; then a general description of Ohio, by Frank Henry Howe, a son of the author. The next two articles have a high scientific interest. They are the "Geography and Geology of Ohio," by Professor Edward Orton, the State Geologist, and "Glacial Man in Ohio," by Prof. G. Frederick Wright. Dr. Norton S. Townshend, Professor of Agriculture and Veterinary Science in the Ohio State University, writes a terse "History of Agriculture in Ohio." Andrew Roy, late State Inspector of Mines, makes a summary on "The Mines and Mining Resources of Ohio." It is followed by papers on the "Pioneer Engineers of Ohio," by the late Col. Chas. Whittlesey; on "Early Civil Jurisdiction, South Shore of Lake Erie," and "The State of Ohio; Sources of Her Strength," by the same writer; "The Public Lands of Ohio," by John Kilbourne and Col. Whittlesey; "History of Educational Progress in Ohio," by Prof. George W. Knight, of the Ohio State University; "Ohio in the Civil War," by General John Beatty; "Roll of the Members of the Ohio Commandery of the Loyal Legion of the United States," with an introductory sketch giving the history and patriotic objects of the Order, by Col. E. C. Dawes and Capt. Robert Hunter, of Cincinnati; a list of Ohio officers, State and National, since 1788; a sketch of "The Ohio Society of New

York;" "A Glance at Ohio History and Historical Men," by James Q. Howard; "The Work of Ohio in the U. S. Sanitary Commission in the Civil War," by M. C. Read; "Why Ohio is called the Buckeye state," by Wm. M. Farrar; "Inspection of Workshops and Factories of Ohio," prepared by Frank Henry Howe from the reports of Henry Dorn, Chief Inspector for the state; and the text of the Ordinance of 1787.

Following these ably prepared preliminary articles, the main body is reached. Each county, in alphabetical order, is taken up and sketched in history, physical features, progress since settlement, and industrial condition. The narratives of pioneers are often reproduced in condensed form, and the legends and traditions are mentioned. Mr. Howe adds some genial traveling notes of his two long journeys through Ohio forty years apart. The illustrations show the immense development of the state since 1746. The articles on the counties are far from being the usual dry and conventional synopsis. They are remarkably fresh and interesting. The verdict of all who have examined Vol. I. is that Mr. Howe has obtained a new lease of fame and won a field of historic usefulness that shall be permanent in Ohio historic literature. The older generation who were instructed and edified by his former work, can best appreciate the value of the new, but that value will be seen and appreciated by the thoughtful reader of any age. Vol. II. will be awaited with renewed interest.

"THE NUN OF KENMARE: An Autobiography." Published by Ticknor & Co., Boston.

This life-story of Sister M. Francis Clare, Cusack, late Mother-General of the Sisters of Peace, by no means loses interest from the fact that it is the expression of a class of women who work rather than speak, and who suffer rather than utter any plaint in the ear of the world. In her prefatory address to Pope Leo XIII. the writer says: "I am now publishing in a volume an account of my life. The facts and documents which I shall print will show how groundless are the charges which

have been made against me by these influential ecclesiastics, and will show that I was not unworthy of the honorable position to which your Holiness appointed me." The key-note of her exposition of the troubles she was forced to face in establishing a new order in America, is found in the extract she gives from Cardinal Newman's celebrated "Apologia Pro Vita Sua:" "For twenty years or more I have borne an imputation, of which I am at least as sensitive, who am the object of it, as they can be who are only the judges." And in the headings of the first chapter a flood of light is thrown upon her purpose: "Why this book was written.—The immediate cause of my giving up the work which the Holy Father authorized me to do.—Constant and irritating interference on the part of Archbishop Corrigan.—I am required to apologize for what I did not do, and when my apology is offered it is not accepted." The personal story is pleasantly told, and throws many unpremeditated side-lights upon the life to which her choice of labor led. Her reception into the Roman Catholic Church, life at Newry and at Kenmare, work at Knock, trip to England and Rome and at last America, her work and troubles here—all these are simply yet graphically told, with a touch of personal sympathy that holds the interest of the reader to the end.

"HOURS WITH THE LIVING MEN AND WOMEN OF THE REVOLUTION: A Pilgrimage." By Benson J. Lossing, LL.D., author of "Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution," "The War of 1812," "The Civil War in America," etc. Published by Funk & Wagnalls, New York.

This book has been prepared carefully, both as to its literary and mechanical effects, and is one of the most attractive of the season. Printed on extra heavy and double calendered paper, ornamented with forty illustrations, and bound in beautifully stamped cloth, it has seldom been surpassed on the line of literary taste. As to the intrinsic merit of this work, the name of its author, the celebrated historian, might seem to be a sufficient guarantee. Charming in style, sweeping a wide field, discussing lofty themes, and pervaded with the spirit of true patriotism,

it fairly bristles with life. Each of its twenty-one chapters has all the vivacity of a romance, while its value is enhanced by the reality of its characters and the reliability of its statements. As early as 1848, Dr. Lossing conceived the idea of making an extensive pilgrimage, for the purpose of visiting places of historic interest and conversing with living witnesses of the old Revolutionary scenes, before their rapidly diminishing numbers were all swept away by the steady march of time. In pursuance of this plan, he spent many months and travelled about 9,000 miles through our thirteen original states, as well as portions of Canada. The facts and reminiscences collected on that extended journey—with eyes and ears wide open and an artistic pencil in hand—supplied excellent and ample material for two books. One—"Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution"—was published years ago. Its companion, fresh from the press, is the book now under consideration. We can conscientiously recommend it for family reading.

"AN ESSAY ON THE AUTOGRAPHIC COLLECTIONS OF THE SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND OF THE CONSTITUTION. From Vol. X. Wisconsin Historical Society Collections. Revised and enlarged." By Lyman C. Draper, LL.D. Published by Burns & Son, New York.

Dr. Draper is well qualified for the preparation of a work of this character. Many years' experience in gathering, in behalf of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, a set each of the autographs of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution, led him to realize the patience and perseverance necessary in making such collections, and strongly impressed upon him their value as illustrating the early history of our country. In the study of the question, and in unearthing and seeking out the autographs desired, he was led to a vast amount of knowledge of a fragmentary nature, which he has here brought together, making a work unique in character and full of odds and ends of heretofore unclassified information. He furnishes, in short, an account of the slow but steady growth in this country of this beautiful and inspiring employ-

ment, the collection of historic autographs; and notes the collections extant, complete and incomplete, exhibiting the great labor of bringing them together, and institutes, to some extent, a just comparison of their relative strength, historic importance and intrinsic value.

“A WHITE UMBRELLA IN MEXICO.” By F. Hopkinson Smith. With illustrations by the author. Published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

Mr. Smith comes before an audience he has met before and is sure of a cordial welcome, his “Book of the Tile Club,” “Well-worn Roads of Spain, Holland and Italy,” and “Old Lines in New Black and White,” having served as a guarantee of charming work in any new field he might attempt. An artist and a traveller, his pencil and pen went together in all his vague wanderings in Mexico, a pilgrimage well described by a reviewer of the *Critic* who declares that he “travels, talks, describes, idles like an artist, chooses his themes with a view to artistic effect, paints here a blaze of sunshine, there an inky shadow, sometimes in contrasting juxtaposition. He takes up aqueduct and *iglesia*, volcano and lake, *serape'd* men and *riboso'd* women, with the object of interweaving them into his tapestry of reminiscences—always, however, with a touch so true that we fancy ourselves again in Anahuac drinking *pulque*, eating *tortillas*, and wearing a sunlike *sombrero*. Such is the magic of his pen and pencil that he crouch beneath the ‘white umbrella’ and imagine ourselves under the limpid canopy of Orizaba or Aguas Calientes, listening to the *peons* telling their strange legends, catching glimpses of gleaming Popocatepetl in the distance, watching the towering cactus, or seeing a sketch emerge from the humid brush of the painter. There is no particular order or evolution in these artistic travels, and in its abandonment of a fixed plan and grasping of instantaneous impressions lies the grace of the book. Mr. Smith throws his main strength into little adventures, chance meetings with old *padres*, conversations with engineers and inn-keepers, and happy kaleidoscopic group-

ings of accidental things that come together and produce a surprising picture. In this way he draws out the heart of Old Mexico; the old *padre's* tongue wags and tells of the wrongs of his church; the dull Indian brightens under his sympathetic greeting and reveals the sombre spots in the suffering aztec soul; the ruined cities and tumbled churches range themselves under the artist's ‘umbrella,’ and many a charming angle and tower, cactus garden or bit of antique furniture lies kindled on the canvas; kindled and alive to recall Mexico to us in most vivid fashion.” After this charming bit of description little remains to be said.

“THE ONLY WAY OUT.” By Leander S. Keyser. Published by Anson D. F. Randolph & Co., New York.

The author deals carefully and with an apparent purpose of justice with the experiences and mental struggles of an honest doubter of the truths of the Christian religion, describing his perplexities and difficulties in general, and endeavoring to point to the only possible way out, according to the spiritual views held by the author. He believes that there are many earnest and intelligent young men and women who honestly doubt the Divine authority of the Bible, and who would gladly welcome the truth if they were persuaded that it is to be found. Such persons will find many of their perplexities depicted in the story, while their objections are dealt with as fairly and thoroughly as possible. Other skeptics, not so sincere, may yet be benefited if the truth is presented to them in the proper manner. There is more fact than fiction in the spiritual experiences delineated, for the author has only described a land through which he himself has traveled, and is therefore familiar with the trials of the journey. The morally depleting influence of doubt, the inadequacy of modern materialism to satisfy the higher rational needs of the soul, and the gradual descent of the skeptic into pessimism and despair are also described. A further purpose of the story is to show that Evangelical religion is wholly consistent with culture and intelligence, and that a religious experience is not a mere delusion of the ignorant. The little story through which these conclusions are conveyed is interesting of itself, as disconnected from all theological views.



Magnitudes in Western History

Yours truly
Wm. L. G. [unclear]

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THE BURIAL OF BRADDOCK.

JULY 13, 1754.

It is midnight in the forest—not a sound the hush to break;
Not a leaf has dared to rustle, not a blossom dares to wake;
Every bird has crept affrighted to the shelter of the nest,
With a flutter in its pulses, with a tremor in its breast.

Scarce four days since noise of battle echoed to the forest's heart,
Drove the wild fawn from the thicket, made the nested wood-dove start;
And a weird, expectant stillness falling from the midnight skies,
On the dark, encircling woodlands, like a warning finger lies.

Hark! the forest aisles are sounding with the rush of trampling feet—
Fast the hearts of birds awakened in their trembling bosoms beat!—
Onward through the night and darkness comes the tread of marching men,
Soldiers' voices drive the silence from the echo-haunted glen.

From the fatal sloping greensward where the dying and the dead
Stained the daisies, snowy earth-stars, with their life-blood's glowing red,
To the dim and silent forest where the trees in reverence bow,
They have borne their wounded leader with the death-light on his brow.

Through the shadow-crowded woodlands faintly shines the torches' light,
Faintly glimmers on the bayonets receding through the night,
Faintly lights the pale-faced sleeper touched with God's divinest rest,
Changes to a blade of flame the sword upon his pulseless breast.

Where the road winds through the forest, where the pines dark branches wave,
Dewy grasses shrink—a-tremble from the soldier's open grave;
Washington, his young voice ringing, reads the burial service grand,
While the officers uncovered round their death-cold leader stand.

Then once more the soldiers hasten through the forest, dark and deep;
Leave the midnight and the silence—wakened birds sink back to sleep—
Leave the grave by night-winds tended, spirits of the viewless air;
Leave the forest sacred ever; human death has entered there.

JESSIE F. O'DONNELL.

“A brief farewell—a faint gasp—a weak struggle—and Braddock lay a corpse in the forest. A grave was hastily dug in the centre of the road, to conceal it from the Indians, into which, with his sword lain across his breast, he was lowered. Young Washington read the funeral service by torchlight over him.”—*Headley's Life of Washington*.

THE REDEMPTION OF A TERRITORY.

WHOEVER will glance at the condition of New Mexico to-day and remember that it was ceded to the United States more than forty-one years ago, will be amazed at its tardy advance in civilization and industrial development. It contains an area of 122,460 square miles, or 78,474,400 acres. In the salubrity and charm of its climate it is unsurpassed by any country on the face of the earth. Its great mineral resources are unquestioned. As a fruit-growing country it challenges comparison with any other. It is true that a large proportion of the territory is mountainous and rugged, and fit only for grazing; but in the valleys and plains are very considerable areas of tillable and fertile land, and these areas can readily be extended by irrigation. Nor is the backward condition of the territory explained by the character of the native population. That population, as a rule, is not vicious, but peaceable and law-abiding. Its chief fault is its supineness. Its malady is stagnation and a ready contentedness with petty aims and dwarfing conditions. But such a people, thinly scattered over a vast territory, can form no barrier against immigration. What New Mexico needs is a social inundation akin to that which rescued California from the mongrel races and variegated barbarism that threatened to submerge American civilization on the Pacific slope forty

years ago. But no such movement is visible, nor even the faintest symptoms of it, while the stream of settlers continues to pour across the territory on its way westward, or to empty itself in Dakota or other tempting regions of the great West. What is the meaning of all this? It is not an accident, but the effect of some discoverable cause. What is the disorder which accounts for the halting progress of so important and picturesque a division of the continent, and what is its remedy? The true answer to these questions will open the way for the regeneration of New Mexico and the addition of another great commonwealth to the Union.

In dealing with these questions I shall not speak at random, but on the authority of official documents and ascertained facts, made accessible to me by the work I have performed as Surveyor-General within the past four years. The answer to the first question is easy. The uncertainty of land-titles has been the scourge of the territory from the beginning. The genesis of this trouble is readily traced. When the United States acquired New Mexico it was encumbered by old Spanish and Mexican grants, covering a claimed area of about 24,000 square miles, or 15,000,000 acres. By our treaty with Mexico, of 1848, the government bound itself to respect the titles to these grants so far as found valid by the laws of

Spain and Mexico; and to this end Congress, by act of July 22, 1854, made it the duty of the Surveyor-General to investigate these titles and report his opinion thereon to Congress for final action. This laid the foundation for the deplorable strife about land-titles which has ever since so fearfully afflicted the territory. The grants made by Spain and Mexico with rare exceptions were made honestly. They were valid grants, and although somewhat irregularly and clumsily executed and always marked by vagueness in defining the boundaries of the tracts granted; it is not at all probable that any serious controversy would ever have arisen if the territory had remained a part of Mexico. After the cession American citizens began to make it their home, including speculators whose cupidity led them to purchase nearly all of the principal grants, which they did at low rates with a view to large profits. The act of Congress referred to became their chosen opportunity. Their greed for land at once revealed to them the base uses to which this act could be prostituted. They succeeded in making the Surveyor-General and his deputies their instruments, and the boundaries of the grants as surveyed were enormously stretched. Tracts of a few hundred acres were made to contain thousands, and tracts of a few thousand were magnified into hundreds of thousands. The General Land Office, wittingly or unwittingly, was also made the stool-pigeon of these grant claimants, while Congress itself, through the cunning

manipulation of its committees, was put on duty as the servant of this organized scheme of land-stealing. Of the claims in New Mexico, numbering a little over two hundred, Congress has confirmed forty-seven, covering an area of about five million acres of lands that were never granted; while the unconfirmed grants favorably reported by the Surveyor-General cover an additional area of an equal amount of the public domain included in unauthorized surveys of private claims.

In the meantime Congress, as if ashamed of its performances, has absolutely declined to pass upon any more of these claims, while under existing laws and regulations the lands thus illegally appropriated to the uses of private greed, are reserved from settlement under the Pre-emption and Homestead laws till the grant titles are judically decided. Congress, however, fails year after year to provide any method by which such decision may be secured, thus leaving the holders of their ill-gotten lands in peaceable possession, to reap the profits without the payment of taxes. The theft of ten million acres of the public lands of New Mexico is certainly a great wrong to its people, and if there is any remedy the government should speed it. Such a remedy undoubtedly exists. Even a considerable portion of the lands covered by grants that have been confirmed and patented can be reclaimed by suits to set aside the patents on the ground of fraud. Still larger areas may be reclaimed by

an authentic survey of the confirmed but *unpatented* grants, restricting them to their true limits. Far larger areas still may be recovered by a just settlement of the numerous cases yet undisposed of by Congress, in which millions of acres of land are illegally reserved under preliminary surveys made in the interest of the claimants. At present all is confusion and uncertainty. These grants cover much of the choice land of the territory but their boundaries are unknown. The awkwardness of the situation is further aggravated by the practice of the Government in connecting the public surveys with the preliminary grant surveys which have no legal validity whatever. The records of the local land offices furnish no sure guide to the home-seeker, for the very land he wishes to select, which these records show to be open to settlement, may be included in some undiscovered grant. Immigration is thus kept out by the belief that no government land can be found. Investments in permanent improvements are discouraged, and industry and thrift paralyzed. The natural resources of the country are not utilized, while a spirit of lawlessness and general demoralization naturally proceeds from this calamitous uncertainty of land tenures. During the last fifteen or eighteen years the people of New Mexico have importuned Congress continuously for relief, but Congress has as continuously turned a deaf ear to their petitions. The situation is most pitiable. If the country was worth fighting for

and adding to the territory of the Union, it is surely worth governing and caring for by decent and civilized methods.

I pass now to the remedy for these evils. How is it possible to secure a just and speedy settlement of the large residue of claims yet undisposed of by Congress, which have been examined by the Surveyor-General and transmitted to the General Land Office? Various projects have been urged. One of them is a Land Commission such as that provided for California by the act of March 3, 1851. This act created a tribunal of three members for the adjudication of the grant claims of that state, and allowed an appeal from their decision to the District Court and thence to the Supreme Court of the United States. The Commission bill for this territory, which has had the zealous support of Delegate Joseph and several of his predecessors, was copied from the California act, and has several times passed the lower branch of Congress. Should it become a law, it will prove utterly disastrous to New Mexico. On this subject I speak advisedly, and I desire to speak with emphasis. Under the California act, from thirty to forty cases of controverted title or survey are yet undisposed of, at the end of thirty-eight years. The litigation under it has not only been painfully protracted and exceedingly exasperating to the parties concerned, but the prosperity of California has been powerfully retarded and justice signally defeated. The Commissioners were

men of character and ability, but their sessions were held under the immediate shadow of great monopolies and in an atmosphere strongly impregnated with corruption. The hearing of the cases was too often practically *ex parte*, and the arts of forgery, bribery and perjury were employed with such matchless skill that the Commission, in many cases, became the mere cat's-paw of theft and plunder. All the resources of roguery were successfully mobilized by experts in robbing the public domain, while the worst of the frauds and rascalities were concocted after the Commission and Courts had entered upon their work, and the particular exigencies of the situation were thus revealed. Mr. Bancroft has an exceedingly interesting chapter on this subject in the sixth volume of his History of California, from which I quote the following :

“Writers on subjects connected with California annals, journalists, judges of the different courts, lawyers who took part in the long litigation, public officials and private citizens, successful speculators like impoverished victims, squatters as well as grant owners, residents and visitors, American pioneers no less than native Californians and Mexicans, all—as their testimony lies before me in print and manuscript—agree with remarkable unanimity that the practical working of the law was oppressive and ruinous; and I heartily indorse the general disapproval.”

In the light of such facts no honest man can desire to see such a project

disinterred and fastened like a “body of death” upon New Mexico. The grant claimants who have so long preyed upon the territory are unitedly in favor of it and so, I believe, are the lawyers; but, as a means of speedily settling land titles, it is utterly and absolutely preposterous. Even if it were unobjectionable in its general features, its provision for an appeal from the Commission to the territorial courts would condemn it; for these courts are so loaded down with their proper work that they could not possibly dispose of the cases, as all the judges declare. The measure should be entitled “An act to postpone indefinitely the settlement of Spanish and Mexican grant titles, and to secure to the holders thereof the unmolested occupancy and use of the lands claimed by them.”

Another method of settling these titles is known as the Edmunds bill, and has several times passed the Senate. It refers these claims for adjudication to the district court of the territory in whose jurisdiction the land may be situated, with the right of either party to appeal from its decision within six months, to the Supreme Court of the territory, and from the decision of that court within one year to the Supreme Court of the United States, which is behind with its work four or five years. It provides that in all cases in which the judgment of the district court shall be against the United States an appeal must be taken to the territorial Supreme Court, and also to the Supreme Court of the United States, unless the At-

torney-General shall otherwise direct. So far as the Government is concerned, therefore, all or nearly all the cases will reach the Supreme Court of the United States, while the claimants, if defeated in any of the lower courts, will be sure to appeal, inasmuch as they hold their land without taxation, and would reap its profits for indefinite years through the law's delay. The cases, therefore, would have to be tried in three several courts, in each of which it is provided that oral evidence may be heard, while in the two lower tribunals it would be practically impossible to try the cases at all, by reason of their overburdened territorial business, as already stated. Such a measure would certainly beget litigation, and prove very acceptable to lawyers, but it would be a wretched mockery of its professed purpose. Its machinery is more elaborate in its conditions and provisos and far more conducive to delay than that of the California act, while all the fatal objections I have pointed out to that measure are applicable, in all their force, to the Edmunds bill. It deals with just such cases as those referred to the California Commission, and their hearing would take place under just such conditions as those which made the work of that Commission a cruel counterfeit of justice. These conditions are now lying in wait for the fine touch and dexterous manipulation of New Mexican roguery, which only asks that its cases shall be tried by a tribunal within easy reach of its tactics. By the admission of oral

testimony after nearly all the original witnesses have died, it opens the door to wholesale perjury and subornation of perjury in the interest of grant claimants. As I have already shown, their baleful ascendancy in the territory has had full sweep from the beginning, and they would naturally count on controlling this tribunal as they have so long controlled more formidable agencies of the Government. It would be obliged to confront this trained oligarchy of land grabbers, while the rank and file of the people are poor, ignorant of our language and laws, and practically defenceless. No man who understands the real state of affairs in New Mexico and desires to save its people from the vandalism which has so long plundered them, can favor any such measure.

Still another method of settling these titles has been urged, namely, the creation of a Land Court. A bill providing for this passed the House of Representatives during the last Congress. It authorizes the President to appoint three judges whose term of office shall continue four years and whose sessions shall be held six months in each year in the district in which the lands involved are situated, and at such points as the President shall direct. This Land Court, with its retinue of clerks, stenographers, interpreters and deputy marshals, is to itinerate the territory in the prosecution of its work, and of course would encounter the overshadowing local influence of the great monopolists whose ascendancy would be in-

volved in its decisions. The bill provides for an appeal to the territorial courts and in other respects is substantially identical with the Land Commission project already criticised, and exposed to all the fatal objections to that measure. It is the same project under a different name and would of course prove equally disastrous in its practical operation.

After a very careful consideration of the whole matter I reached the conclusion more than three years ago that the best and speediest method of adjudicating these claims would be an act of Congress referring them to the Commissioner of the General Land Office for decision, with the right of appeal to the Secretary of the Interior as in other cases. The Surveyor-General began the investigation of these claims as long ago as 1855, and the work has been prosecuted from year to year by his successors and is now substantially completed. The claims are on the files of the General Land Office, including duly certified copies of the papers in each case; the evidence, both documentary and oral; the reports of the Surveyor-General, and the supplementary reports recently submitted reviewing previous reports, all printed and in their orderly connection. What is obviously wanted is the reference of the cases thus prepared to the Land Department for decision on the basis of action thus supplied. This would utilize the labor expended in past years in putting the cases in orderly shape, and hasten their decision. Congress refuses to adjudi-

cate any more of them; but this certainly does not make nugatory the records thus prepared, but only necessitates their submission to the tribunal established by Congress for the purpose of dealing with all questions touching the public domain. I am unable to see any valid reason for the creation of a new and special tribunal for the settlement of these cases. Should it be established it will be obliged to dispose of the cases on the papers on file in the General Land Office, unless further evidence should be procured through the arts of perjury and fraud; because the witnesses, as already stated, are nearly all dead, and the record of their evidence must be received. The authority of Congress to do what is proposed is as unquestionable as its authority to create a commission, to refer the cases to the courts, or to pass upon them itself as submitted in the reports of its own committees.

Some time after the announcement of this plan of settlement I was gratified to learn that the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Lamar, after thoroughly examining the question, concurred in my views, and he afterwards earnestly commended them to Congress in his last annual report. "As at present organized and equipped," said he, "with a slight increase in force, this Department is fully equal to dealing with and determining all legal questions arising under these grants. It has at its disposal legal talent trained and familiar with questions of land law, and

in the habit of acting judicially in other cases. Representing the executive department of the Government, this Department must in any event be a large participant in any action in relation to these grants. The official documents, the archives, ancient and modern, relating to the public lands and foreign grants, are in its custody, and must there remain. Even were laws enacted transferring the entire jurisdiction in relation to the foreign grants to the courts, it would be almost impossible to separate the private lands from the public land system without the intervention of this Department." Mr. Lamar also fully concurred in the views I have expressed as to the pernicious power of local influences over tribunals established at remote points, for the settlement of large private claims.

I must not be understood as approving the method of settling these titles provided by the act of July 22, 1854. I have already condemned it as the beginning and source of the chronic squabbles about New Mexican land titles. There is much force in the objection often urged against that act that the Surveyor-General was not a judicial officer, and that his investigations were frequently hasty and *ex parte* in their character. But if a court or commission was ever demanded it was thirty-five years ago, and should have been provided for as a substitute for the bill then enacted. For more than the third of a century, however, the Government has acquiesced in its

vicious methods and failed to provide any remedy. It is too late now for a complete change of base. The Government cannot afford to play a game of fast and loose at the bidding of the grant claimants, who were perfectly content so long as they were able to use the old machinery in the furtherance of their base purposes. It cannot afford to ignore its past action and mock the people of the territory by a new project which would leave them in the wilderness at least another third of a century. To do so would only add insult to injury. It would give them a serpent when they ask for a fish. Prompt action is demanded. The very machinery of a court invites procrastination, and this alone is a sufficient objection to its creation now, even waiving the fatal objections to it which I have urged, and conceding the wisdom of the measure if it had been adopted in the beginning.

It has been objected to the plan I am urging that there are several thousands of these grants in New Mexico, and that the Surveyor-General could not possibly dispose of them. But this objection strangely ignores the facts of the situation. As already shown, there are only about two hundred cases on the files of the Surveyor-General's office, where all such claims are required to be deposited. Of these forty-nine have been finally disposed of by Congress. Forty odd additional cases are in such fragmentary shape that no action on them is possible,

while the claimants, who were notified over three years ago to perfect their applications, have failed to do so. The fair presumption is that they have been abandoned. This leaves a residue of only a little over one hundred cases to be disposed of, nearly all of which have been examined and re-examined and forwarded to the General Land Office. The work of the Surveyor-General is therefore already accomplished, and it is too late to talk about the amount of it or the difficulty of performing it.

It is further objected that the cases are exceedingly intricate, and call for the most careful investigation by a tribunal clothed with ample authority and thoroughly qualified for the work. This objection is as untenable as that just noticed, and could not be urged by any one who understands the character of the claims. Of the one hundred cases yet to be adjudicated a good many involve very small tracts, like those of the group in the vicinity of Santa Fe. These can readily be disposed of, as they disclose little ground of controversy. There are also a good many colony and pueblo grants, about which there is no real dispute, and in which the grantees or their descendants will hold their land by occupancy and prescription if the grants should be found technically invalid. Quite a number of other claims, as I have discovered, are so clearly valid or else so manifestly invalid, as to preclude controversy and make their disposition easy and merely formal, while comparatively few of them involve

such controverted questions of law or fact as to require any elaborate investigation. There is nothing mysterious or occult about them. They involve none of the niceties of legal metaphysics. As a rule, the grant relied on by the claimant is found among the archives on file in the Surveyor-General's office, and its genuineness is easily determined. If it is shown by the records that judicial delivery of possession was made, and that the conditions of the grant were complied with, a conclusion is readily reached. The simple truth is that the shocking and wholesale frauds that have harassed New Mexico in dealing with these claims have their origin in the brazen and defiant roguery of the claimant, and not in the intricacy of the cases as presented. I speak from the record. I have personally examined nearly all the claims in New Mexico, and have no hesitation in saying that the whole batch of them could be disposed of in from one to two years by a competent lawyer who would industriously apply himself to the task under the supervision of the Secretary of the Interior. There is therefore no necessity, or even excuse, for a court or commission to pass upon these cases which are such as the officials of the Land Department are accustomed to examine and competent to decide, and involve no greater interests than those constantly adjudicated by the head of that department with the help of his legal advisers.

It is not pretended, of course, that no mistakes would be made by the

Land Department in its decisions. No infallible tribunal has yet been devised for the settlement of legal controversies. Our higher courts sometimes go astray. I have shown what a perfect travesty of both justice and law was the California Land Commission, which was simply a court in its functions, and that the other proposed methods of settling grant titles are no better. Nor do I forget the shameful recreancy of the Land Department itself in dealing with them in past years. But *some* mode of settlement is absolutely indispensable, and the question I am considering is one of alternatives. We are obliged to deal with the problem as the unfortunate facts of the past have made it. "We cannot escape history." The *settlement* of these cases is demanded, and it is the paramount question. So far as the welfare of New Mexico is concerned, it would be better to approve all fraudulent claims, or to reject all valid ones, than to have no settlement at all, and thus prolong interminably the wrangle about land titles which has so long laid waste the territory and made it the paradise of thieves.

In this earnest plea for New Mexico my purpose has been to lay the truth before the country and thus, if possible, to influence public opinion. No subject is more strangely misunderstood or extensively misrepresented than the present *status* of the territory and the facts which explain it. Congress itself has not grasped the question, as I have shown by its legislation respecting these grants in the beginning, and its per-

fectly abortive attempts in later years to undo the mischiefs of its own work. There is no hope for New Mexico save in such a general enlightenment of the people of every section of the Union touching its real condition and its actual needs as shall point the way to its deliverance. It is to this end solely that I have deemed it my duty to present, in the columns of this magazine, such trustworthy facts as I have derived from the official work I have performed relating especially to the question I have discussed. It is a question of life and death to the territory, while the territory is powerless to help itself. To Congress alone can it appeal for relief, and Congress should not forswear itself by treating this appeal with indifference and implied contempt. The remedy I have commended would breathe new life into New Mexico through the restitution of its stolen domain. The influx of settlers from the states and from the Old World would secure the settlement of its lands and the development of its mineral wealth. Compact settlements and free schools would dispute the supremacy of overshadowing monopolies and hold them at bay, while the rogues and mercenaries who have so long held the territory by the throat, would be sent to the rear. The steadily increasing pressure of population would necessitate practicable methods of irrigation not yet utilized, and thus convert into arable land large areas now used only for grazing. Such, I am sure, would be some of the beneficent results of the panacea I have ventured to prescribe, while the birth of a new state would crown the redemption of a territory.

GEORGE W. JULIAN.

THE MILITARY CAREER OF AN OFFICER IN HARMAR'S
REGIMENT.

1775-1792.

“IN the Indian border warfare between 1788 and 1795 a leading figure was that of David Zeigler whose story is typical of that of many of our early German soldiers.”* He also “won great praise” for courage and military ability during the Revolution and took much pride in having the best drilled company in his regiment. He began his military career as an officer in Frederick the Great's army and also served in the Russian army in the reign of Catherine Second during the campaign against the Turks, which ended with the cession of the Crimea to Russia. Major Denny states in his “Military Journal” that Zeigler was also at one time in the Saxon service.

Major Zeigler was born at the city of Heidelberg in 1748. At the beginning of the Revolution the Germans were even greater favorites in America than the French officers. “The Seven Years' War made the name of Germany and its great leader Frederick popular throughout the colonies. Town, village and wayside inn displayed the well-known sharp features and high shoulders as a sign, and the ‘King of Prussia’ was a favor-

ite name for taverns—then of more importance than to-day—on all the high roads between the great towns.” When Carlyle was seeking illustrations for his life of “Fritz” he discovered in an obscure print shop a cheap and gaudily colored picture of Frederick the Great which struck him as the best portrait of the King which he had seen. A copy of this picture hung in Major Zeigler's dining-room at Cincinnati. And as the Major, who was as enthusiastic an admirer of Frederick as Carlyle, had seen his hero, probably the historian was right when he gave this special engraving the place of honor in his great work.

Zeigler emigrated to America in 1775, settling in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. He came to this country for the purpose of entering our army, and in June, 1775, was commissioned third lieutenant in Capt. Ross's company of riflemen which was recruited in Lancaster county. President Reed, of Pennsylvania, in one of his letters written while with Washington in Massachusetts, mentions the arrival at Cambridge, escorted by Captain Ross's company, of a supply of powder, an article of which the army was in desperate need. On the 25th of June,

* Rosengarten's German Soldier in the Wars of the United States.

1775, Zeigler was promoted first lieutenant and adjutant of Col. William Thompson's battalion of riflemen. This regiment was more than half made up of Germans and was "the second to enlist for the war under Washington."

January 16, 1777, Zeigler was commissioned first lieutenant of a company in the First Pennsylvania Continental Infantry, and December 8, 1778, was promoted Captain. From his promotion till 1783, the end of the Revolutionary War, he served as Senior Captain in this regiment. The First Pennsylvania Continental Infantry was originally known as Hand's Rifle Battalion in the army of Cambridge, and was composed of militia raised in 1775 by the State of Pennsylvania. The name of the regiment was changed when it was taken into the Continental army in 1776. Hand's Battalion was ordered in 1776 from Massachusetts to the vicinity of New York City. Soon after, April 1, 1776, its Colonel, Edward Hand, was promoted Brigadier-General. James Chambers, who entered the regiment as Captain in 1775, and was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel March 7, 1776, was commissioned Colonel by Congress September 28, 1776, and commanded the regiment till 1781. The rifle battalion, though not taken into the Continental service till July, 1776, held its rank from 1775, the date of its enlistment. The First Pennsylvania was also sometimes called the American Regiment.

It was resolved May 5, 1778, that

Congress approves of Gen. Washington's plan for "a well-organized inspectorship, and Baron Steuben was appointed Inspector-General. Inspectors were appointed for every division and an Assistant Inspector for each brigade." Capt. Zeigler was appointed December 8, 1778 (the same day that he was promoted Captain), Brigade Inspector of the Pennsylvania Brigade, Department of the South.

The First Pennsylvania Continental Infantry distinguished itself at the battle of Long Island, August 20th to 30th, 1776. It was considered an honor to belong to this regiment. The Adjutant-General of the Army said that the valor of the Southern troops (Pennsylvania, Maryland and Delaware regiments) during the battle of Long Island inspired the whole army. Lieut.-Col. Chambers wrote to his wife after this engagement:* "It was thought advisable to retreat off Long Island; and on the night of the 30th it was done with great secrecy. Very few of the officers knew it till they were on the boats, supposing that an attack was intended. A discovery of our intention to the enemy would have been fatal to us. The Pennsylvania troops were done great honor by being chosen the *corps de reserve* to cover the retreat. The regiments of Cols. Hand, Hagan, Shea and Hazlett were detailed for that purpose. We kept up fires with outposts stationed, until all the rest were

* Memoir of Charlotte Chambers by her grandson Lewis H. Garrard. Printed for the author. Philadelphia.

over. We left the lines after it was fair day and then came off. Never was a greater feat of generalship shown than this retreat; to bring off an army of twelve thousand men, within sight of a strong enemy, possessed of as strong a fleet as ever floated on our seas, without any loss and saving all the baggage. Gen. Washington saw the last over himself."

The First Pennsylvania assisted in driving the enemy from Brunswick in June, 1777; opposed the Hessians under Gen. Kinyphausen at Chadd's Ferry, battle of Brandywine, and did good service on June 28, 1778, at Monmouth. The losses of Chambers' crack regiment in the various engagements in which it shared were very great. At the inspection of the First regiment at West Point, October 5, 1779, there were present the colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and major; 5 captains, 9 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 1 surgeon, 24 sergeants, sixteen corporals, thirteen drums and fifes and only eighty-three privates. Total, 236; enlisted for the war, 232; for three years, 4.

After the battle of Monmouth the First Pennsylvania was with the army at White Plains, West Point and other parts of the country near the Hudson river. July 20, 1780, Gen. Wayne issued the following order in regard to the engagement at Bergen's Point: "A detachment of the First regiment will prevent the retreat of the refugees towards Paulus Hook. Whilst this is performing the artillery will be preparing to demolish the block

houses; every precaution will be used to guard against any serious consequences from up the river; and should the enemy be hardy enough to attempt the relief of this post from Fort Washington, it may add never fading laurels to troops which have always stepped the first for glory, and who have everything to expect from victory, nothing to dread from disgrace; for, although it is not in their power to command success, the General is well assured they will produce a conviction to the world that they deserve it."

Col. Chambers wrote the following interesting account of the engagement at Bergen's Point to his wife: "About the 20th of July Gen. Wayne formed a design of attacking a block house built by the British on the banks of North river, on the point that runs down to Bergen, six or seven miles above that town; and had orders from the Commander-in-chief to bring off the cattle. The General marched the Pennsylvania division down in the night to within a few miles of the place of action, and then in the morning ordered the Second Brigade to take post near Fort Lee, to prevent the enemy from crossing from Fort Washington and falling on the rear of the troops destined for the attack. After making the disposition necessary, my regiment was ordered to advance and commence the attack and to cover the artillery, which was done with unparalleled bravery. Advancing to the abattis, which was within twenty yards of the house, several crept through, and there continued under an incessant

fire till ordered away. They retreated with reluctance. The foe kept close under shelter, firing through loop-holes. Our men and artillery kept up a galling fire on the house, but at last were obliged to fall back as our pieces were too weak to penetrate. There were twelve killed of the First regiment, and four of them within the abattis."

On July 23 Gen. Wayne issued the following highly complimentary orders: "It is with infinite pleasure that Gen. Wayne acknowledges to the worthy officers and soldiers under his command since the 20th inst., that he never saw more true fortitude than that exhibited on the 21st by the troops immediately at the point of action; such was the enthusiastic bravery of all ranks of officers and men that the First regiment, no longer capable of constraint, rushed with impetuosity over the abattis and up to the stockades from which they were with difficulty withdrawn; the contagion spread to the Second, but by the united efforts of the field and other officers of each regiment they were at last restrained . . . The General fondly hopes that the day is not far distant when the prowess of these troops will be acknowledged by the European and American world."

At the period we have now reached the American soldiers were suffering from the want of the comforts and even the necessities of life. October 12, 1779, Lieutenant-Colonel Harmar, Inspector of the Pennsylvania line, reporting the condition of the troops under his inspection wrote: "Their clothing (which

was drawn last fall at Fredericksburg) is now old and tattered, shirts and blankets greatly wanted, and scarcely a good hat in the whole division. The daily and hard fatigue at this post (West Point) must consequently soon render them worse. But notwithstanding all these inconveniences, they are well armed and cut as clean and decent an appearance as circumstances can possibly admit." The condition of the troops, as Harmar foresaw, did grow worse. The men and officers became discontented and at length occurred on January 1, 1781, the mutiny of the Pennsylvania line at Morristown. Even such brave and patriotic officers as Harmar and Butler were nearly in a state of rebellion and uttered their complaints in severe and almost unjustifiable language. About two weeks before the mutiny occurred, Gen. Wayne wrote a letter dated Mount Kimble, December 16, 1780, to President Reed, of Pennsylvania, which puts the actual grievances of the officers and men in a strong light. He writes: "Your favor, without date, inclosing Capt. Zeigler's appointment as state clothier and issuing commissary of state stores, I had the honor to receive a few days since. . . . I have therefore directed Capt. Zeigler to wait on your Excellency with the inclosed returns and estimate of clothing on the presumption that the most effectual means will be adopted to secure a full supply of that essential article and that every exertion will be used for the immediate completion of our quota of

troops. . . . Our soldiery are not devoid of reasoning faculties, nor are they callous to the first feelings of nature; they have now served their country with fidelity for five years, poorly clothed, badly fed and worse paid; of the last article, trifling as it is, they have not seen a paper dollar, in the way of pay, for nearly *twelve* months. In this situation the enemy begin to work upon their passions and have found means to circulate some proclamations among them. Capt. Zeigler will be able to inform your Excellency of matters I don't choose to commit to paper."

An act to take effect January 1, 1781, was passed by Congress reducing the Pennsylvania line to six regiments, and allowing such officers as wished to retire with honorable provision and exemption from various duties. Col. Chambers availed himself of this opportunity to quit the service, after nearly six years of faithful service,* and Col. Broadhead of the Eighth regiment, took command of the gallant First Pennsylvania Continental Infantry. Broadhead was soon succeeded by Brevet-Colonel Josiah Harmar, who had previously been Lieutenant-Colonel of the Sixth Pennsylvania regiment. The history of Zeigler's military career is from this date to 1791, also, the history of the military career of the first commander-in-chief of the United States army. Harmar was appointed commander of the First, June 6, 1781. After the reduction of the Pennsyl-

vania regiments and the discharge of the men engaged in the revolt, their officers were ordered to different towns in Pennsylvania to recruit. Alexander Graydon tells us in his memoirs that recruiting, drilling and all the drudgery which, in old military establishments in that age, belonged to sergeants, corporals, etc., in the Revolution devolved on commissioned officers, and required unremitting personal attention. It was the general opinion that "men and officers were never to be separated and hence to see the persons who were to command them and above all the Captain was deemed of vast importance. Recruiting was to the officers a very unpleasant business." Zeigler had his full share of this disagreeable work during the seventeen or more years he served in the army of his adopted country.

The Pennsylvania troops were assembled at York in 1781 for the expedition into Virginia under command of Wayne, and on the 15th of May began their forced march. On June 18, they joined the troops under Lafayette and moved towards Richmond, where Cornwallis and the British army lay, and thence on towards Williamsburg, where they were joined by Baron Steuben with some new levies. A smart skirmish occurred near Williamsburg, between the Pennsylvania brigade under Col. Butler and the British partisan Simcoe, and the latter retreated. Soon after Wayne attempted to surprise Cornwallis. The boldness of their commander advanced the Pennsylvania In-

*Memoir of Charlotte Chambers.

fantry "into a position of great danger from which they were extracted by still greater daring." The hardihood of Wayne led Cornwallis to suspect an ambuscade and hesitate in pursuit; otherwise Wayne and all his force would have been taken. The Americans retreated with a loss of 118 wounded and prisoners, including ten officers. At the siege of Yorktown the Pennsylvania troops distinguished themselves under the command of Hamilton. Though Ziegler's name, as he was only a Captain, does not occur in the histories of the Southern campaign, he fought in many of the battles and was a part of the army whose exploits they relate, and the story of Wayne's and St. Clair's and Greene's expeditions is an important part of his biography.

On the 1st of November the Pennsylvania troops commanded by St. Clair began their march for South Carolina. Harmar's regiment reached Gen. Greene's encampment at Round O., January 4, 1782, weary from their long tramp and greatly diminished in numbers. It had taken them nearly two months to march from Yorktown, yet Col. Harmar wrote in his journal, December 9, 1781: "We march too rapidly; at this rate we shall bring but a small reinforcement to Gen. Greene." "Some strength," as is stated in Greene's life, by his grandson, "they did bring, and, as time revealed, much discontent and mutiny."

In regard to the mutiny, Gen. Greene wrote to President Reed, of Pennsyl-

vania, on July 18, 1782, from headquarters, Ashley River: "Our condition has been deplorable for want of clothing until within a few days. Nor has our situation been much more eligible in the article of provisions; what we have had being bad, and frequently without any. I suppose you've heard of the mutiny in the army. The symptoms first appeared in your line and soon communicated itself to the Maryland line. I hung a sergeant and sent off four others, which totally put a stop to it, and never was there a greater change than has taken place among the troops in consequence of it. Not a murmur or complaint has been uttered since. I believe the first mutiny, which happened in your line, originated in too much indulgence; and the froward spirit which arose from it had not been fully suppressed. I wish I may see no more of it."

Harmar's regiment was present at the investment and surrender of Charleston, remaining a year and five months in South Carolina. On the 30th of December, 1782, the six Pennsylvania regiments which were reduced by death and desertions were incorporated into one regiment of six hundred men, under command of Lieutenant-Col. Harmar, who had acted as Adjutant-General since the junction of the troops with Gen. Greene. Harmar's regiment returned to Philadelphia, in detachments, by sea, in June, 1783. They took no part in the mutiny of the Pennsylvania troops which occurred after their return, but guarded the Governor's house

and paraded Market street to reassure the citizens of Philadelphia. "To us," Major Denny says, "who were strangers in our own state, this business (the cause of dissatisfaction) was unknown."

On the 3d of December, 1783, the American army, except a few men under a Captain at Fort Pitt, was disbanded by proclamation of Congress. The disbandment of the army was soon followed by a resolution of Congress providing for the raising of a regiment for service on the western frontier. The regiment was to consist of 10 companies of seventy men each, portioned as follows: Pennsylvania, four companies and Lieutenant-Colonel commanding; New Jersey, one company; New York, three companies and a Major. The states made the appointments in the first instance which were confirmed by Congress.

The officers of the new regiment had all served during the Revolution. Col. Harmar was in France, where he had been sent on business connected with the ratification of peace, when Congress resolved to raise the regiment, but the command was reserved for him, and the Pennsylvania appointments not made till he returned, for he was esteemed for his "high military reputation and character for vigilance and discipline." Denny says that "Gov. Miflin at this time was president of Congress and very popular in Pennsylvania and Harmar's great friend; but the Colonel's character as a military man stood high; the regiment he brought from the South eclipsed everything."

The officers who served under Harmar seem usually to have become his warm personal friends, and retained their intimacy with him and his family till the end of their lives. This was certainly true of Maj. Zeigler. Harmar is described as "tall and well built, with a manly port, blue eyes and keen martial glance. He was very bald, wore a cocked hat and his powdered hair in a cue," and had the "grace, the dignity and scholarship of the old school."

Zeigler was commissioned Captain in the First regiment, August 12, 1784. Before September his company and the three other Pennsylvania companies of recruits were nearly full and encamped on the west side of the Schuylkill. The four companies marched in September for Fort McIntosh, twenty-nine miles below Pittsburg, General Harmar joining them at Fort Pitt. The officers stationed at Fort McIntosh, though living far from the centre of civilization, were not wholly deprived of comforts or of pleasure. Their table was supplied with delicacies which they could not always obtain in their Eastern homes. However, they no doubt grew tired after a time, of these dainties of the wilderness and would gladly have exchanged their wild birds or venison for a roast from a butcher's shop or a barn yard fowl. They enjoyed themselves very much hunting and fishing, nevertheless. The woods were alive with a great variety of game and the rivers full of the finest fish. In the proper season the earth was luxuriantly covered with wild strawberries. Rich

cream was not lacking, and they had both it and the berries in such abundance that they were almost surfeited with them.

The officers were many of them very polished and agreeable gentlemen, accustomed to all the luxuries and elegances of life in Philadelphia and other large towns of that day. Some of them had visited European cities and had first met there or renewed their acquaintance with the foreign officers who served in our army. A typical officer of the First regiment was Dr. John Elliot, who though not stationed at McIntosh, served as surgeon of the regiment after it was stationed in the Northwest territory. Dr. Drake gave the following account of Dr. Elliot in his *Discourses on Early Physicians of Cincinnati*: "Dr. John Elliot came out with St. Clair. He was stationed here at various times and was disbanded with the regiment to which he belonged in 1802. In the summer of 1804 I saw him in Dayton, a highly accomplished gentleman, with a purple silk coat which contrasted strangely with the surrounding thickets of brush and high bushes." He died in Dayton in 1809, and was buried with military honors, Capt. James Steele's company of light dragoons heading the funeral procession.

Harmar's regiment in the Continental army was sometimes called the "American" and he also named the First U. S. Infantry the First American regiment, to indicate that it was under the direct control of Congress, for he knew and dreaded the difficulties and discouragements

under which a commander of state militia labored. It was Harmar's ardent wish, as he said in 1788, that a new government might be speedily adopted and that all state affairs as far as the army was concerned might cease. He thought that the people of the United States might then hope for order and regularity. He wrote the following in the same vein to Gen. Knox from Fort McIntosh, July 1, 1785: "Sir, the cockade we wear is the union (black and white). Perhaps it will be necessary to have a national one, if so, be pleased to send me your directions about the color; and if you should approve a national march (without copying French or British) I should be glad to be instructed."

The first American regiment was enlisted for one year, and in the fall of 1785, the time expired. Seventy effective men were re-engaged and the rest discharged; officers who were willing to remain in the service were retained. An act of Congress passed April 7, 1785, reduced the pay of officers, and there was naturally a good deal of discontent and grumbling, but a number were nevertheless willing to "remain on the establishment" after the reduction. A Captain's pay in the U. S. A. was \$604 in 1784; \$420 in 1785, and \$530 in 1795. The officers who consented to continue in the service in 1785, except those in command of the re-enlisted men, went East to the states of which they were citizens to recruit. The new company formed of the old soldiers was ordered to the mouth of the

Great Miami where, on the site of North Bend, they built Fort Finney, named for their commander. The day after they left McIntosh, "a very pretty-looking company," commanded by Capt. Doughty of New York, arrived at the fort. They were afterwards marched to the Muskingum where they built Fort Harmar.

Zeigler was one of the officers who went to Pennsylvania to recruit. October 6, 1785, as we learn from Buel's journal, Zeigler's, Hamtramck's and Strong's companies of recruits were stationed at West Point. Major Wylls arrived November 17th from New York with orders for the troops to march immediately for the West. They rested four days at Fort Pitt and arrived at McIntosh in December. On the 4th of May, 1786, Zeigler's and Strong's companies embarked from McIntosh for the Muskingum, arriving May 8th, and encamping in the woods a little distance from Fort Harmar not then completed. May 10th they left the Muskin-

gum for Fort Finney. May 18, as Major Denny records, Zeigler's company of seventy men, Lieut. Beattie, Dr. Allison and the Major from Connecticut who was in command, arrived at Fort Finney. In July of this year, evacuating Fort Finney, at the mouth of the Great Miami, Zeigler's and Major Finney's companies built a small fort which they also called Finney at the Rapids of the Ohio to protect the inhabitants from the Indians. In January, 1787, Zeigler's, Doughty's, Strong's and Heart's companies were at Fort Harmar, "officers and men in close quarters." Ferguson's company of artillery was at McIntosh; Hamtramck, McCurdy and Mercer had put up quarters after their duty of guarding surveyers ended, at a place which they called Fort Steuben about thirty miles above McIntosh; another company, commanded by Capt. Bunbeck of New York, was at West Point. The little army was widely scattered till 1790, when the Indian troubles began.

MARY D. STEELE.

(To be continued.)

EX-SENATOR J. N. CAMDEN, OF WEST VIRGINIA.

JOHNSON M. CAMDEN is a native West Virginian, having been born in 1828 in Lewis county, in what was then known as Western Virginia, being that portion of Virginia lying west of the Allegheny mountains. His ancestors were of English descent. His grandparents came from Maryland, into what was then the wilderness of West-

ern Virginia, at the beginning of the present century.

Mr. Camden's life from boyhood has been full of activity and enterprise, and has been devoted almost exclusively to the development, growth and prosperity of his native state.

His youth was spent in the hardy enjoyments of pioneer life in a country

abounding in game, and his reputation with the rifle while still a boy is well remembered by his associates. His education was such as the schools of that section afforded, and at the age of seventeen was appointed a cadet to the U. S. Military Academy, where he remained two years when he resigned and returned to his home, studied law and was admitted to the bar at the age of twenty-one, becoming State's Attorney for Braxton and Nicholas counties. Having a practical knowledge of surveying and civil engineering, he devoted a considerable portion of his time at this period to surveying and identifying the numerous unsettled titles to large bodies of land in that section of Virginia. The writer has heard him say, that at this period of his life what is now the state of West Virginia was the most interesting country he has ever seen. It contained less than 100,000 population west of the Alleghenies, without a mile of railroad, and at the age of twenty-two he assisted as one of the engineers in locating the third mud turnpike road in that territory. The wide knowledge of the country and insight into its resources gained thus early in life impressed him with its resources and value when developed, and inspired in him an ardent desire for its progress, which has since made him a leader in most of the enterprises in his state.

Mr. Camden's disposition and fondness for active life soon led him to abandon the practice of law and engage in such pursuits as the growth of

his state made most available. His most important successes commenced with the discovery of petroleum in his state in 1859-60. He was among the first to realize the great value of this discovery, and to take advantage of the opportunities presented on a large scale by purchasing territory, and engaging in all branches of its development and manufacture. His relation to the oil interests soon led him into a connection with the Standard Oil Company, and made him a prominent member and director in that organization for some years.

Since the formation of the State of West Virginia in 1862, Mr. Camden has perhaps been identified more closely with its history and growth than any other man in the State. Parkersburg, his home, owes to him much of the thrift and enterprise which has converted it from a village into the second city of the state. He became president of its First National Bank organized in 1862, and has continued its president to this time, besides being interested in other banks in the state.

Among the public improvements organized and largely due to his exertions, are the Ohio River railroad, two hundred and fifteen miles in length, extending from Wheeling to the Kentucky line; the Clarksburg & Weston railroad; the Weston & Buckhannon railroad. He is also interested with ex-Senator Davis in the West Virginia Central railroad, and is now engaged in projecting other roads through the interior of West Virginia, and the devel-

opment of its coal and mineral resources, which will add largely to the growing importance of his state.

Mr. Camden is amongst the wealthiest men of his state, and it is said of him that he always backs his enterprises with his own money, an important consideration in securing the confidence of capital.

In politics Mr. Camden has always been a Democrat, and, although not a politician to the extent of giving much of his time to politics, yet from the formation of the state of West Virginia he has been a conspicuous leader in his party of more than state reputation.

In taking an active part in the repeal

of the disfranchising laws and test oaths as a qualification for office in West Virginia, which followed the close of the war, he twice became the candidate of his party for Governor but was defeated. He has since served a term in the United States Senate. During his service in the Senate he introduced the "long and short haul" amendment which was incorporated into the Interstate Commerce bill.

Mr. Camden's liberality and fidelity to friends is a conspicuous element in his popularity and influence, which is not confined alone to his own political party. He is still in the prime of life.

THE REPUBLICAN NOMINATING CONVENTIONS OF 1856 AND 1860.

THE history of the formation of the Republican party in 1856 would not be complete without an account of the nominating conventions which followed the preliminary convention of February, 1856, of which an account has been given in the number of this MAGAZINE for December, 1887. The nominating convention of 1856, was the natural sequence of the convention of February 22, 1856, having been called by it; and as the nomination of 1856 proved to be merely a forerunner, and was not successful, the formation of the party can not be said to have been complete until 1860. The party did not spring into successful existence at once, like Minerva from the brain of

Jove, full-orbed and full-armed, but had its infancy to go through before it attained to maturity.

Its infancy, however, was very remarkable for the great triumphs which attended its first efforts. In all the Northern states, except Pennsylvania, it attained the functions of maturity in a very short time, and in very nearly all of them it was successful in 1856. In the Southern states, of course, it could not expect to find the elements of action that lead to success. The "slave-power" was too strong to permit even those who thought alike to act together: and in Pennsylvania, notably, it had succeeded in building up factions whose sole function seems to have been to dis-

tract and prevent the cohesion of parties that otherwise would have been attracted together. In Indiana, too, the southern part of which was settled from the South, this same "slave-power" was effective for the time being; and the same was true, to a limited extent, of Connecticut and New Jersey, which both felt the annoying fear of losing a valuable "Southern trade." But in New York (outside of the city), in New England, Michigan, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa, the anti-slavery feeling took firm hold from the start, and made ultimate victory possible, by so nearly attaining to it at the first.

The first nominating convention was held at Philadelphia, June 17, 1856, the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill. It was held in what was then known as the "Musical Fund Hall," a large hall, for that time, on Fourth street, south of Market. It would be considered a small hall now, but it was sufficiently large to hold even the large crowd that then gathered in it. It was not the fashion in that early day to attend National Conventions in immense bodies. That fashion was set first, at the Chicago convention that nominated Lincoln in 1860.*

I am not positively sure as to the method of selecting delegates to this

* It was in the close neighborhood of this hall that Prof. Catto, a colored man was murdered on election day in October, 1871. This was the first election in which the negroes participated in Pennsylvania, and he found his martyrdom near the spot where the party of his enfranchisement first presented national candidates to the American people.

convention; but my conviction is that it was mainly by state conventions. It was that way in Pennsylvania, I know, and I think all the other states pursued a similar plan.* There was no rush for seats in that convention. There were no candidates specially before the people for nomination, and but few were talked about in that connection. Presidential timber may have been sufficiently abundant, but it was not known as such, and the chance of election was not brilliant enough to make it manifest. The main object in view was to select good, faithful and well-tried men as delegates, and trust everything to their judgment after a full conference with each other. Hence it was as easy, perhaps easier, to choose such men by state conventions as by the more popular method of district conventions. The delegates were not chosen for their preferences, as between men named as candidates, but for their trustworthiness in deciding what was best to be done; and like all bodies chosen without a definite person in view, it was a body to be swayed at last by an impulse, and to be led easily into nominating a man whom few of them knew anything about, and of whom they hoped rather than expected

* Pennsylvania elected three delegates from each district, and six at large, and I presume that in this she merely followed the course adopted in other states; in voting, I judge from the total vote cast, that every delegate cast one vote. In 1860 (and in all subsequent conventions), the delegation from each district was cut down to two, and four at large from each state.

great things. The nominee who was chosen as the first leader of the Republican hosts was never able afterwards to maintain his place in the lead. He is still living, and a man worthy of high regard; but his subsequent inability to get anywhere near first place again proves that he should never have been put there. Many a young enthusiasm found its first rallying point around the name of Fremont, but it was an enthusiasm for the principle at issue and not for the man. He was nominated, as I have said, by an impulse; and it was an impulse that died with the occasion.

The only other name mentioned that had any prominence, was that of John McLean, of Ohio, at that time Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court. He was a man of unquestioned ability, of great purity of character, and with a name familiar to the public ear, but his judicial career had not permitted him to take any part in politics; and honest, upright and high-minded as he was, his position on the burning question of the hour was guessed at rather than known. This was the unavoidable consequence of his position. He could not speak except upon the bench; and that bench had not then given him the opportunity. Those who knew him well and associated with him intimately had no doubt of his political position; but a judge of the Supreme Court of the United States has not the means of knowing many men either well or intimately. Hence the masses of the people had no chance to become

well acquainted with his position, politically. There was the press, I may be told, through which he could speak if he wanted to. True: but there was an old-fashioned notion, at that time, that it did not become judges to seek political notoriety or prominence, and I am inclined to think that Judge McLean was himself fully imbued with that notion.* The interviewer had not then

* Judge McLean, I feel sure, did not relish his position before the country as a seeming candidate for the nomination. However willing he may have been to be put forward as the Republican candidate, he must have chafed under the discussion his name, and claims, and position had to undergo. This was shown on the second day of the convention, before any names had been presented for consideration, when Rufus P. Spaulding, of Ohio, rose and presented a letter from him directing the withdrawal of his name, should it be presented. I did not see the letter, as it was afterwards taken back; but it was read and created consternation among those friends who wanted to vote for him. Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, immediately arose and said that this letter was embarrassing to the delegation from that state. It had met and resolved, with an approach to unanimity, to support McLean. [Three of the Philadelphia districts had voted for Fremont, at a meeting of the delegation, but had afterwards changed to McLean. The Clarion and Erie districts voted respectively for Fremont and Seward.] He therefore asked opportunity for consultation among the delegation, as well as for a chance of conference with other delegations. This was granted; and the result of a conference with the Ohio delegation was that, when the convention re-assembled, Mr. Spaulding withdrew the letter of withdrawal, and Mr. McLean was left before the convention a candidate. But it was against his own judgment. He was wise enough to see that he was not likely to be the choice of the convention.

been invented; and if he had been and had sought an interview with the judge, he would have been repulsed with a calm and respectful but crushing official coldness. The judge expected to be taken, if taken at all, on faith; and I have always thought it was a great pity the faith of the convention was so weak at this particular point. His nomination might not, probably would not, have succeeded; but it would have given dignity to the campaign and would not have left any regrets behind it.

The reasons urged in discussing this nomination were not of the most exalted nature, so far as the friends of either were concerned. On behalf of the judge it was urged that, as he was a Methodist, his nomination would naturally bring the members of that church to his support, which, if it had been true, would have been a strong reason to those demagogically inclined. The same, or a similar reason, was afterwards urged in the case of Garfield, but the results expected failed to materialize. On the other hand it was contended that Fremont, being the son-in-law of Benton, his nomination would bring Democratic support from where it was most needed. This, too, was a demagogical argument, and failed to exercise any weight. The point that settled the question in his favor was the glamour of romance that hung about him as a fearless explorer. He was besides a young man, fresh and vigorous, and that went a great way; and he had been on free-

dom's side in the contest against slavery in California. Whatever he might be personally, people could see distinctly where he stood. With some, possibly, there was an idea that, having been in California and engaged in mining, he was, or might be, a rich man; and however unworthy that idea becomes when a man holds it up to the light, it is an idea that insidiously works its way into many minds. At any rate, whatever enthusiasm the occasion was capable of evoking, rallied instinctively around the young, fresh, active and vigorous man rather than around the staid, solid, respectable and judicial man. The one had youth, nerve, dash and activity about him, and he might prove a genius in political affairs; the other had an honored name and a solid character, but was compelled to keep a closed mouth; and, as in most cases of a similar nature, age and solidity had to give way to youth and supple vigor. I do not say the choice was not a good one; I am only trying to tell what sufficed to bring it about.

The delegates were chosen in nearly all the states some time in advance of the convention; but in Pennsylvania, although there was a nominal Republican state organization, the state convention was not held until the day before the national convention. This was because state organization was merely nominal up to that time. It was honeycombed throughout with Know-nothingism. Out of 33 members of the state convention only 7 were really Republicans. The rest were "Americans,"

forced on to the committee in 1855 to carry out a Knownothing scheme to control a state nomination. Hence the state convention of June 16, 1856, was not a delegate convention but a mere mass gathering of Republicans then on the ground. There were enough of them present from all parts of the state to make it in a representative gathering and to snatch the organization from unfriendly hands. This convention elected a full delegation to the National convention; but the opposition to the Democratic party in the state was so cut up in warring factions that this gathering did not undertake to nominate either a state or an electoral ticket. This proved afterwards to have been a lamentable and fatal mistake; but, as things stood, the convention seemed to have no other alternative. It was called for but one purpose—the election of delegates to the National convention, and it confined itself to that one duty. The attendance upon the state convention was not large, and some parts of the state were not largely represented. That portion of it east and south of the Susquehanna and west of the mountains was well represented; but from the middle of the state the attendance was sparse. There was, then, in fact, no local Republican organization in the central part of the state.

Of the men chosen to represent Pennsylvania in this convention, I recall the names of Thaddeus Stevens; his colleague from Lancaster county, James Black, who has since been a

Prohibition candidate for President; Henry C. Carey, of Philadelphia, the celebrated political economist; Joseph Ritner, Governor from 1835 to 1838; William Elder, David Wilmot, Passmore Williamson, and John Allison. Philadelphia was well represented, but it was mainly by the Quaker element. The mercantile men held aloof; some of the aristocratic old-line Whigs went over to Buchanan, and all the papers but the *North American* were hostile. Thaddeus Stevens and John Allison, who had both been in Congress, were intimate associates of Judge McLean at Washington. They boarded at the same house with him, and as it was the custom at Washington then to form “messes” among the boarders, these two were together in the same “mess” with Judge McLean and hence intimately associated with him. They were his warm friends in the convention, and Stevens especially was active in urging his nomination. The speech made by Stevens in favor of McLean made a lasting impression upon me. It was not an advocate’s speech, but the pleading of one who thought the fate of the new party was bound up in his candidate. The close of his speech was notable for the pessimistic view he took of the situation. If McLean were nominated the new party might have hopes to live; if not, it might as well gather up its feet and give up the ghost. I do not think he thought success probable (however possible it might be) with McLean; but with any one else it was impossible, in his view. But the convention was not inclined to

heed these wailings of a political Cassandra. The party was new and young and it had the stirring impulses of the young behind it. Its fate was not bound up in any man and if influenced by Stevens at all, it was by imbibing from him a still more sturdy determination not to be held back by the croaking of any one.

Nearly the whole Pennsylvania delegation stood behind the back of Mr. Stevens, in support of McLean, and so, I think, did the Ohio delegation. Mr. Giddings was the most active in this delegation, and he became so excited in advocating McLean, that at one time he was seized with a sudden syncope and fainted away in the arms of his friends. He was soon revived, however, showing that it was merely a faint, but he was the most determinedly earnest man I ever saw in a convention.

The active New York men were Thurlow Weed, Simeon Draper, James Watson Webb, John A. King, Preston King, Philip Dorsheimer and E. D. Morgan. It was Weed who fathered the movement for Fremont, and I have never been able to eradicate the idea from my mind that a tinge of demagogism seemed to color his action. Probably he was not conscious of it and may have had the notion that Fremont was capable of exciting a great deal of popularity, and that the party needed an element of that kind in beginning its career. He and his New York colleagues were the active promoters of Fremont's nomination, and none of the arguments cited seemed to have any weight with

them. The convention evidently were impressed by the more hopeful and optimistic views of the New York delegation, and when the vote came to be taken it resulted as follows :

Fremont	359
McLean.....	196
Banks.....	1
Sumner.....	2
Seward.....	2

When it came to the Vice-Presidency, there was a general scramble. First, some one named Wm. L. Dayton, of New Jersey; then John Allison, of Pennsylvania, named Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, and Mr. Archer and Gov. Palmer of that state, joined in urging his selection. To show how the public mind ran, let me cite the fact that Mr. Spaulding, of Ohio, when Mr. Lincoln's name was mentioned, asked, "Will he fight?" "Yes," promptly answered Mr. Archer, and that seemed to satisfy every one, if any one had any doubt on that point. I fancy, however, that Old Abe would not have been much in a personal scrimmage, and that was what Spaulding's inquiry pointed to; but he afterwards proved, like the ancestor of the late President of France, a splendid organizer of men who could fight. After Lincoln and Dayton had been named, nearly every state presented a candidate of its own; but after the ballot had proceeded a while, it became so apparent that Dayton would be nominated that Lincoln's friends requested every one to vote for Dayton, and consider Lincoln's name as withdrawn. The vote resulted as follows:

Dayton	239
Lincoln.....	110
Scattering.....	121

Lincoln had become known by his debate in 1854 with Douglas, and this undoubtedly caused the strong vote for him. But he was reserved, by Providence, for a higher place.

Of the *personnel* of the convention beyond those I have named, there were few whose names I can now recall. Indiana sent John D. Defrees along with H. S. Lane; Michigan sent Chandler and Christiancy; Virginia, John C. Underwood; Connecticut, Gideon Welles; and Ohio, Gov. Hoadly, along with Carter and Spaulding and Giddings. The temporary chairman of the convention was a man not known to this generation much, but well-known to those of the last. The convention was called to order by Gov. E. D. Morgan, of New York, who presented as temporary chairman, Robert Emmett, of the city of New York. Mr. Emmett was a son of Thomas Addis Emmett, the celebrated Irish patriot, and had removed to New York after the martyrdom of his father. He had been, he said upon taking the chair, a Democrat for fifty years, but the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the greatest crime of the age, had driven him out of that party, to find a political home in his old days among those who were now rallying to protest against that outrage. He was a gentleman of the old school, and the convention was fortunate in having him for a presiding officer.

The president of the convention was Henry S. Lane, of Indiana, a long, lank, rawboned man, who gave but poor promise in appearance of possess-

ing any talent; but the moment he opened his mouth the people knew him for an orator. He was a man of the Henry Clay stamp, full of natural eloquence, and his short speech on taking the chair so carried away the eastern men who were taken completely by surprise, that they burst into a spasm of noisy enthusiasm. He came near, however, putting the fat in the fire when he sat down, for his first act was to lay his heavy cane on the table, tilt back his chair and elevate his feet so as to confront the audience with them as he asked: "What is the further pleasure of the convention?" Eastern propriety was at first shocked, and then amused; for the whole eastern part of the convention broke into a quiet laugh, and settled down to the conviction that it was a mere specimen of the western spirit of freedom. The western delegates were too familiar with such things to be astonished. His splendid burst of oratory was a full atonement for any subsequent roughness.

The platform of the convention was not long, but it was terse, plain, and easily understood. The chief plank was that on the slavery question, and it was very brief. It was as follows:

"That the Constitution confers on Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and that, in the exercise of their power, it is both the right and the duty of Congress to prohibit in the territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy, and slavery."

This is the first place in which I

can find the use of the now celebrated phrase, "those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery;" although I have a faint impression that it was used before in one of the speeches of Charles Sumner. If not, this is the original occasion of its use; and one-half of the earliest work of the Republican party is still undone while polygamy is able to raise its ugly head. The other resolutions denounce the violence then prevalent in Kansas, endorse the Pacific railroad (then still unbuilt), approve a liberal river and harbor bill, and invite men of all parties to drop all other issues and rally to the support of the cause of freedom. This last resolution was so artfully worded as to be construed by some into a *quasi* endorsement of Know-nothingism, but this interpretation having been disavowed, the resolution was allowed to stand, as read. The real fight of that campaign was made upon the resolution given above.

Why was not the nomination of this convention successful? Was it because of the nominee, or of the platform? Of neither. It was because a majority of the people had not yet been convinced of the iniquities of the "slave power." In New England, and New York, and in the West the feeling was ripe for a radical change; but in Pennsylvania, lying contiguous to Delaware, Maryland and Virginia, with intimate and large commercial relations with the South, it was different. Passing frequently, as I did, between the East and West of this State it did not take

long to perceive that while every county west of the mountains was alive with enthusiasm for Fremont, the moment you got over the mountains into Eastern Pennsylvania, there was a change in the political atmosphere. There were Fremont men to be found everywhere, but there was no feeling, no enthusiasm for him; and when you came to Philadelphia, there was a chill in the air like that which follows a hailstorm. The instincts of trade were too active and strong, and men who made their living and their wealth by Southern traffic could not be expected to fight their own bread and butter. It was not until the war broke out and Southern trade dropped off, that this element became free enough to feel and speak out; and of all the votes against Buchanan in Philadelphia, in 1856, but 5,000 were for Fremont. He was among the "scattering" in that city at that time. The old Whigs were a few of them for Buchanan, but the bulk of them were for Fillmore; and this was the case, though not so largely in the eastern part of the state. This opposition to Democracy found its outlet in "Americanism" and it did not get away from it fully until 1861. The State organization, consequently, was not "Republican" but was a conglomeration of the various American factions with the Republicans. This union of factions under the name of the "People's Party," won in 1858, 1859, and 1860, and was given up finally in 1861. When the Republican National Committee met in New York

in 1859 and 1860, I, in common with a well-known and representative "American" waited upon it with a request from one Conglomerated State Committee, to ask it to specifically invite the "People's Party" of Pennsylvania to send delegates to the Chicago Convention. They acceded to our request; the call was so framed; and the "People's Party" State Convention held at Har-

risburg in 1860 elected a full list of delegates to the Chicago Convention. It was this divided and distracted condition of the opposition in Pennsylvania which rendered it impossible to carry that State for Fremont in 1856, and without Pennsylvania it was then impossible to elect him. But this was not all.

RUSSELL ERRETT.

(To be continued.)

REMINISCENCES OF THE THIRTY-SIXTH AND THIRTY-SEVENTH CONGRESSES.

BY JOHN HUTCHINS, OF THE THEN TWENTIETH OHIO DISTRICT.

II

WHEN the House met December 7th, Mr. Kellog, a Republican from Illinois, obtained the floor for a personal explanation and caused to be read, from the New York *Tribune* of December 6th, an extract, the material part of which is as follows:

"The action to-day.—The country must not hold the Republican side of the House responsible for the cowardly performance of to-day. It was the act of a very few fossil Whigs, who are only varnished with Republicanism sufficiently to get into Congress. Mr. Ohio Stanton's motion to adjourn was voted down 150 to 113, only one Republican voting with him. Mr. Illinois Kellog's motion to adjourn, which prevailed by the help of the entire Democratic and South American vote, was condemned by two-thirds of the Republicans but

couldn't be beaten. Had the Republicans sat still in their seats and allowed Missouri Clark to ventilate fully his ignorance and his stupidity with regard to 'Helper's Impending Crisis' and then insisted on calling the roll, and so persevered till midnight, if necessary, Mr. Sherman would pretty certainly have been chosen Speaker on the third ballot. Now the election may be made to-morrow and it may not this month." H. G.

Mr. Kellog then in substance said that it was the position, the false position, occupied by Mr. Greeley in the Republican party, that induced him to notice the article signed by him. He said that it was due "when a member is villainously attacked in newspapers" to make such comments as he thinks his position demands. He then claimed

that he had "some knowledge of the tactics of the distinguished gentleman who assumed to direct the destinies of the Republican party," and referred to his planning in Illinois and elsewhere; that Mr. Greeley favored the election of Mr. Douglas, a Senator from Illinois, and criticized severely his course and said "he had once some ism or principle, just enough to get into Congress, and he has just got out and, thank God, he will never get in again." Mr. Kellogg then claimed that he favored an adjournment to enable him to examine the compendium and the book, which he had done, and used the following language: "I have examined the book, which has been published and got up since that recommendation was made, and I find it in many positions utterly indefensible, utterly at war with Republican doctrines, utterly at war with the great principle which has brought into being within the last three years, the strongest political organization of our country. I would be recreant to my trust and duty as a representative from Illinois, if I did not deny it and denounce it upon this floor, and I here declare that the publication of that compendium is a cheat upon those whose names appear signed to the recommendation, and a fraud upon the Republican party." Mr. Kellogg avowed himself in favor of excluding slavery from the territories, our common heritage, for to make liberty free would shackle slavery.

This personal explanation brought on a discussion between the anti-Le-

compton Democrats from Illinois, and Mr. Kellogg, but it was soon absorbed in "Helper's Impending Crisis."

At this time the breach between the Democrats of the free states and the Democrats of the slave states had not occurred. Mr. McClernand obtained from Mr. Kellogg a more specific charge against Mr. Greeley than was contained in his speech and it was in these words: "I charge that Mr. Greeley was again and again with others in consultation in the parlor of Judge Douglas, planning and scheming in the election of Judge Douglas to the Senate of the United States from the state of Illinois."

To this charge Mr. McClernand in substance stated, that if such a conversation occurred in the parlor of Judge Douglas, as Mr. Kellogg charges, how came the gentleman to know it? As to the political aspect of the charge Mr. McClernand said: "I do not believe it to be true, although I cannot pronounce upon it from a personal knowledge of its truth or untruth. It is passing strange, however, if Mr. Greeley was favorable to Judge Douglas' re-election, that he should have taken so active and conspicuous a part as he did against Judge Douglas in regard to the election."

Mr. McClernand spoke of the Democracy of Illinois as standing true to the Constitution and the Union—the whole Union; that they knew no difference between the North and the South, and that they are true to the teachings of Webster and Clay and opposed to Abolitionism and Sectionalism; and

speaking of the question before the House, the election of the Speaker, he said: "The question before us at this time is, whether we shall elect a Speaker standing upon a national platform, or upon a sectional platform; and so the issue will be interpreted by the country. As for myself, I am for the man who stands upon a national platform, whose heart beats responsive to the interest of our whole country, and who would stay aggressions, whether upon the South or North, and who would regard the Union as the ark of political safety. In one of the candidates we have before us—in Thomas S. Bocock—I recognize a man answering to these conditions, filling this measure, and I am for him."

Mr. McClernand then pronounced an eloquent eulogium on Senator Douglas, who was a prominent candidate for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency.

Mr. McClernand then stated that Wm. H. Seward, one of the most distinguished leaders of the Republican party had proclaimed an irrepressible conflict between the free states and the slave states, and that conflict must continue until one or the other shall be exterminated, and then said, "How different the teachings of the Fathers of the Republic! They taught very opposite doctrines. They taught that the very difference in the employment of the people of the different states would but contribute to strengthen the Union, and perpetuate it. The very preamble to the Federal Constitution ignores the

abominable heresies thus proclaimed by William H. Seward. It declares that the Constitution was established to effect a more perfect Union, to secure peace, to establish justice, etc. Whose teachings shall we adopt? Those of the great high priest of the Republican party, or those of Washington and Franklin, and Hamilton and Jay?"

Mr. Alfred Wells, a Republican from New York, obtained the floor and claimed that the House was without rules, and, after making appropriate remarks, in conclusion said: "In the meantime, let us take our faith in our principles by an appeal to the Father of all, asking for that protection and guidance, which all who witnessed the scenes of yesterday must know we all need." He then offered the following resolution, which he hoped would bring down the blessing of the Almighty upon the deliberations of the House and which was unanimously adopted: "Resolved, That until the House shall be organized by the election of Speaker, the clergy of the city of the various religious denominations, be respectfully requested to open the daily session of the House with prayer, and that such of the clergy as shall accept this invitation officiate on each day in alphabetical order."

Mr. Isaac N. Morris, an anti-Le-compton Democrat, then obtained the floor and made a few remarks, discrediting and denying the charge of Mr. Kellog, his colleague, as to Mr. Greeley and Senator Douglas, and deprecated the discussion that had

arisen on the slavery question, and urged the necessity of an organization of the House, in the following well-chosen words: "I have not intended, no matter what issue might be presented, particularly at this stage of our proceedings, to enter into any general discussion. There is a good deal of ill blood in the House. Members are easily excited. I believe it is time to organize, since it may be if these exciting discussions are to be continued, that unpleasant if not fatal consequences will ensue. A few more such scenes as we had on this floor yesterday, and we will hear the crack of the revolver and see the gleam of the brandished blade. Who desires that state of things? Had we not better be a little more conservative in our tone and temper? I think the discussion pertaining to the matters which have been brought before the House, is entirely out of place. I did not agree with the gentleman from Virginia, Mr. Garnett yesterday, when he said he would talk and talk at all hazards, because I think this talking is calculated to do no good. In other words I believe it is calculated, or will eventuate, in kindling the fires of sectional discord, and cause them to burn still more and more intently." He concluded by offering a resolution that no debate should be allowed in the House until after its organization, except that any member might interrogate candidates upon questions of public concern, and that candidate might respond thereto. Mr. Garnett, of Virginia, objected, and then

took the floor and continued the debate on Helper's book, criticizing it and those who recommended its circulation and charging the Republicans of the North with the intention to interfere with slavery in the slaveholding states. He charged the Republicans with a purpose to hold the Southern people to the yoke, and organize territory after territory into which no Southern man shall be permitted to go with his property. He then told the Republicans what they must do or the Union would not continue. A single quotation will show the tenor of his demand: "You must go home to your people and must put down this Abolition spirit. You must repeal the laws with which you have polluted your statute books to nullify that provision of the Constitution which protects the value of our slave property along the borders; for we do not mean to stay in the Union until you have converted the border states into free states, and so demoralized and enervated our strength. You must pass laws at home condemning and subjecting to the hands of justice the men who advise and the men who plot and the men who engage in these insurrectionary attempts. Unless you do pass such laws, unless you do put down this spirit of Abolition, the Union will be short; and it is for this reason that I am glad the gentleman from Missouri offered his resolution."

At the close of Mr. Garnett's speech, Mr. Lucius Q. C. Lamar, of Mississippi, obtained the floor and made an able and eloquent speech from a purely

Southern standpoint, which was respectfully listened to by all parties. A few extracts from his speech will show the demands of the Representatives of the slaveholding states in this Congress. Mr. Lamar said: "The gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Sherman), the recognized organ from that side of the House, complained that we had brought this question needlessly before the House. The gentleman from Indiana (Mr. Kilgore), in an attitude and manner of offensive defiance, denounced the resolution of the gentleman from Missouri as a firebrand upon this floor, and still another gentleman (Mr. Palmer), with a classic elegance of language characteristic of his style, and with a refinement of manner peculiar to himself, spoke of it as lugging the negro into the House, and said that he must be put out. Other gentlemen (and one from New York) asked in a tone of triumph who is to blame for this agitation, who does the fault rest upon? From every one on that side we hear the language of reproach, remonstrance and rebuke of Southern men for rising and expressing their sentiments in relation to the treasonable doctrines of that circular. (*Helper's Compendium.*) Now, sir, I wish to submit a few remarks by way of vindicating Southern Representatives from the charge of needless agitation upon this subject. Scarcely six weeks have elapsed since a foray was made upon a sovereign state of this Union by a band of lawless, desperate men, fresh from the scenes of bloodshed, arson, murder

and treason in Kansas, of which it has been the seat. A public armory belonging to the Federal government is seized; Southern citizens—innocent, law-abiding citizens, attending to their ordinary business,—are shot down like dogs in the streets in a Southern town; Southern soil is polluted with the blood of traitors to the State and to the Union. After being taken prisoners their correspondence is laid before the country; the face of that correspondence shows that the leader of these blood-stained desperadoes was in communication with men distinguished for their intelligence, for their wealth and for their moral worth, all over the North.

"More than that, a distinguished Senator of the United States—I put out of the way everything he has said prior to that occasion. I do not choose to throw any light upon this transaction from the previous speeches of that Senator; but that correspondence showed that that Senator, the Corypheus of Northern anti-slavery sentiment, is implicated in this lawless, treasonable proceeding; a proceeding to excite a servile insurrection, the object of which is to place the South a bleeding mangled victim at the foot of Northern power. I make no charges upon Senator Seward; I do not even express the opinion that he is guilty. I hope he may show innocence of the charge. I am only showing what was the condition and circumstances in which the Representatives of the Southern states met these gentlemen here upon the floor of the House.

“Well, sir, no sooner do we meet here upon this floor, than through the agency and industry of the press of the country, there is disclosed a circular foreshadowing the very events which were consummated upon the soil of Virginia, proscribing Southern slaveholders socially, politically and religiously; sowing firebrands and arrows, discord and death throughout the land, and we find it with your signatures attached to it and yourselves recommending it.

“I ask if there was not occasion for sensibility? I ask you if there was not a propriety and fitness in invoking a disclaimer from that part of the House? The gentleman who now bears the banner of that party says that they have said nothing but have ‘preserved a studied silence.’ Ay, sir, you have. You understand the policy of a wise and masterly inactivity. (Applause.) You know there are occasions when the truth not spoken which ought to be spoken, will pierce like an arrow and rankle like poison. (Renewed applause.) And you observed the studied silence because you knew that from it in future would spring forth hateful and discordant utterances. That, sir, is the secret of that studied silence. I commend the policy of the gentlemen, but sir, it will not avail you. We will have an explicit avowal upon this and upon every other subject.

“Well, sir, with these facts palpably and undeniably confessed, written upon every newspaper, a resolution is introduced, giving gentlemen an opportunity

for disclaiming the treasonable utterances of that pamphlet. How is it received! Why with the same freedom of manners which they claim for their principles—with a guffaw, with indecent laughter.

“What follows? Under one of the most able and solemn appeals I have ever listened to, when the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Millson) had called attention to the fact that they had met their call with contemptuous silence, they still responded with laughter; and these were the circumstances and these the positions in which the controversy stood up to the moment in which the gentleman from Ohio took the floor. One gentleman, to whom I have already alluded, said we had brought the negro in here, and that he must be put out. Let us see you do it.” (Applause.)

Mr. Lamar then maintained that the fathers put the negro into the Constitution; that they put him in the Constitution “as an institution of property, and of society and of government.” He then said, “Put the negro out at your peril! No, sir; it cannot be done. Regarding that Constitution as an instrument of our protection, we are determined to maintain its sacred compromises. You being a majority, and looking upon it as an instrument of restraint upon your power, have taken issue with the Constitution and are attempting to throw off its restrictions. That is the fight between us, and we are ready to meet it here.” (Applause upon the floor and in the galleries.)

Mr. Lamar then got off a pleasant sarcasm upon Mr. Stevens, which was much enjoyed by the Democrats, North and South. He then defended his own position upon the question of disunion in the following words. "I am no disunionist. . . . I am devoted to the Constitution of this Union, and so long as this Republic is a great tolerant Republic, throwing its loving arms around both sections of the country, I for one will bestow every talent which God has given me for its promotion and its glory. (Applause.) Sir, if there is one idea touching merely human affairs which gives me more mental exultation than another it is the conception of this grand Republic, this great union of sovereign states, holding millions of brave resolute men in peace and order, not by brute force, not by standing armies, indeed by no visible embodiment of law, but by the silent omnipotence of one great grand thought—the Constitution of the United States. That Constitution is the life and soul of this great government. Put out that light and where is that 'Promethean heat which can its light relume.' That is our platform. We stand upon it. We intend to abide by it and maintain it, and we will submit to no persistent violation of its provisions. I do not say it for the purpose of menace, but for the purpose of defining my own position. When it is violated—persistently violated—when its spirit is no longer observed upon this floor, I war upon your government; I am

against it; I then raise the banner of Secession and I will fight under it as long as the blood flows and ebbs in my veins."

Mr. Lamar then charged that the purpose of the Republican party was to exclude slavery from the territories, and that this would be the initial step and a most decisive one toward the destruction of slavery in the states. He then paid his respects to Mr. Clark, of New York, in the following words: "I desire, however, to say one word to the gentleman from New York, who said (and I listened to him holding my breath in silent wonder) that he had never seen an Abolitionist until he came to this city. All I have to say is, to commend to that gentleman from New York City, a sentiment of an old maxim—'Know thyself.'" (Laughter and applause.)

Mr. Nelson, of Tennessee, an American, obtained the floor, and from his standpoint made an eloquent and conservative speech, full of rhetoric and poetry, and so different in tone from any of the speeches of members from slaveholding states that it was immensely enjoyed by the Republicans and vigorously cheered. This annoyed the Democrats. Mr. Nelson favored Mr. Gilmer's resolution as an amendment to Mr. Clark's and deprecated the extreme sentiment on the subject of slavery in the South as well as in the North. Upon this point the following were his words in part: "I beg leave to call the attention of the House to what I regard as the alarming crisis

that exists in the history of our beloved land. I wish to do it in a spirit of perfect respect to every gentleman of the North and the South. We find a state of excitement there that is in accordance with past events. What do we find on the part of a considerable and highly respectable number of Southern States of this Union? Is it not something like a determination to precipitate a crisis? For one I do not agree either with the extremists of the North or the extremists of the South. When you look at the history of parties in this country, it is an undeniable fact that nullification had its origin in South Carolina, and from that day to the present the spirit of nullification, of secession, of disunion has never slept or slumbered. The snake of nullification has been scotched, not killed. That feeling existed during the lifetime of its great leader, and one of the last letters he ever wrote—his letter to Col. Tarpy—was one in which a meeting or organization of the Southern States was recommended. In addition to that we have had further proceedings on the part of the South which I trust cannot command the approbation of a majority of patriots in the country. With all that not only did the spirit of nullification display itself in 1832, but it has continued to exist since that time in various forms and shapes which I will not take time to portray." Mr. Nelson then turned his attention to the extremists of the North, quoting from the utterances of Mr. Seward, the New York *Tribune*, and Mr. Joshua R.

Giddings. This is the language which it is claimed Mr. Giddings had uttered: "I look forward to the day when there will be a servile insurrection in the South, when the black man armed with British bayonets and led on by British officers shall assert his freedom, and wage a war of extermination against his master. And though we may not mock at their calamity, nor laugh when their fear cometh, yet we will hail it as the dawn of a political millennium." Mr. John Hutchins at this point interrupted Mr. Nelson and said: "I suppose the gentleman from Tennessee has heard that Mr. Giddings has over and over again denied the utterance of that sentiment on the floor of this House, and in his published communications to the country. Mr. S. S. Cox, of Ohio, said he had never taken back the spirit of it."

Mr. Nelson then deprecated the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and charged it upon the South. The style of his speech will be understood by a quotation of a part of his peroration: "Before I take my seat I trust the House will indulge me in giving utterance to one or two old-fashioned sentiments which in days past and gone were common to the whole American people. It may excite the derision of a portion of the disunionists of the North and it may provoke the contempt of the fire-eaters of the South; but I say there is one class of sentiments which, although the leaders in the excitement may strive to create a feeling of discord in the minds of our citizens,



AMERICAN ENGRAVERS & PRINTERS, N. Y.

George T. Lewis,

I trust all will hold in common. What are they? We love our country, we love its mountains, its hills, its valleys and its streams; we love its peaceful Sabbaths, its church-going bells, its English Bible and its glorious liberty of conscience. (Applause.) We love that feature in every American Constitution which abolishes all hereditary honors and distinctions, and enables the poor man's child, if he have talent and genius, to climb 'the steep where fame's proud temple shines afar.' (Applause in the galleries.)

"We love the star-spangled banner which has waved in triumph over many a field of battle and protects our com-

merce upon every sea. We love the memory of the world's only Washington. (Applause upon the floor and in the galleries.) We love the name and fame of every hero who has fought or bled or died upon the battlefields of the country. Of them it may be said:

"They fell devoted but undying,
The very gale their names seem sighing,
The waters murmur of their name,
The woods are peopled with their fame;
The silent pillar—lone and grey
Claims kindred with their sacred clay:
Their memory sparkles o'er the fountain,
Their spirit wraps the dusky mountain:
The meanest rill, the mightiest river,
Rolls mingling with their fame forever."

GEORGE THOMPSON LEWIS.

In George Thompson Lewis, manufacturer and inventor, are probably united larger scientific and business abilities than are possessed by any one man in Philadelphia. He was born in 1817, and his life, thus a long one, has been full of interest from the time at least when he reached his majority down to the present, because of his business achievements, his philanthropy and general activity in benevolent organizations, but more than all else by reason of his remarkable accomplishments in what may be called economic chemistry or applied science. Before entering upon a narrative of his career, however, it seems proper to present an outline of the old and honorable family from which he is descended.

In the year 1686, when Philadelphia

was an infant settlement of but four years' growth, there came to this region—to a locality in what is now Delaware county—one William Lewis, of Wales, of the family known there as "Lewis of the Van," a name still borne by the ancient scions of a great castle of the ancestral home in Glamorganshire, South Wales. Our subject is six generations removed from this pioneer to the shores of the Delaware. The grandson of the original settler was Jonathan Lewis, and his son was Mordecai Lewis, born September 21, 1748, the first of the family who became distinguished in Philadelphia annals, a great merchant and ship-owner, and connected with all of the leading institutions of the city. He lived—until his early death March 13,

1799—in a fine old double house on Second street below Walnut, immediately back of which in Dock street was his counting house. Prominent among his business interests, as early as 1772, was the importation and sale of white lead; in which branch of trade, now carried on in the family for one hundred and sixteen years, he was doubtless the principal man, if not the pioneer, in Philadelphia. Samuel N. Lewis, son of Mordecai and father of our subject, was born September 3, 1785, and was married June 15, 1809, to Rebecca Clarkley Thompson, daughter of John and Rebecca Thompson. In the life of the last named there was an interesting item of history, which we will briefly retell, even though it compels a divergence from the main line of our sketch. She was the daughter of Abel James, head of the importing house of James & Drinker, and a duty commissioner, who when a cargo of tea was about to be landed in Philadelphia, in 1773, was waited upon by a crowd of citizens who demanded that he should resign his office. He refused, but gave the guarantee of his word that the tea should not be landed, and the ship should be sent back to England. Then pointing to his young daughter, Rebecca, who stood near him, he pledged her as a token to the fulfillment of his promise.

Mr. Lewis' business career began before he was of age, in 1806, when he entered into partnership with his older brother, Mordecai. They figured ex-

extensively as ship owners and commission merchants. Their predecessors, Mordecai Lewis & Co., having imported and sold white lead as early as 1772, their attention was naturally turned to that commodity. They resolved, however, to manufacture it in this country rather than to import it, and accordingly in 1819 purchased a white lead manufactory in Pine street above Fifteenth, which had been established six years before by Joseph Richardson. The business was so successfully carried on here that it was only a few years before the whole square between Pine and Lombard streets and Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets was occupied by the buildings of the firm, but by 1848 the property in this neighborhood had become too valuable to be used on an extensive scale for manufacturing sites, and the plant was removed to its present situation in Port Richmond. The counting house was established when the firm began business where their successors now continue, then 135, now 231 South Front street, directly opposite the dwelling and office of Mordecai Lewis, the elder.

Samuel N. Lewis was prominent not alone in business but in connection with the life of the city, its growth and prosperity, its public societies and institutions. He was one of the founders of that early benovolent organization, "The Society for Supplying the Poor with Soup," was treasurer of the Pennsylvania Hospital from 1826 to his death in 1841, and connected with various societies, among the most pro-

minent of which was the still existing "State in Schuykill," organized in 1732 as "The Colony in Schuykill," a famous fishing club of aristocratic and exclusive tendencies. The treasurership of the Pennsylvania Hospital, alluded to above, was held in the family for one hundred and one years, Mr. Lewis' father and brother being his predecessors, and his son, John T. Lewis, his successor. True to the traditions of the family and the traits of the Society of Friends, of which he was a member, Mr. Lewis was quiet and unobtrusive, but he was active in all good works and left behind him an honored reputation. He died in 1841, leaving a widow and nine children, viz.: Martha S., John T., Saunders, Rebecca T., George T., James T., Samuel N., Lydia and Francis S.

Of these George Thompson Lewis, concerning whom it is our special province to speak, was born August 3, 1817. He had the education and experience of the average boy, and at the age of eighteen entered upon his business career with his father and his uncle, M. & S. N. Lewis, and both from a sense of duty and from a natural interest in the processes of manufacturing applied himself closely to his work so that he shortly became proficient, and after a few years, through study of a practical kind, the conning of books, and the exercise of a strong taste for chemistry and mechanics, attained a high position in the estimation of the other members of the house and among the trade generally.

The vast business of the firm of manufacturing chemists, known as John T. Lewis & Brothers, and engaged chiefly in the production of white lead, was very largely built up through his scientific knowledge and business sagacity. The works at Richmond now cover a whole square and are very comprehensive, containing as they do everything pertaining not only to the making of white lead but of zinc white, linseed oil, colors, sugar of lead, litharge, orange mineral, barrels and kegs, and the plant is considered one of the largest and most perfect in the country.

Mr. Lewis has other interests in various parts of the country, into nearly all of which he has been led and some of which have been created through his love for and knowledge of chemical science. He conferred a great benefit upon the people of South Carolina and of the country at large by bringing into use the valuable phosphate rocks which abound in the vicinity of Charleston and until noticed by him, considered valueless, and this has been one of the largest and farthest reaching of his services for the public, for through the quick, intuitive recognition of the value of that deposit as a fertilizer, and the pushing business ability which he displayed in placing it in the market, hundreds of thousands of farms, which were almost worthless, have been enriched and brought into condition of fine fertility. He was one of the founders of the Charleston Mining and Manufacturing Company more than twenty

years ago, and with Wm. Klett, of Philadelphia, capitalized the concern, and brought the first phosphate rock to Philadelphia, in 1867, after an expenditure of several hundred thousand dollars. The first shipment consisted of just sixteen barrels from which the first superphosphate was made by Messrs. Potts & Klett. The next year three hundred tons of the rock were brought to the city, and now the annual output amounts to four hundred and fifty thousand tons per year from which nine hundred thousand tons of fertilizer are made, and the trade is constantly increasing. The Company has about ten thousand acres of the richest phosphate lands, and holds a mining lease on at least twelve hundred acres more. Although we have put this achievement first in our list, it was not so chronologically. His ingenuity found earlier exercise, and as far back as 1847 he brought cotton seed from the South and pressed oil from it, and in the following year in connection with Mr. M. H. Boyce he refined cotton seed oil and practically proved its good qualities as an illuminant, a substitute for olive oil, and an ingredient of fine soaps. He demonstrated, too, that the "cake" after the extraction of the oil was a valuable food for cattle. The industry thus inaugurated by Mr. Lewis' skill and through his quick perception, now enriches the country to the extent of several million dollars per annum.

To give details of all of the projects which Mr. Lewis has brought to

the benefit of the country, would require the space of a good sized book, and we can therefore do but little more than enumerate. In the years of 1848 to 1852, he introduced caustic soda as a commercial article in the United States and England, and founded the Pennsylvania Salt Company, doubtless the largest and most prosperous chemical manufacturing concern of its kind in the world. This was one of the earlier productions of petroleum in the country. He regenerated the almost defunct Lehigh Zinc Company; brought the mineral lryolite from Greenland, and produced alumina, alum, aluminated carbonate, bi-carbonate and caustic soda. The importance of the introduction of this mineral from Greenland may be conceived from the fact that the importations at the port of Philadelphia now amount to ten thousand tons per year, which, considering its nature, uses and value, is a large amount. Another practical outcome of Mr. Lewis' ingenuity was in the invention of a process by which what formerly went to waste from lead smelting works, might not only be prevented from producing their deleterious effect from a sanitary point of view, but be collected and utilized. Much valuable material has been saved, and the process has been introduced in England. His success in introducing the manufacture of spelter metallic zinc has made this country independent of the world, so far as this metal is concerned. He planned for the Pennsylvania and Lehigh Zinc Company, and induced

them to erect the same; the first practically working furnace in the United States. This was in 1858. Later he built for the New Jersey Zinc Company, at his own expense and risk—a consideration to be received if successful,—similar works for smelting their franklinite ores. All former attempts had proved fruitless, but the system, as perfected by Mr. Lewis, proved highly successful, and numerous other works were built upon the same plan. These and numerous other applications of science, the outgrowth of an observant, well-equipped and thoughtful mind, have been of vast value to the country and to mankind. They have enriched hundreds, and it has been that kind of enrichment which is of the most benefit to the world—the only true gain of wealth, that which is taken from the earth, and is valueless until then; or the next greatest, that which is saved from waste in the process of manufacture.

Although Mr. Lewis' life has been a very busy one within the lines of his chosen vocation, and in connection with the various industries which his genius has led him to, he has found time to serve the public in various capacities, and has exhibited the highest kind of patriotism and philanthropy. In politics he has been a Republican since the formation of the party, and prior to that time held views which led logically to his identification with the party. He was a strong supporter of the Union when the war broke out, and his means were liberally spent in aiding

in its suppression. A considerable number of men were induced to enlist through his efforts, and they were equipped at his expense. He was a prominent figure in the movement which resulted in raising and organizing the Corn Exchange Regiment. He was treasurer of the Soldiers' Reading Room Association, which maintained a well-supplied reading room on Twentieth street, between Chestnut and Market, during the years of 1862 and 1863 and 1864, and was the efficient chairman of the Gentlemen's Committee of the Restaurant Department at the Great Central Fair held in Philadelphia in June, 1864, under the auspices of the U. S. Sanitary Commission. In these capacities he performed an immense amount of valuable labor.

He has been an active worker in various benevolent associations, and for about a quarter of a century has held the position of treasurer of the Church House for children. His personal charities, there is reason to believe, have been extensive, but they have been private to a degree that few men make them, and neither the public press nor the blare of other trumpets has sounded their praises. One of Mr. Lewis' leading characteristics, inherited from his ancestors, and inculcated by the unwritten laws of that society in which he was brought up, is unobtrusiveness. He has always been known as of quiet, gentle, kindly, unselfish, refined and cultured character—the true gentleman and the able man of affairs; seeking the exercise of his best gifts and the

good of mankind, and finding therein the greatest joys of his life.

Mr. Lewis was, upon May 18, 1843, united in marriage with Miss Sally Fox

Fisher. Five children have been the fruits of this union: Samuel N., William Fisher, Mary Fisher, Sally Fisher and Nina Fisher Lewis.

THE CLIFF-DWELLERS.

DOINGS OF THE NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY OF COLORADO.

“O Earth! Where are the past?
And wherefore had they birth?
The dead are thy inheritors—and we
But bubbles on the surface, and the key
Of thy profundity is in the grave.”—*Byron*.

THE purchase, at large cost, by the Natural History Society of Colorado, of the recent discoveries of infant mummies, bone, stone and wooden implements, textile fabrics, wicker work, pottery, ornaments, etc., in Mancos Canon, Southwestern Colorado,—relics and products of the extinct race called the Cliff-Dwellers—affords a commendable instance of scientific enterprise.

Certain other states, notably Ohio, rich in pre-historic remains, have permitted the removal of such reminders to other state institutions, until it is now a matter of general regret that it was not forestalled by such intelligent appreciation as has actuated the people of Colorado in this regard. The State Historical and Natural History Society of Colorado was organized in 1877 by an act of the General Assembly. Its first board of directors consisted of Gov. John Evans, Hon. William N. Byers, Gen. R. W. Woodbury, Dr. F. J. Bancroft, Dr. H. K. Steele, Aaron Gove, William D. Todd, William E. Pabor and Richard Sopris.

The present organization is as follows:—Dr. F. J. Bancroft, president; Hon. William N. Byers, vice-president; and J. Alden Smith, David Boyd and J. A. Porter, vice-presidents; Thomas F. Dawson, secretary; Col. William D. Todd, treasurer; and Richard Borchers, Aaron Gove and R. S. Roeschlaub, curators.

The result of this movement was to create a state museum which, prior to this accession, had already assumed interesting proportions. The society's rooms are in the Chamber of Commerce building, upon the same floor with the Mercantile Library, the whole under the supervision of the courteous and efficient public librarian, Charles Rowland Dudley, Esq. The purchase just made—and made in spite of a tempting offer from the Smithsonian Institute—will render this the most attractive and instructive resort of the kind west of Washington City. For this event the citizens of Colorado are particularly indebted to the first and only president of the society, Dr. Bancroft, whose professional name has become almost synonymous with history.

We take the following extract from the *Rocky Mountain News* in relation to

the Cliff-Dwellers and description of some of the articles embraced in the purchase :

“The Cliff-Dwellers! The words take the mind back thousands of years, at times when a peculiar race of people inhabited that portion of the picturesque San Juan country in Southern Colorado, through which the Mancos river flows. A portion of the territory, probably thirty or forty miles, is cut up in a peculiar manner, just right for Cliff-Dwellers, and, in fact, nature seemed to favor their presence. The character of the place is odd to say the least, and great table lands rise up out of the valleys to the height of 1,500 feet. The bottom consists of a stratum of coal, and the upper ledges of a soft yellowish sandstone, in which there are numberless wind-worn caves. Mr. Charles McLoyd, of Durango, has made a tour through this strange land, where once there dwelt a race of people who were not warlike and who lacked the passions of a base mankind, but who were finally exterminated by the invasions of roving bands of bloodthirsty Indians, who were then kings of the plains and the mountain country. He collected relics of these people, many of which are crude in their construction, and brought to Denver and has now on exhibition curiosities of that pre-historic period, the most complete in the world, which not only astonish all observers, but puzzle them to tell the use of many of the articles. Pottery, made thousands of years ago, that have remained just

where they were left through hundreds of centuries, a silent attest of that truly marvellous age of stone, when granite and flint were used by everyone, for every conceivable purpose.

“They made clay cooking crocks, which were placed in the fire and then boiled. One or two of them were cracked, which would arouse the suspicion of a family man. Certainly they were no exception to ordinary human beings, and had their family rows, the same as do the people of to-day, and the crack in the jar is easily explained—some irate husband, in a fit of anger, hurled it at his wife. There are some nice fresh mummies there, covered with turkey feathers, with the head much larger than the body, which were found wrapped in clothes in the lower ends of the houses.

“Sandals made of weeds and leaves, and closely woven fibre rods, attract the attention of nearly everybody. They sewed and used bone needles, with eyes, and, in fact, did some excellent work. Some of the work was shabby, of course, but that was probably done in the large tenement houses, by cheap factory labor. There is no doubt about it. They had their labor strikes the same as do modern people. In the doors of one of the large factories were seen the skull and crossbones marked on the door with iron coloring matter, and strange fantastic designs were painted on the massive walls.

“The skulls which have been preserved by dry atmosphere are strangely

shaped. Some are flat in the back, caused probably by the strapping of children to boards and carrying them on their backs. The other skull, which shows the projection of the chin, would lead a person to believe that with a large nose this fellow was continually poking into other people's business. They had skinning knives, and flint instruments with handles. No more enjoyable trip can be taken than the route which leads to the ancient ruins of this most remarkable people, which for the most part is found within the new county of Montezuma, Colorado. From Durango, leading to the southwest, is to be observed the Mancos valley, which seems to have been the centre of the civilization of this peculiar people; at least it is to be seen that here are more clearly worked the traces of these people than in any other portion of the country. After leaving Durango and traveling down the Mancos for some fifteen or twenty miles, the ruins of the ancient buildings may be seen on either hand, but the full evidence of the great extent of the civilization of these people does not burst upon one's vision until about fifty or sixty miles have been travelled down the valley. Here the canon has been worn deep by the process of erosion and within the sides of the great walls that rise on either hand for thousands of feet from the bed of the stream, are to be observed the caves where wind and wave have worn away the softer portions of the strata leaving the hard, firm layers of rock

projecting, in some places hundreds of feet. These caves are, in a measure, uniform as to the floor and the roof so to speak of the excavation, being on the same level or line. In other words, the firm strata of rock found in the sides of the canon are on a uniform plane, showing that the canon has been formed by the action of the water and not by volcanic forces. Within these excavation caves, are to be seen the dwellings of this wonderfully interesting people. These dwellings give evidence of having been constructed on the most approved plan of architecture. The masonry has been laid after advanced ideas known to-day for securing strength and resisting pressure. The walls are constructed with the nicety of the skilled artisan of to-day. In size, these buildings, constructed with stone, vary from a house of one room only to that which doubtless was a magnificent mansion of 355 rooms, the capacity of the cave being in most instances the dimensions of the house. One of the largest houses yet discovered lies in a diverging branch of the main canon of the Mancos, about fifteen miles from the main valley and situated in the end or amphitheater of the gulch. This dwelling gives evidence of having been four stories high and containing 350 rooms. Three stories of this dwelling are yet standing, and had evidently never been discovered by any man curious enough to make a thorough investigation until Mr. McLoyd made his visit there during the past winter. In the rear room of the

building, on the first floor, sealed up with masonry, was found much of the collection which he obtained from this region. The beauty of these peculiar relics found within this building, as well as the others through this region, is the evidence which they bear in construction of the marvellous skill of those peculiar people. In all their relics the old adage of necessity being the mother of invention is most clearly illustrated. The instruments made of bone are such as speak in unmistakable voices, silent though they be, of the basic thought to which almost every article of use which is possessed to-day can be traced. The drawing knives, made of curved bones of animals, such as the ribs and shank bones, etc., are so suggestive of the purpose to which they were put that there can be no mistake. The stone ax, with the withes of chapparal and iron rod still about them, leave the use to which they were put unmistakable. Bone needles, with eyes or cord of thread made of the yucca weed remaining in them, are suggestive of their uses. In short, every step taken by them, as evidenced by the ruins remaining to-day, indicates in every particular that they were an intelligent and peaceably disposed people; industrious, as the many articles for various uses evidence; peaceable, as the testimonies of their being an agricultural people are numerous, such as dried corn preserved in earthen vessels, corn leaves twisted in bunches ready for weaving into mats and sandals; and in-

dustrious people with a wonderful faculty for invention, as evidenced by the intricate patterns or structural methods of weaving sandals and shoes; an affectionate people as shown by the care of their dead friend, most of the human remains being found in the rear rooms of the dwellings, as above described, wrapped in feather cloth, and the rooms carefully sealed up with masonry, the feather cloth spoken of being made by twisting the soft and downy portion of feathers into the fibers or cord, which are ingeniously woven into the cloth."

Nature's curtain has dropped forever upon the part played upon the world's stage by that departed race. Man may find institutions with boundless capital, guided by the keenest intellectual research to exhume their history, but he cannot part the folds of that curtain or bid it rise again.

Who were the Cliff-Dwellers? Is not the answer of Elizabeth Stuart Phelps about as satisfactory as can be given :

"Man who dwelt in caves like cubs, who was without intelligible speech or human sympathy, or the decency of any wild beast known to science; or it may have been the highly developed savage, whose language resembled the hissing of a serpent; or of him still ascending in type, who fed upon the quivering flesh of animals, cultivated what is known as tribal marriage, and buried his dead with awful laughter; or of him whose war-phrase being interpreted signifies, 'Let us go and eat that nation.'"

HENRY DUDLEY TEETOR.

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION OF OMAHA.

II.

THERE was born in Meissen, in Saxony, in the year 1755, Samuel Christian Friedrich Hahnemann, who subsequently became a celebrated physician and the founder of a new system of medicine known as homœopathy. Hahnemann graduated at Erlangen in 1779, and practised for some years at Dresden. About 1796 he announced his new system founded, as he claimed, on the principle that in order to cure any disease we should employ a medicine having power to produce a similar affection in the body of a healthy person, believing that an artificial affection (caused by the medicine) displaces the original disease, and, on the discontinuance of the medicine, this secondary disease ceases of itself. Hence the motto adopted by the homœopaths—"Similia similibus curantur" ("Like cures like").

Hahnemann laid it down as a fundamental proposition that no medicine should be given to the sick which had not first been *proved* upon those in health. There are four elementary rules for the practice of homœopathy: (1) To ascertain the effects of medicinal substances upon persons in health; (2) From the knowledge thus obtained to select a remedy whose action corresponds with the symptoms of the patient

under treatment; (3) To give this remedy by itself alone; (4) That the dose should be so small as not to cause any general disturbance of the system, its action being limited to that portion of the body which is in a morbid condition.

From Germany as a center, homœopathy spread over Europe and the United States. It was introduced into England in 1827, and into this country two years previous by Hans B. Gram, a native of Boston, but educated in Copenhagen. His success attracted the attention of several physicians, among whom were Gray, Channing, Willson, Hall and Hering. A careful study of the principles of the new theory secured their adherence, and its success, not only in ordinary diseases, but in usually fatal epidemics (so it was claimed), soon won for the system a large support. It is certain that the practice of homœopathy has continued on the increase to the present time. Its introduction into Nebraska, but particularly into Omaha, is a matter of interest.

In October, 1862, Dr. A. S. Wright came from Indianapolis, Indiana, where he had practised for several years, and located in Omaha, the then capital of the territory of Nebraska. To him belongs the honor of introducing

homœopathy into Omaha and also into Nebraska. Omaha then contained a population of about twenty-five hundred. He soon obtained some of the best and wealthiest citizens of Omaha for his patrons and before long had a good paying practice. He remained in Omaha until May, 1874, when on account of ill-health he moved his family to Santa Rosa, California, where he still resides and follows his profession.

Dr. Wright was the sole representative of homœopathy in Nebraska until 1866 and in Omaha until 1868. In May of that year, Dr. W. H. H. Sisson, from New Bedford, Massachusetts, and on June 28th, Dr. O. S. Wood, from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, located here. In 1869, Dr. W. J. Earhart and Dr. Marsden, both from Philadelphia, came and formed a partnership. But in a few weeks they dissolved and Dr. Earhart established himself in Fremont, Nebraska; Dr. Marsden remained in Omaha until the next spring, when he returned East and located in New Jersey.

Dr. F. Saxenberger arrived in 1871 and remained until 1874, when he left the state. In October, 1872, Dr. E. F. Hoyt, from Grand Rapids, Michigan, formed a partnership with Dr. O. S. Wood, which relation continued until February, 1874. Dr. Hoyt continued in Omaha until the following October, when he moved to New York City.

On January 25, 1873, Dr. W. H. H. Sisson died, and in the following month of February Dr. Emlin Lewis, a former pupil in medicine of Dr. Sisson's, and

who had graduated the year before from the Hahnemann Medical College of Chicago, left his location at Papillion, Nebraska, and came and contracted for the doctor's office and fixtures and began practice. He remained until September, 1875, when he located in Iowa.

Dr. James M. Borghem, also a former student of Dr. Sisson's, came fresh from the college in St. Louis and opened his office in Omaha in the spring of 1874. In March, 1875, Dr. Earhart and Dr. Borghem by mutual arrangement exchanged locations, the former leaving Fremont, Nebraska and relocating in Omaha, and the latter leaving Omaha and locating in Fremont. Dr. Earhart remained in Omaha but a short time, for in the early summer he left the West and returned to his native city, Philadelphia.

In April, 1875, Dr. H. C. Jesson arrived from Chicago and continued in the practice until 1877, when he again returned to Chicago. In December, 1875, Dr. H. A. Worley moved here from Davenport, Iowa, where he had been in practice with his father. He remained until October 1879, when he returned to Davenport and entered into partnership with his father who died about one year after.

In March, 1878, Dr. C. M. Dinsmoor, from Missouri, joined the homœopathic ranks in Omaha and he still remains.

In the spring of 1879 John Ahmanson, for many years one of Omaha's business men and an ex-member of the

Nebraska Legislature, finished a course of medical studies, graduating at Hahnemann Medical College, Chicago, and in April established himself at his old home as an M. D. and still remains, a successful physician. Dr. Willis B. Gifford of Attica, New York, came to Omaha in August, 1880, and entered into partnership—previously arranged—with Dr. Dinsmoor. This relation, however, lasted only till February, 1881, when he returned to Attica, New York, where he is still following his profession.

Very early in 1880, Dr. C. S. Hart moved from Onawa, Iowa, to this city and opened an office. On June 12, same year, he and Dr. Wood formed a partnership which continued until the end of the following October, when by mutual consent they separated. Dr. Hart, opening another office, continued in the city.

March, 1881, brought Dr. G. H. Parsell from Weedsport, New York, where he had practised for many years. He still remains in Omaha.

In 1882, Dr. Francis M. W. Jackson and Dr. E. Stillman, Dr. B. Spencer were other additions, but who also joined other fields (we presume more prolific) in about one short year.

In February, 1883, Dr. Amelia Burroughs moved over from Council Bluffs, where she had been in practice a year or so, and is still enrolled among the homœopaths of Omaha; also, in February, 1883, Dr. W. H. Hanchett came fresh from Hahnemann College,

Chicago, and has continued his profession here to the present time.

In July, 1883, Dr. J. M. Borghem returned from Fremont and re-located himself again in Omaha. Here he remained until the spring of 1885, when he had the California fever and moved with his family to Los Angeles, but homesickness soon laid its heavy hand upon him and the following October found him with "bag and baggage" safely landed in Omaha once more—a wiser man, if poorer. He still makes one of our number. In the winter of 1883-4 Dr. P. W. Poulson, of Council Bluffs, Iowa, opened an office with Dr. Borghem, and practised in both cities. This, however, did not last long and he soon gave up Omaha and continued in Council Bluffs until 1885 or 1886, when he located in San Francisco, California, and still remains there.

In April, 1884, Dr. R. W. Connell began practice here and he still continues. This year likewise brought to Omaha, Dr. H. S. Knowles, from Avoca, Iowa, who remained between one and two years and then moved to California.

In June, Dr. H. A. Worley returned from Davenport, Iowa, and very soon after formed a partnership with Dr. Dinsmoor. This continued until July 27, 1885, when they separated; Dr. Worley going out and establishing an office by himself. He remains here yet.

In October, Dr. C. G. Sprague, directly from Ogden, Utah, but indirectly from Elizabeth, New Jersey, bought

out Dr. C. L. Hart's good-will and practice, and Dr. Hart moved to Grand Island, this state, where he remained until a few months since, when he returned and resumed his residence in Omaha but not his practice. He attends to his real estate and goes as consulting physician whenever called. Dr. Sprague remains faithfully at his post of duty.

December 1, 1884, Dr. Mary J. Breckenridge added one more to the homœopathic fraternity of Omaha. She is among the permanent ones. Dr. Wm. H. Parsons came from Glenwood, Iowa, in October, 1885, and located to stay. In 1886 there were added, June 22, Dr. E. T. Allen, eye and ear surgeon; Dr. Emma J. Davies, fresh from Hahnemann Medical College, Chicago, and Dr. G. W. Williams, from Marshalltown, Iowa. On Sunday morning, December 16, 1888, Dr. Williams was found dead in his office, Arlington Block. His brother came for his remains and buried them in the family burying ground over in Iowa.

Sometime in this year Dr. C. W. Hayes came from Marshalltown, Iowa, and on account of poor health from a long protracted practice, he did not take up his profession at first, but entered into the real estate business. But, in 1887, he again hung out his shingle, and resumed his professional work as an M. D. In the forepart of 1887, Dr. C. M. Campbell introduced himself, and is reaping the rewards of his labors.

In June, Dr. J. W. Barnsdall located here; and in the following August, Dr.

E. L. Alexander changed from Guthrie City, Iowa, to Omaha. In February, 1888, Dr. J. P. Hanchett, just from Hahnemann College, Chicago, arrived, and formed a partnership with his brother, Dr. W. H. Hanchett. This continued until the close of the year 1888, when they dissolved and he left the city.

In March, Mrs. Dr. H. B. Davies, mother of Dr. Emma J., moved up from Nebraska City and joined her daughter in partnership. They are practising together.

May 1, Dr. Freda M. Lankton, who had just graduated from the State University at Iowa City, Iowa, formed company with her former preceptor, Mrs. Dr. Burroughs. The company still flourishes.

On the 13th of August, Dr. Dinsmoor formed a partnership with Dr. W. A. Humphrey, from Wahoo, Nebraska, where he had practised successfully for a number of years. They are still together.

To close up the ranks to date, two M. D.'s—Dr. W. G. Willard and Dr. D. A. Foote—arrived from Chicago in November. They have each an office and have come to stay.

Although a record of the introduction of homœopathy into the United States as well as into Nebraska and Omaha has thus been dwelt upon, it would be breaking the chain of homœopathic events in the state were no mention to be made of the organization and continuance of the Nebraska State Homœopathic Medical Society. Such

an organization was perfected in Lincoln on the 2nd of September, 1873, by the election of Dr. E. T. M. Hurlbut as president; Drs. A. H. Wright and J. H. Way, vice-presidents; Dr. A. C. Cowperthwait, secretary; Dr. O. S. Wood, treasurer; and Drs. W. A. Burr, J. H. Way, D. H. Casley, Emlen Lewis and A. S. Wright a board of censors.

The next meeting of the association was held in Omaha, on the 19th of June, 1874, when the former officers were again elected, except that Drs. E. Lewis and H. S. Knowles were chosen vice-presidents in place of Drs.

Wright and Way. The next meeting was held on the 18th of May, 1875, at Nebraska City, when O. S. Wood was elected president. The next five annual sessions convened in Omaha; the presidential chair was held successively by Dr. Cowperthwait, Dr. C. L. Hart and Dr. B. L. Paine. Subsequent meetings were held (except one, that of May, 1884, in Omaha,) in Lincoln, with the following successive presidents: Dr. C. M. Dinsmoor, Dr. Carscadden, Dr. A. R. Van Sickle, Dr. F. B. Righter, Dr. A. R. Van Sickle, Dr. F. B. Righter, Dr. C. L. Hart, Dr. J. H. Gray.

ORLANDO SCOTT WOOD.

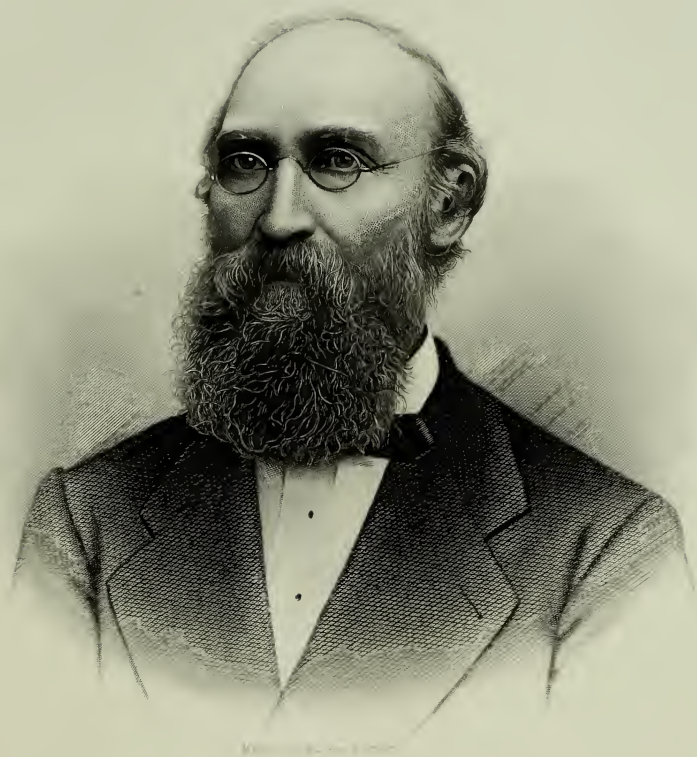
It is a wise remark that "men who have achieved any worthy aim by reason of the very ability which has enabled its achievement, not only are conscious of their superiority to those they have surpassed, but they feel the inspiration of allowing their careers to be handed down in permanent form as encouragements and incentives to others. This is true in all professions and callings." While the subject of this sketch would shrink from anything like obtruding himself upon the public, nevertheless, he does not feel himself justified, when called upon, to withhold anything that is thought conducive to the advancement of his profession or calculated to stimulate others to hold firmly to their faith and persevere in well-doing.

The father of Orlando was a shoemaker. His name was Orin Wood.

The maiden name of the mother was Sally Baldwin. In the spring of 1836, the family moved from Binghamton, New York, (where Orlando was born on the 27th of January, 1832,) to Berrien Springs, Michigan. There the father died in October, 1838, leaving, besides the boy whose name stands at the head of this article, another and younger son. The mother and her two children had nothing left them in the way of an estate—neither money nor lands.

Until the mother could get sufficient means to take her little family East (her old home being in Pennsylvania), Orlando was sent to live with strangers, but he found kind protectors.

In the spring of 1840 Mrs. Wood, with her two children, left Michigan, journeying first to Binghamton, where



A. Wood M. D.

she spent two weeks with her husband's relatives, and thence to her old home in Montrose, Pennsylvania. In November after her arrival, the subject of this sketch went to live with an uncle in South Auburn, Susquehanna county, that state; he was a farmer, and lived eighteen miles from Montrose. Orlando was a "farmer's boy" with his uncle for seven years, working for his board and clothes. In March, 1848, he apprenticed himself for three years to learn the carpenter's trade, at twenty-five dollars for the first year, thirty-five for the second, and fifty for the third; this included his board of course. Up to the time of the ending of his term, he had forty dollars due him, and the following day he engaged with his employer for twenty dollars a month and board. Thus far, the young man had received no education, except during three months each winter in country schools; but he thirsted for knowledge and resolved to enter some educational institution as soon as he could save a little money.

Mr. Wood worked steadily until December, 1851, when he fitted himself out with a small amount of extra clothing, a kit of tools, and, with seventy-five dollars in his pocket, started for the Bucknell University of Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, then presided over by Howard Malcom, D. D. He entered the academical department, and keeping his means up as well as he could by working at his trade on Saturdays and during vacations, continued on until the close of his junior collegiate year.

Then, through the want of money, he undertook to work during the summer term—keep up with his class, and enter it again at the commencement of the fall term, but this, as might be expected, was too much of an undertaking. He was taken with a fever and his expenses increased so much that he was obliged to abandon, for a time, his college scheme.

In October, 1856, Mr. Wood removed to West Chester, Pennsylvania, where a friend (Rev. Robert Lowry), procured him a situation as clerk in a book store. Here he hoped to save money to finish his Lewisburg course, but was disappointed and gave up the project. He was engaged as collector and soliciting agent in Chester county, during the summer of 1857, for the *Chester County Times*. In the spring of the next year he began the study of homœopathy with Dr. Joseph E. Jones, in West Chester. In 1858 and 1859, he attended his first course of medical lectures at the Homœopathic Medical College, in Philadelphia, graduating on the first day of March, 1860. At this time he was in debt sixteen hundred dollars for his education and professional outfit, which amount he had previously arranged was to be paid after graduation and when he had earned the money in the practice of his profession.

Dr. Wood settled in Phoenixville, Pennsylvania, on the first day of April, 1860. At that place he remained one year, when he removed to Canandaigua, New York, where he pur-

chased the practice of R. R. Gregg, M. D. In the beginning of 1866, he left there, going to Philadelphia, where for a while he located, and in addition to practising his profession, attended, in the winter of 1867-68, the first course of lectures in the Hahnemann Medical College, where he again graduated in March, 1868. In the following June he started for Omaha, stopping at Lewisburgh and marrying Miss Mary L. Miller, on the 7th of that month. He opened his office in the city where he now resides, on the tenth day of July. The doctor is a senior member of the American Institute of Homœopathy and of the Northwestern Homœopathic Medical Association and Northwestern Academy of Medicine. He was one of the charter members of the Nebraska State Medical Society, and is the only active practitioner in his state that helped to organize that institution. He has as specialties, gynæcology, diseases of children, and rectal diseases.

In his religious belief the doctor is a Baptist. He was baptized in 1850. He has three children—two sons and a daughter. He has been closely identified with the material interest and prosperity of Omaha ever since his arrival in that city. He has stood high in the

estimation of the citizens from first to last, for his ability as a physician and his strict integrity. The Y. M. C. A. owes much to him for his wise counsel and hearty co-operation. He has been a member of the First Baptist church of Omaha ever since he has been in Omaha, and for many years has held the office of chairman of the board of trustees and is a life deacon of the church. Through all the ups and downs of this church, of which he is a member, he has stood by it and given liberally of his means and personal assistance. But a very few business men and specially professional men are as faithful to all the appointments of the church and the various moral, temperance and religious organizations of the city as he. He believes it to be the duty of every man to be interested in every movement that tends to the moral welfare of the citizens of this commonwealth. The doctor has, at this time, a very extensive practice not only in the city but is called to different parts of the state for consultation on important cases. His success as a physician is owing largely to his thoroughness in whatever he does, and with it his having a kind heart and gentle hands.

CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

THE AMERICAN RAILROAD: ITS INCEPTION, EVOLUTION
AND RESULTS.

XVII.

THE YEARS 1841 AND 1842—IMPORTANT RAILROAD CELEBRATIONS—IN EUROPE.

The year 1841 was as full of events of railroad interest, as that which preceded it. In March, the Massachusetts House of Representatives made yet another movement in aid of the Western Railroad, by granting \$700,000 in state scrip, as a further aid to the road, provided the stockholders should pay in \$600,000, or twenty dollars upon each share then selling in the market at eighteen dollars for one hundred dollars paid, and also give the state full control of the road and the operations thereon, by allowing five state directors instead of four, as was then permitted. A statement of the Boston & Lowell road, made about the same time, is of interest. It showed that four mile of second track had been laid during the year past, "making twenty miles of this track now in use, and leaving about five miles only to be laid, which will probably be completed in the course of the ensuing summer." The amount expended in construction up to that time was \$1,729,242, leaving \$70,757 of the capital unexpended. The receipts of the year amounted to \$231,575; the expenses—for repairs of the road, \$21,813; repairs of engines and cars, \$12,465; other expenses,

\$55,933; total, \$91,400. Two dividends had been paid during the year of four per cent. each, which, on \$1,650,000, amounted to \$132,000.

RAILWAYS IN ENGLAND.

The *Philadelphia Gazette*, of March, furnishes us with a comprehensive review of the condition of railways in England up to this point, as follows: "The British parliament has, in the session just commenced, taken the first step towards bringing the great lines of railways in that country, under legislative control. It is difficult, by any analogy supplied by our railways, for an American to estimate the conditions under which these great arteries of British intercourse are formed and maintained in operation. The capital invested in the first construction, the floating capital necessary to work them, the quantity of traffic transported over them, and the speed with which that transport is effected are, severally, elements so different from what we are accustomed to contemplate, that the mere statement of but a few of them must excite both interest and surprise. The railway connecting Liverpool and Manchester involved an outlay of capital amounting to about six millions of

dollars. It is thirty-one miles in length, and cost therefore at the rate of above two hundred thousand dollars per mile. The current traffic on this line is very nearly as follows: Of passenger trains there are *twenty* daily, and from fifteen to twenty trains of merchandise. The average number of passengers carried daily from terminus to terminus is 1,680, and the number of tons of merchandise daily is about 1,000. To afford *space* and *time* for the passenger trains, most of the merchandise is carried at night. The fastest passenger trains have recently made the trip in the average time of seventy minutes, including a stoppage of about four minutes half way. The rate when moving on level parts of the line is generally above thirty miles an hour.

“The railway between Liverpool and London is about 210 miles in length, and exclusive of the stoppage half way, at Birmingham, the trip is performed by the first class passenger trains in ten hours. This includes a vast number of stoppages at intermediate stations; not less probably than twenty-five in the above journey. The speed when moving is generally about thirty miles an hour.

“The railway between Birmingham and London is not yet completed, though the rails are all laid and the line throughout has been for some time at work. It is computed that this line, when the depots have been completed, will cost about thirty millions of dollars, and its total length being one hundred and twelve miles, the cost will

be nearly \$260,000 per mile! The daily receipts for traffic at present upon the line amount to above \$10,000. The depot of this line at London is not yet completed, but its estimated cost was above a million dollars.

“The railway connecting London with Bristol is not yet completed. The expenditure of capital upon it already has been so lavish, and the methods of road structure has been subjected to such capricious changes, that it is difficult to say what will be its ultimate cost. Its length is about the same as the one leading to Birmingham, and its cost per mile will probably be much more. The width of the rails on this line is seven feet, the common standard being four feet, eight inches. This augmented gauge necessarily infers a proportionally increased scale in all the work, and a proportionally increased expense.

“The numerous accidents and great loss of life which occur on the English railways, are owing to the vast amount of traffic carried on upon them, and the enormous speed at which it is transported. These accidents do not arise from the explosion of engines, or from any other cause immediately connected with steam power, but are due, almost exclusively, to the collision of trains. The railways being all, without exception, double lines, trains never move in contrary directions on the same rails, and, consequently, collisions never occur from trains unexpectedly *meeting each other*. Such accidents always arise from one train overlooking and *run-*

ning into another. When this occurs the most terrific consequences ensue, the carriages being generally smashed to pieces and their unfortunate occupants maimed or killed.

“One of the most curious and interesting results of the establishment of railways in Europe, is the enormous increase of intercourse they have produced, as compared with the intercourse which was previously maintained between the same places on common roads. This increase has been never less than three-fold, and has, in some cases, been *seven* or *eight-fold*. In some localities the intercourse has attained an amount which borders on the incredible. Since the completion of the railway between Paris and St. Germain, the daily intercourse between these places is said to amount to above three thousand persons per day; and it appears, by evidence given before the House of Commons, that the intercourse between the city of Dublin (population under 30,000), and the town of Kingstown, amounts to 3,500 daily!” To which high point had the railway grown in the first fifteen years of its existence.

The statement is made upon the authority of the *Railway Magazine*, that the number of passengers conveyed upon the Great Western line in six months ending December 31st, 1841, amounted to upwards of 648,000, “and that not a single accident has happened to one of them. Of this number about 492,000 were carried on the London Division of the line, and 156,000 on

the line between Bristol and Bath. There can be no doubt,” the editor adds, “that as soon as the whole line is opened, the number of passengers will greatly exceed one million and a half per annum.”

AMERICAN MAILS.

A significant statement as to one of the effects of the railroad upon American affairs may be found in the annual report of Francis Granger, Postmaster-General of the United States, under date of May 29, 1841: “On an examination of this statement,” says he, “it will be seen that, in some cases, the amount demanded by railroad companies for transportation of the mails, is more than *two hundred per cent.* higher than is paid for coach service, upon roads forming connecting links between different railroad companies, upon the same main route, and that too when night service upon the railroads is less than that performed in coaches. Such demands deserve more consideration from the fact that, whilst at the recent lettings in New York and in the six Eastern States the accepted service by coaches and other modes of conveyance has been received at an average of saving of twenty-two per cent. upon the contracts of 1837, there are but few instances where the demands of incorporated companies have not been increased in such manner as imposed upon me the necessity of suspending the contracts. Nor is the extravagant price demanded for mail transportation upon railroads the only manner in

which these incorporations affect the service of the department. The facilities secured by this mode of conveyance for sending letters by private hands very seriously diminish the receipts of the offices upon these routes. A single illustration will establish this assertion.

“Boston is one of the most important points of railroad concentration in the Union. Its business prosperity is proverbial; and yet in that city the quarter ending the 31st of March last, shows, as compared with the corresponding quarter of the year before, a decrease in postage receipts of *three thousand one hundred and ninety-five dollars*, being double the amount of diminution to be found, within the same time, in any other post office in the nation, with the single exception of Philadelphia, which is another great terminus of railroad communication.

“These facts are presented in no spirit of unkindness toward those to whose management these incorporations are entrusted, but that I have considered it due to our whole people to refer to this subject as one which will ere long call for national and state legislation, unless a corrective be sooner applied by public opinion.”

OPENING OF THE NEW YORK & ERIE.

At this time, according to the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, affairs were progressing favorably upon the great New York & Erie, three thousand men pushing it forward as rapidly as possible. The disbursements of the company for labor alone were between

two and three hundred thousand dollars per month. Of that portion of the road which had just been finished and brought into operation the account went on to say: “The track is six feet wide, the ordinary width being about four feet eight inches. It is made also in the most substantial manner. The iron rails are of enormous size, weighing about fifty-six pounds to the yard, and are laid upon a continuous bearing of sound sills — eight by twelve inches square. It is calculated for the transportation of every kind of heavy freight such as lumber, coal, iron, wheat, flour, live stock, merchandise, and indeed everything that goes to market — all to be carried in trains laden with three hundred tons and upward. It is also calculated to transport passengers and mails at the highest rate of speed.

“The passenger cars which pass here are of the most elegant description. They are about three feet wider, I think, than cars are usually built, and they are just high enough to permit the tallest man to stand upright and walk about. They appear to be in every way commodious. I perceive also that the company had the good taste to add to them many valuable little conveniences, such as retiring rooms for the ladies, sofas for the weary or indisposed, etc., etc., which are too often neglected on other railroads. It is contemplated to make the cars which are to go through the whole length of the line still more commodious than those which are made to run between the river and Goshen only by

daylight. The locomotives are what are called eight-wheeled cars, four driving wheels of prodigious power, weighing, I think, about fifteen tons each."

In the above we see that while all the avenues toward an increased utility are being occupied, the advance is also toward the luxury of modern travel, although the most enthusiastic never looked forward to the palaces of art and comfort that are a matter of course upon the great trunk lines of to-day.

In the fall of this year—October, 1841—this great line, the New York & Erie, was opened by a grand procession of notables, who safely passed over it from the Hudson to Goshen—an event that was chronicled with due display in the journals of the day. From the *New York American* we transcribe a graphic account. " 'Tough oak and triple brass,' says Horace, ' must have encased the breast of that man who first committed a frail bark to the mighty sea,' and so said we mentally, as we whirled at a steam gallop through the rocks and mountains of Rockland county, must his breast have been fortified who first dreamed of constructing a railroad through such a region. But the dream has been realized.

"Yesterday, at eight o'clock in the morning, the steamboat *Utica*, with the veteran, not old, Schultz, as commodore, received on board as goodly a company as ever left our wharfs, bound on the first excursion over the New York & Erie railroad to Goshen. The Governor of the state with his staff, civic

and military; the Mayor and several members of Common Council, were of the company; the Judges of our Courts, the members of Congress from this city, the reverend clergy of various denominations, the bar, the bank, the insurance companies, the chamber of commerce, the board of trade, the press, and the people, all had large representatives on board. Among the strangers were Mr. Senator Phelps, of Vermont, and Mr. T. Butler King, of the House of Representatives of Georgia. From New Jersey also there was a numerous and welcome delegation, and as a bright October sun burst forth upon the boat—as, to the inspiring airs of a fine band, she put out upon the broad Hudson—the omen seemed propitious that the noble work, the completion of the first portion of which we were about to witness, would so commend itself to the favor of the state, and of this city especially, as to render its full and prompt accomplishment certain.

"About ten and one-half o'clock we reached Piermont, the enormous jetty of which place, running out one mile into the Hudson, so as to reach deep water, attracted general notice. Transferred speedily from the boat to the cars in waiting at the end of the pier, and augmenting our numbers with a goodly addition from Westchester, among whom was Washington Irving, we started in two trains for Goshen.

"The ascent is about sixty feet in the mile, with numerous curves, increasing of course the draft. The cars,

however, were set so low down on the frame, as burdened as they were with human beings, to press down upon the wheels, of which the flanges ground at each revolution into the framework. Nevertheless, the steam giants flagged not, and though laboring hard very often, they tired never, and rapidly did they whirl us over glen and over mountain, through a region of stone and iron—but of cultivation there was nothing until we had left the Highlands behind and entered upon the fertile fields of Orange. The summit near Ramapo being gained, there is thence a continuous stretch of road through the Highlands, following the sinuosities of the Ramapo river, and constructed close beside its rocky bed of several miles with a grade of only twelve feet, and singularly beautiful from its windings among the mountains.

“Emerging thence into Orange county the eye is greeted with a succession of delightful landscapes, of highly cultivated farms, rich pastures and grazing herds, that started with affright as the unaccustomed spectacle swept past them. Within a few miles of Goshen the road runs over a flat meadow formerly famous for hemp, and there is built upon piles driven, some of them, seventy feet down into the soil.

“As Goshen came into view, its whole population, with that of all the neighboring towns, seemed paraded upon the gentle slope near which the depot and the railroad hotel are constructed; and amid the firing of cannon, the sound of music, and the prolonged

huzzas of the multitude, *the first train from the city over the New York & Erie Railroad arrived at Goshen*, and amid songs, and toasts, and speeches, the brief space allotted for the halt at Goshen, rapidly passed.

“It was a great event, and meet it was that it should be so looked upon, not only by the citizens of Orange county, but by every friend of the state of New York.

“Very extensive preparations were made for regaling the arriving multitudes, but extensive as these were, the hungry and the thirsty were more so; and as few ‘stood upon the order of their going,’ but went at once to the work of mastication, each one settling down where he could find a vacant spot, the *forms* of proceeding were considerably deranged, but in no wise to the detriment of the enjoyment and spirit of the occasion. There were, to be sure, some strange expedients resorted to for knives and forks, and plates and tumblers, but by the aid of such expedients there was the where-withal to satisfy hunger, and gratify thirst.

“It was our good fortune to be in the room where the president of the company, Mr. Bowen, was, and to listen to the very neat and appropriate speech in which, in returning thanks for a toast of prosperity to the road and confidence in its president, he explained the difficulties that had been surmounted and the claims the enterprise had upon the citizens of New York. The former president, Mr. E.

Lord, was toasted by Hugh Maxwell, Esq., who dwelt, in a few brief remarks, upon the services rendered by that gentleman. Mr. Lord, who was present, returned thanks. Mr. Bowen then asked permission to propose the health of his immediate predecessor, James G. King; who had given, as Mr. B. said, all the influence of his character and position to forwarding this enterprise. The toast, after being acknowledged on behalf of Mr. King, who some time before had left the table, by another gentleman, was drank with cheers.

“Other toasts, among them one to De Witt Clinton, were enthusiastically drank, while some capital singing by some gentlemen from Newark, New Jersey, added to the general glee—when, a little before sundown, the shrill whistle of the impatient locomotive admonished all it was time to part; and again in a few minutes the multitudinous throng had turned their backs upon Goshen, and were steaming it at the rate of theny miles an hour toward the Hudson.

“By the bright moonlight we reached our good steamboat, *Utica*, much gratified by the day’s excursion, and without a single accident of any kind to mar the general gratification. On board the *Utica* a collation was prepared, at which some of the best speeches of the occasion were made. Among them was one by Bishop Onderdonk who, acknowledging a toast to the clergy, took the opportunity of bearing his testimony to what he con-

sidered the *moral effect* of such enterprises as that we were met to celebrate, by disseminating knowledge, eradicating prejudices, and bringing distant points into close and friendly relations. The bishop dwelt with force and effect upon these views and was listened to with manifest gratification.

“Gov. Seward, in answer to a toast, explained at length his views as to all such undertakings which were for the people and for them especially; and therefore should be so carried on as to ensure the cheapest possible rate of travel and transportation. To this end he maintained that corporations should not and could not properly be charged with their execution; that it was the duty of the state, and that the state should be alone *the great internal improver*. As to the New York & Erie railroad, he said, no private company could make it, that the state must do it, and that it should form only one of the great lines of railroads with which New York must be covered. He said the line of railroad from Albany to Buffalo must and could make the road from the Hudson to Erie; that, under the control of the state, the productiveness of one line of roads could make up for the unproductiveness of another line; that, as part of a great system, it was not material that each branch should pay its own way, so that as a whole it was productive; and finally, that, by adopting the policy of owning all the great railroads as well as canals, New York would soon be able not only to complete the projected works—the

New York & Erie railroad among them—but to effect that which was the great end and aim of all—reduce the price of travelling to the lowest possible rate, which the Governor estimated to be about *one cent and a half per mile*, or about \$6 from New York to Buffalo. This is, as will be perceived, a meagre and very general outline of the reasoning of the Governor, who spoke for more than half an hour, with great animation, and with apparently strong personal conviction of the expediency of such a system as he advocated.

“At about half-past ten o’clock the *Utica* came to the wharf and the party dispersed, gratified, we are sure, with their beautiful excursion, and resolved, we will not doubt, each in his own sphere, to aid with all zeal and good will the completion of the New York & Erie railroad.”

Gov. Seward, it may be remarked in this connection, held from the first the view as to state control of railroads, outlined in the above. “In 1832,” we are told in his own words,* “My position (in the Legislature of New York) was less embarrassing than in the previous year. I took an active part, though not a pretentious one, in the debates which occurred on questions of taxation, revenue, management of the public funds, and other matters of state administration. Among

these were the charters or acts of incorporation for railroad companies, which now became one of the most important subjects of legislation. In the theory concerning railroads which I held I had no following in any quarter. I regarded them simply as public highways, like the older forms of thoroughfare, to be constructed exclusively for the public welfare, by the authority of the state and subject to its immediate direction as the canals had been. And I held it was right that while the use of them should be as free as possible, it should, at the same time, be subject to such charges as would not only keep them in repair, but afford sufficient revenue to allow of the extension of the system throughout the state. I held the same theory in regard to works of material improvement by the Federal Government, applying what is called the principle of ‘liberal construction’ to the Constitution of the United States.

“In opposition to this principle, the opinion universally prevailed then, as it does now, that the construction of railroads ought to be left to private capital and enterprise; but as there was no sufficient private capital and enterprise to be so employed, the legislature ought to incorporate voluntary associations with powers adequate to combine the necessary capital, and provide for their remuneration by the profits to be derived from the use of the thoroughfares in the shape of tolls or transit charges. The associations thus invited naturally sought the advantages of monopoly and

* “Autobiography of William H. Seward, from 1801 to 1834. With a Memoir of his Life and Selections from his Letters from 1831 to 1846.” By Frederick W. Seward. New York, D. Appleton & Co., 1877, p. 93.

of high transit tolls, with long terms of their enjoyment. Yielding the individual opinion before expressed, on the general policy of incorporation, I labored to exclude from railroad charters, as far as possible, the principles of exclusive right of way, of high tolls and of long duration of charters, and insisted whenever I could upon the private liability of the stockholders."

Gov. Seward, with a more graphic pen than the newspaper writer above quoted made use of, has left us the full record* of yet another railroad celebration that occurred in the closing days of the same year. "December was signalized," he writes, "by several evidences of railway progress. A new winter route was opened to New York. This was from Albany to West Stockbridge, by rail; then twenty-two miles by stage to West Canaan; then by rail down the Housatonic Valley to Bridgeport; thence by steamboat to New York—a total distance of one hundred and ninety-four miles, but an improvement, in point of time, upon the tedious stage ride down the post-road along the bank of the Hudson. Another route was also opened before the winter was over, entirely by rail and steamboat, and occupying thirty-two hours. This was via Springfield, Hartford and New Haven, the Western Railroad being now completed.

"The opening of a railway to Boston was considered as the beginning of a new era in commerce, and was greeted with appropriate demonstrations. On

the 27th the first through train from Boston, over the Berkshire hills, arrived at Greenbush in the evening, and was welcomed with rockets and cannon on both sides of the river. The speaker of the Massachusetts house of representatives, the common council of Boston, several of the editors and citizens of that city, and the directors and officers of the railroad, were on board; were received at the ferry by the common council of Albany, and escorted in triumph by military and fire companies, with torches and music, to Congress Hall. The next morning there was a formal reception by the city authorities at the city hall, and an exchange of congratulations. Afterward they waited on the Governor at the executive chamber, and visited the court of errors. At five in the afternoon three hundred guests sat down to dinner at Landon's Stanwix Hall, the Mayor presiding. The toast of 'The city of Boston,' was responded to by Mayor Chapman; that of 'The state of Massachusetts,' by Attorney-General Austin. When 'The state of New York' was toasted, and Gov. Seward called out by cheers and applause, he spoke briefly of the progress of internal improvements, and said: 'I will, with the permission of the company, read a letter which perhaps has an interest as the record of an arrangement made with a view to an improvement of the internal communication between New York and Massachusetts. It bears date Fort James (now the city of New York), 27th December, 1672, just one hundred and

*See work previously quoted, p. 573.

sixty-nine years before the arrival of our guests from the Bay State by a railroad journey of eleven hours. The letter was written by Col. Francis Lovelace, then Governor of this colony, to the Governor of Massachusetts. It stated that His Royal Majesty, King Charles, commanded that the colonies should enter into a close correspondence with each other, and that to accomplish that purpose, Gov. Lovelace had established a post to proceed on horseback once every month to Boston, allowing two weeks for the journey and an equal time for returning.'

"Seward's toast was 'The states of Massachusetts and New York: they have combined in the prosecution of the Western Railroad; may they become as united in maintaining the faith and integrity of the Union!'

"The hall where these festivities took place was handsomely lighted, and decorated with the arms of Massachusetts and New York, of Boston and Albany, and portraits of George Clinton and John Jay. When the Attorney-General of Massachusetts referred to De Witt Clinton as the pioneer of internal improvements, the whole company rose to their feet with cheers. Josiah Quincy, Jr., on behalf of the Western Railroad Company, told the story of the King of Spain, who said of the proposed canal to Madrid: 'If it was the will of the Almighty that a water communication should be there, he would have made one.' The same, he said, was the case of the Berkshire hills. Having found a place in them

just wide enough for a railway to go through, they came to the opinion that the world in general, and Berkshire county in particular, had been made with express reference to the Western Railroad. He had always known that 'a good name was better than riches' and the company had found it true when they had the power of obtaining great riches by simply presenting good names on a piece of paper to Mr. Olcott at the Mechanic's and Farmer's Bank. On such an occasion Quincy was inimitable. His wit and humor kept the table in a roar and seemed to be prompted by the incidents of the hour. Col. Webb, in his speech, remarked that they might almost attribute the presence of Yankees in Albany, who twelve hours before had been in Boston, to the witchcraft once said to be very prevalent among that distant people. Quincy retorted, 'there are yet witches in Massachusetts that are said to be able, by their charms, even to turn a Dutchman into a Yankee.' In one remark Quincy almost predicted the telegraph. 'These iron bars,' said he, 'that extend from one capital to the other, will in time of peace transmit the electric spark of good feeling and good fellowship.'

"Gen. Dix, in his speech, adverted to the fact that the *Mayflower* started for the Hudson river, but by the ill-will or the ignorance of the captain blundered on the rocky, barren, and inhospitable shores of Plymouth. However, the mistake was now corrected, and the descendants of those who came

by the *Mayflower* had reached the Hudson river at last. Crosswell toasted the Massachusetts poet: 'It will be *long* before we look upon his *fellow*.' John Q. Wilson gave 'Boston enterprise, that has discovered a northwest passage.' Randall, of New Bedford, promised that town would grease all the wheels and light all the lamps of the new railroad. Weed gave, 'Massachusetts, the cradle of philanthropists, statesman, heroes and historians; keep it rocking.' The last toast was the hope that our neighbors 'may return us railing for railing' and Quincy's closing salutation was: 'see what New York and Massachusetts can do when they lay their *heads* together.' At midnight the party broke up, but adjourned to meet the next day at Faneuil Hall.

"There was a like celebration there. On the table was bread made of flour which was in the sheaf, brought in a barrel that was in the tree at Canandaigua two days before. Sperm candles made by Mr. Penniman at Albany in the morning, were burning in Faneuil Hall in the evening. Salt was on the table which thirty-six hours before was three hundred feet underground at Syracuse. When Gen. Lawrence presented this in a humorous speech as having been brought from the *cellar* of New York, he was answered that it smacked rather of the 'Attic.' In return the Bostonians promised that fish, swimming in Boston harbor in the morning, should grace the dinner-table in Albany in the evening, and gave the

sentiment 'may their best bread-stuffs follow their best-bred men to Boston!' Gen. King replied that 'with such facilities for getting (y)east the bread-stuffs of New York must speedily *rise*.' Mayor Chapman gave a humorous report of the Yankee expedition of the day before, to the western wilds, returning in triumph with one hundred and fifty captives with head men and chiefs of the tribe. To that Mayor Van Vechten replied that his 'worst fears were realized; he had been warned that the Yankees would take them in, and now they had—clear into Boston.' Troy was toasted: 'A wooden horse was the destruction of old Troy. May the iron horse be the making of the new.' Canaan Gap was the subject of various puns—that it led 'to a feast of the passover,' and that being overrun by Jews was nothing to being overreached by Yankees.

"Quincy toasted 'The four Mayors present. With such a team who could want a locomotive?' Judge Van Bergen spoke in Dutch. Another guest gave 'Boston, known for one tea party, and several dinners.' The allusion to the tea party brought out a series of jokes, and led to complimentary allusions to the ladies. John Quincy Wilson closed them by giving 'The Yankee ladies.—May every one who comes to New York catch a Dutchman;' to which Quincy retorted 'May they not, in catching a Dutchman, catch also a Tartar.' Amid the laughter created by this sally, the assemblage broke up."

It would seem as though this formal exchange of congratulations between New York and Massachusetts at the completion of this one line of railroad communication, would be a sufficient safety-valve through which enthusiasm might have vent, but a greater and more formal celebration had to be held before the wonder could all find expression. In March, 1842, it was arranged that the legislatures of the two states should meet each other at Springfield for an "official celebration of the completion of the railway between Boston and Albany." We still follow the description of Gov. Seward: "The 4th of March was deemed an appropriate day for the inauguration of the line. The morning opened wet and unpropitious, but later cleared off serene and balmy. At seven o'clock, the Governor, accompanied by his staff and some of his family, found on board the ferry-boat about one hundred members of the legislature. Starting from East Albany in the special train, they climbed the heavy grades till they had ascended fourteen hundred feet and then, descending the eastern slope of the Berkshire hills, ran smoothly and easily down into Pittsfield. The state line was marked by a station, and jokes flew thick and fast when the party passing it found they had gone into a foreign jurisdiction where their power ceased. The train reached Springfield about mid-day. Forming in procession at the Hampden House, they moved under a discharge of artillery, up to the Town House, where the assem-

blage from the East were already awaiting their arrival. Entering the great hall, the Governor, legislative presiding officers, and other public functionaries of both states, proceeded to the platform. Governor Davis of Massachusetts, rose, and in the name of the commonwealth, bade the New Yorkers a cordial welcome. The two Governors joined hands amid thundering cheers given by the assembled legislators."

Speeches by the Governors followed. "Then the company paired off, the two Governors leading the way, and each Massachusetts man arm-in-arm with a New Yorker. Proceeding to the dining hall, they found it decorated with flags and mottoes," and with much else more satisfactory to the gubernatorial and law-making appetites. The usual speeches—with more puns than would be permitted to-day—followed the dinner, and the Western Railroad was considered formally dedicated and set going.

Returning from this somewhat protracted season of celebrating, to our quest along the closing months of 1841, in search of points of special historic interest, we find that this same Western Railroad was, on October 5th, the scene of an accident that would be passed lightly by to-day, but created great excitement and alarm in a time when destruction upon the rail was a new form of casualty. A collision befell two trains near Westfield, broke into pieces the passenger cars of each, and injured a number of those on

board. "The scene," the reporters of the day tell us, "is said to have been horrible beyond description, as the wounded were carried to the baggage cars to return to Westfield, covered with blood, and groaning from pain. Some were so entangled in the fragments of the cars that they could only be extracted by using levers, and thereby raising the fragment which confined them. . . . Mr. H. was in the car immediately succeeding the tender. The roof of that car was raised, and the tender was driven through the whole length of it, to the end of it, which was against the next car, and the baggage car instead of being in front, as it should have been to receive the shock, was in the rear to resist the retrograde impulse of the train, and thereby increase the danger of the passengers." A curious incident is related by the *Atlas* in connection with the accident, showing one of the features of railroading before the telegraph came into operation: "One of the gentlemen who signed the card in our paper of yesterday overheard a conversation between Mr. Moore, the conductor of the train and another person, in which Moore was urged not to go on until the arrival of the Western train at Westfield; in reply to which he stated that his orders were to go on, and go he must. The gentleman who overheard this conversation, being in a great state of alarm at the apprehended collision, took his station on the outside of the train; before the contact he leaped from the train and thereby saved his life." Sev-

eral people were killed, and a half dozen or more wounded by this accident.

Another device—fit only for that limbo of discarded mechanical notions already filled to overflowing—by which life was to be saved, was that suggested in October by Prof. Parthington, who, in a public lecture, recommended that as soon as any circumstance occurred to prevent a train proceeding, a rocket *parachute* should be sent up into the air, which would remain for a considerable time, and show to the other trains which might be traveling on the same line that there was danger on the road. To the same quarter must be sent the plan of one John Dougherty, who on November 3d addressed a memorial to the legislature of Pennsylvania, in which he suggested that the locomotives on the Columbia Railroad should be leased to individuals, "one engine to a man, the lessees to run them on their own account;" a system, as one comment of the day puts it, that "would introduce a salutary competition in speed, though it would hardly tend to promote the safety of passengers."

There seems to have been a loss of public faith in the future of the Baltimore & Ohio, and its orders in March, 1842, were quoted at only fifty cents on the dollar, and the city council decided to receive them no longer in payment of taxes or the city debt. The same hard times were felt farther north, the New York & Erie making an assignment in April; and the Housatonic

Railroad Company, following in July, the city of Bridgeport being the assignee, and the liabilities amounting to \$40,000. Yet these hard times were not felt by all, as we find the Camden & Amboy paying a dividend of over seven per cent.

Yet the Baltimore & Ohio was steadily working its way onward in the face of all difficulties and surely approaching completion. On May 30th (1842), it was opened for travel Westward as far as Hancock, the president and directors, with various representatives of the city of Baltimore, making the run out and back. The completion of this new division of forty-one and a half miles, added to that previously in operation from Baltimore to Harper's Ferry, made a continuous line of one hundred and twenty-three and a half miles open for daily travel and transportation. The various lines of stage coaches which previously run between Frederick and Wheeling or Pittsburgh, had all being taken off that part of the route lying between Frederick and Hancock; and the later town became the place at which travelers to or from the West took or left the stage coaches. The trains ran the distance between Baltimore and Hancock in seven hours, making a clear gain of ten hours in time.

IN CONTINENTAL EUROPE.

Turning once more to the other side of the sea, we find that railroad circles are by no means inactive. On Sunday evening, May 8, occurred that terrible accident upon the road from Ver-

sailles to Paris, in which fifty and more passengers were burned to death.* Even this did not deter the spirit of railroad enterprise in France, as we see the Minister of Public Works, five days after the accident, taking down to the chamber of peers a railroad bill adopted the day before in the chamber of deputies by a vote of 255 to 83. That bill had been given to the chamber of deputies on April 16 and provided that the state should establish lines of railroads as follows:

1. From Paris to the Belgian frontier, by Amiens, Arras, Lille and Valenciennes.
2. From Paris to a point of the channel not yet determined.
3. To the German frontier, by Strasburg.
4. To the Mediterranean by Lyons, Avignon, Tarascon and Marseilles.
5. To the Spanish frontier, by Bordeaux and Bayonne.
6. To the ocean, by Tours and Nantes.
7. To the center of France, by Orleans, Vierzon and Clermont.
8. A line from the Rhine to the Mediterranean, by Mulhausen, Dijon, Chalons and Lyons.

It was decided that the state was to furnish a part of the funds necessary to carry out these ideas, the localities benefitted a part, and the rest to be furnished by private subscription. This matter was swallowed up, for a time, in the excitements of the elections about to take place.

*Already described in a preceding chapter of this history.

On June 3, Queen Victoria had set her approval upon the new mode of transportation, by making her first trip upon a railway. Accompanied by Prince Albert she removed from Windsor to Buckingham palace, via the Great Western Railway.

One of the greatest works in progress in Europe at this period was the railroad line from St. Petersburg to Moscow, in which the Emperor and government of Russia had, from the first, taken an abiding interest. Still another was located in Austria, which was being constructed by a company chartered in 1830, with a capital of seven millions, with the Baron Rothschild at the head. The work was commenced in April, 1837. In November of that year, the first trip was made from Vienna to Wagram, a distance of seven miles. In July, 1839, it was opened as far as Brunn, in Moravia, a distance of ninety-one miles. By 1842, one hundred and eighty miles were in operation. Fifty-three miles were also in process of construction. Few difficulties were encountered; neither tunnels nor inclined planes being required to surmount summits,—the steepest grade being 17.6 feet per mile, or one in three hundred. The curves had no radius shorter than 1,500 feet. The road was single tracked, except the first seventeen miles from Vienna. The iron T-rail of forty pounds per yard was used, at a cost of \$135 per ton. The superstructure was not let to contractors "for fear of not obtaining solid work," but the residue, after the plans

were completed and estimates made, were set up in sections and bid for by contractors at *so much below the estimate*. The sub-contractors employed women and girls to do a great part of the work at very low wages.

The cost of the road, single tracked, had so far averaged \$29,800 per mile, or \$33,000 including outfit. The amount so far expended was some six million dollars. In 1840 the income of that part of the road between Vienna and Brunn was \$294,172, averaging \$3,333 per mile, or ten per cent. on the capital of construction; 228,368 passengers paid \$201,561, and 32,180 tons of goods paid \$90,063. The expenses were \$225,547, leaving \$68,625, or two and one-half per cent. profit. "The rate of passenger fare has been 3.16 cents for first class, 2.01 for second, 1.58 for third class, and the average, 1.77 cents a mile. The charge is now increased one-fourth. The first ninety-one miles required 6,012,500 cubic yards of excavations and embankments; 3,708 feet of wooden bridges, the one over the Danube at Vienna being 1,960 feet long with spans of sixty feet; 488 feet of wooden bridges with stone piers; twenty-four stone bridges and viaducts having 228 arches of different spans; 116 culverts; 198 road crossings, of which thirty-one were under, six over, the remainder level with the railroad."

The *Courier Francais* in July has a comprehensive review of the railroad situation in continental Europe at that time. "An extraordinary emulation," it declares, "has seized upon the Ger-

man and Sclavonian population beyond the Rhine in regard to the rapid progress which the construction of railroads has made in England, Belgium, and the United States. The governments of Austria, Prussia, Russia and Central Germany have applied themselves to work, drawing after them the zeal of a population which cannot be estimated at less than sixty millions. In these countries the projects have not to undergo the tardy movements of representative bodies, and the financial resources not being absorbed by a multitude of contingent or separate schemes can be concentrated upon a single object; in fine, the lines being traced with great economy, and generally on a single track, do not require any great outlay of their capital. These causes must in a few years give to Germany, Poland and Hungary a great network of railways.

“In Austria, Bavaria, Baden and Hanover, the lines which are to traverse their territories are placed under charge of the governments. Saxony and Bavaria have signed a convention which has for its object the execution of a line traced across the centre of Germany from Augsburg to Leipsig, and eighty-five millions of francs have been appropriated to that purpose by the two governments. Prussia on her side has treated with Brunswick and Hanover for prolonging to Cologne the line from Berlin to Magdeburg, and thus to connect the Elbe with the Rhine. Germany has not a centre to which all the radii of her united schemes might

converge and unite—as France has in the city of Paris—and hence each of her great powers wishes to have its own separate system, to which the works of the secondary states shall attach themselves. It is thought, however, of creating an artificial centre, where the great line which shall join the Baltic to Switzerland, in passing from north to south, will cross and exchange its transports with that which will pass from east to west to unite the Danube with the Rhine and Vienna with Rotterdam. This intermediary point will be Cassel.

“The railroad lines executed comprise 1,225 kilometres or 306 leagues, which have cost 144 millions (470,000 francs per league). If the line from Leipsig to Dresden and a part of that from Vienna to Brunn be excepted, the German railways have yet but one track, and some of them even, among others the 206 kilometres from Budweis to Germunden, do not admit locomotives and are subserved by horse-power only. The extent of the lines in the course of construction is estimated at 1,162 kilometres, and their expense at 160 million francs. There are besides 4,750 kilometres of additional roads projected. The whole system, comprehending then the Prusso Belgian, Prusso Saxon and the Austrian projected towards Poland and Lombardy, would thus compose 7,147 kilometres or 1,786 leagues, and would cost 852 millions. The Prusso Belgian works comprise as yet sixty-five kilometres from Cologne to Aix-la-

Chappelle, and twenty-eight from Eberfield to Dusseldorf. The roads are being actively prosecuted upon that portion of these lines which is to connect with the Belgian frontier in front of Verriers, and thus connect Cologne with Anvers. The Rhenish road is to be prolonged further from Cologne to the north to Dusseldorf, and to the south to Bonn. The company which constructs this is authorized also to construct a line of 238 kilometres from Eberfield to Minden, to connect the Rhine with the Weser. But this is as yet only a project, the immediate execution of which cannot yet be anticipated.

“The Prusso Saxon system comprehends from Berlin to Coehen and also to Leipsig, and from Leipsig to Dresden. Besides these roads upon which transportation has already commenced, Prussia is constructing lines from Berlin to Frankfort-on-the-Oder, and from Berlin to Stettin. Saxony is executing the line from Leipsig to Planen. These works prolonged to Hamburg will afford two maritime *debouches* to the Prussian customs union. By running from Dresden to Prague they will connect with the Austrian roads.

“The Austrian system has been prosecuted at the north, from Vienna to Olmutz, and at the south from Vienna to Neustadt; it is to be prolonged to Peth by the left bank of the Danube; to Prague via Brunn; and from Prosan, where it is arrested, it is to connect with Cracow. Austria intends to ex-

tend it moreover towards the Adriatic and also towards Bavaria, but to obtain this development a financial power would be requisite which this government is not at present endowed with.

“In northern Germany there exists only the roads from Frankfort to Mayence, from Manhiem to Brucksall, from Augsburg to Munich, and from Nuremberg to Furth. Wurtemberg is discussing the construction of a road from Ulm to Heidelberg, and from Ulm to Augsburg; but her project has not yet led to any measure indicative of its execution; and the government seems to be waiting for France to decree the construction of the road from Paris to Strasburg before entering decisively upon the undertaking.”

Three other railroad celebrations followed each other in rapid succession, upon the American side of the sea. The one occurred at Columbia, South Carolina, on June 28,—the anniversary of the repulse of the British forces from Fort Sullivan during the Revolutionary War—and intended to welcome “the arrival of Charleston at Columbia,” by the formal opening of the railroad between those two places. Feasting and speeches were, of course, in order. Another was the breaking of ground for the New York & Albany road, early in August. The Mayor and a deputation of the corporation of the city of New York, accompanied by a band, marched via Somerstown and Sing Sing, to Sodom, thence to Pater-son, Paulding, Dover and Amenia. “On arriving at Somerstown the caval-

cade halted at the sign of the elephant, to partake of the old-fashioned hospitality of Weschester county. After partaking of a most sumptuous repast, they proceeded through Sodom to Paterson, and took up their encampment for the night. On the morrow the sun rose most gloriously, and witnessed a scene far different from that it witnessed at the memorable battle of Austerlitz.* From the hill-tops, the mountain sides, and the valleys of Putnam, Dutchess West Chester and Columbia, were seen wending their way in carriages, on horseback, and on foot, the wealthy and sturdy yeomanry of this delightful region of country. . . . The company, now a host which no man could number, fell into the line of march and proceeded to the selected spot of ground. Here, under the stars and stripes of our country, accompanied with the roar of cannon and the voices of many waters, was commenced the great highway to the metropolis of the Western world." After some speech-making—without which, of course, nothing could be done in America—"the members of the common council as well as the Mayor of Troy, who, with a deputation from that place had also been invited, busily applied themselves to the shovel and barrow, rivalling even the herculean

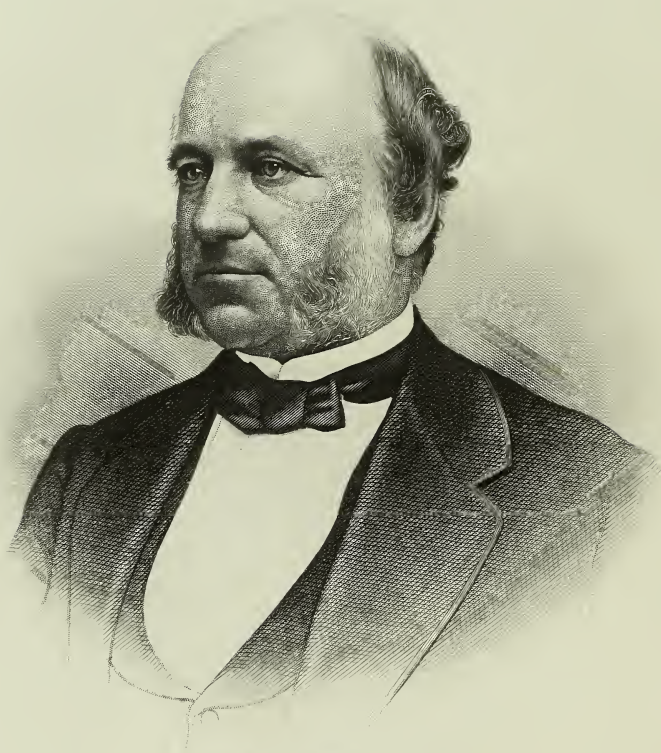
feats of the sons of the Emerald Isle. And now with gentler strains of music, now and then broken by the cannon's roar, falling melodious on the ear, the procession was formed again, and proceeded to a large church near Mr. Slocum's, to hear an appropriate address on the occasion, from Gen. Davies, of Troy." A similar ceremony of breaking ground upon the Hudson River Railroad, occurred opposite Albany on August 3d.

A new species of commercial transfer—that of railroads by public auction—began to be heard of during these closing days of 1842. In conformity with an act of the Pennsylvania legislature, the Secretary of State of that commonwealth, in August, issued proposals for the sale of each and all of the canals and railroads belonging to the state; state stock at par being taken in payment. During the same month the Nashville & New Orleans road was sold at auction and purchased by the state of Louisiana for \$500,000, at one, two, and three years' credit; of which purchase an authority of the day declared that "the iron alone is worth double the amount, exclusive of the land twenty-three miles long and one hundred wide, and the engines, cars, depots, and all the necessary utensils for carrying on the work, all of which were included in the bargain."

J. H. KENNEDY.

*We suppose the narrator means to draw a comparison between the hosts of peace and those of war, but leaves that fact to the imagination.

(To be continued.)



W. West, F.R.S.

Gardner Colby

THE RAILROAD MEN OF AMERICA.

GARDNER COLBY.

While the greater portion of Gardner Colby's life was spent in other fields of activity, it was as a railroad projector and builder that he was best known in the great Northwest which he did so much to develop, and it was in that line of labor that the final years of his life were passed; and although he became, in one sense, a martyr to the cares and toil which the great enterprise of the Wisconsin Central entailed, he sowed a generous seed, that has borne abundant fruit to the blessing of Wisconsin and the West.

Mr. Colby was born in Bowdoinham, Maine, on September 3, 1810, the son of Josiah C. Colby, a well-known citizen of the town, who was for years successfully engaged in the building of ships, and in business enterprises, connected with their ownership. During the war of 1812 the father, like many others of his time, lost his property and business by the depreciation of shipping that was kept in port by the embargo, and by the capture of several vessels at sea by foreign privateers. The son was thus, at an early age, thrown upon his own resources, but with true courage and an energy that was held all through his life, he applied himself to any labor that offered; at first at Bath and then at Waterville, to

which places the then widowed mother had successively removed. She at last made her home in Boston, the son remaining for a time at St. Albans; but at the end of a year he was enabled to rejoin her, where he found employment in the grocery store of Phelps & Thomson, attending school, and giving his employers his services out of school hours. When about sixteen years of age he began to realize the defects of his education. He longed for some personal and skillful attention to his wants in that respect; and his mother finally managed to send him for a time to a private boarding-school in Northborough, Massachusetts, where he diligently improved the opportunities given him. His stay there continued only some six months, as he did not wish to be longer dependent on his mother and was anxious to secure some position in a business house, where he might not only be earning his own living but secure the chance of advancement. Returning to Boston he secured a situation as clerk in the dry-goods store of Mr. Foster, on Washington street. Industrious, intelligent and earnest in the pursuit of anything he undertook, he gave satisfaction to his employers, and gave evidence of the possession of first-class business qualities. Upon reach-

ing his majority he decided to go into business for himself, and after considering all the chances, invested the one hundred and fifty dollars of his savings, with a small sum loaned him by his mother, in a stock of goods with which he opened a store on the corner of Washington and Bromfield streets. Such were his prudence and energy that by the end of the year he had not only paid expenses, but found a profit of about four thousand dollars to his credit. Success continued, and in 1836 he began importing upon his own responsibility, which he continued with unvarying success. In 1841 he made a visit to Europe, which not only repaid him in a business way, but afforded him rest and recreation he could not have obtained at home. He was accompanied by his wife, formerly Miss Mary Low Roberts, daughter of Major Charles L. Roberts, of Gloucester, Massachusetts, to whom he was married on June 1st, 1836.

Mr. Colby retired from the importing business after ten years therein, and retired with a handsome competence. But he could not long remain idle, and in 1850 he purchased a one-half interest in the Maverick Mills—afterwards the Merchants' Woolen Company—of Dedham, Massachusetts. He became the selling agent in Boston of the manufactured goods, being in the wholesale commission business, first on Milk street and afterwards on Franklin. No business house stood higher for fidelity and earnestness. The demands of the government for soldiers' clothes

during the war, made it highly lucrative during the latter part of his continuance in it, when also he had the satisfaction of associating with him his eldest son, Gardner R. Colby, who in company with others afterwards succeeded to the business in New York and Boston. During the great national struggle he was firmly and enthusiastically loyal to the government, and was a large contributor to the various patriotic charities which the war called into existence. A Webster Whig in his early life, he became afterwards a firm member of the Republican party, interested in all the great movements in national affairs, and having decided views upon every issue; yet he never became at all prominent in political strife, or an aspirant for political honors.

In 1863 Mr. Colby again retired from business, if that expression can be used of one so intensely active in disposition. He devoted himself to the care of his investments in manufacturing, mining and railroad companies, and in real estate. He was also interested in shipping in connection with his son Charles L., who was in that business in New York. But his fondness for business, and for large enterprises, would not allow him to remain even in comparative idleness; and at the end of some six years we see him once more actively engaged. In 1869 he made a trip West to look at the St. Croix & Bayfield Railroad, in which he had already acquired an interest. He then drove across the country from St. Paul

to Bayfield, on Lake Superior, through the forest, making the trip in about a week, camping out nights or sleeping in Indian wigwams. He remained several days at Bayfield. The fresh air and the outdoor exercise, and the novelty of that sort of life, charmed and invigorated him, and he returned home very enthusiastic about the country and very sanguine about its future.

Shortly after this the Portage, Winnebago & Superior enterprise—afterwards the Wisconsin Central—was brought to his attention. The line was located partly through the very country over which he had travelled. The road was to run through the forests of Northern Wisconsin, and, according to official reports from the Land Office at Washington, the land-grant was of great value and magnitude. He then made another trip to Wisconsin in company with other gentlemen; and the result was that he took hold of the enterprise with all his usual energy, determined to make it the great work of his life. It promised very well at first, and for a year or more he found great pleasure in the employment which it gave to mind and body.

To construct this road, large sums of money were needed. When the work commenced funds were easily raised. Railroad securities were considered among the safest and most desirable investments and were easily sold at good prices. Early in 1872 there began to be a decided change. The "Alabama" claims excitement in England suddenly ruled out all American

securities from that market; and from that time for five or six years, there followed in rapid succession a series of disasters and financial revulsions which are unparalleled in the history of our country. The fire in Chicago, the fire in Boston, the money panic in England and on the continent, the great panic in New York in 1873;—all these, supplemented by hostile legislation in the West, and a general prostration in business, caused the ruin of many great and promising enterprises, and sadly crippled the Wisconsin Central Railroad. In Mr. Colby's younger days he scorned obstacles and laughed at difficulties. He then never seemed happier than when hard pushed. He had always been equal to any emergency. But this constant and prolonged strain upon his mind proved too much for the strength of his body, and he gave way under the pressure of anxiety and care.

He always had great faith in the merits of the enterprise and invested his own money in it freely. He realized that many of his friends and acquaintances had put in their money by reason of their confidence in his sagacity—though he was careful not to urge any to invest in the road who were not able to subject their money to the ordinary risks of all such financial enterprises—and whenever new calls for funds had to be made to meet the requirements of the work, he always headed the list himself, and gave the highest prices. He bought a large amount of bonds and stock of this company, and never sold any of it

either. He never received any compensation for the years of service and labor which he rendered; and, although he at different times indorsed the company's paper for large amounts, he never charged anything for the use of his name and credit. His thought and care were always more for his friends who had invested than for himself; and it was his solicitude for them, and his anxiety on account of their losses, which preyed upon his mind and finally destroyed his health. He said to his son Charles, who has succeeded him in the presidency of the road: "Be careful always no member of my family ever makes a dollar out of this road unless every one who is interested in it makes his equal proportion." How persistently he struggled against overwhelming odds, and how patiently he endured the mortification and sorrow of defeat, but few of his best friends can ever appreciate. Yet he was defeated only in his confident purpose to make the road immediately a great financial success. He had the satisfaction of seeing it completed and in full operation before his retirement from the presidency, and could console himself with the expectation that other persons would some time reap large benefits from it, and that it would be—as it has become—one of the great factors in the development of the Northwest.

This rapid review has covered only the business career of Gardner Colby, but there was another side of his life equally conspicuous, and equally fruit-

ful of good to those about him, and especially to those two great causes so near his heart—religion and education. Religious impressions he had received at school, were deepened later, and in April, 1830, he became a member of the First Baptist church at Charlestown; and, as one who knew him well has said: "He became a man of prayer. Religious aims sanctified his ambition. That his consecration of himself to the service of his Lord was at that time heartfelt and profound, the remainder of his life bore witness." From the very beginning his faith was made manifest in his works, and he gave of his services and money to various useful causes as he was able, and his benefactions kept pace with his ability to give. Of some of his more prominent services in this direction brief mention may be made. He was largely instrumental in the building of the Rowe street Baptist church, of Boston. He early became a member of the executive committee of the American Baptist Missionary Union, and continued for several years to perform a faithful service in that capacity. A few years before his death he was the largest single contributor to its funds.

In 1844 he accepted another responsibility which had an important bearing upon his subsequent course: the treasuryship of the Theological Institution at Newton, Massachusetts. This threw an immense amount of labor and responsibility upon his shoulders, all of which was cheerfully borne. The task was all the greater because the finan-

cial fortunes of the institution were at an ebb tide. As such officer he continued for more than twenty-four years to discharge the duties of his office, not merely with fidelity, but with a degree of consecration and ability that will never be forgotten. The discouragements which he encountered in its financial condition at the outset were so great that many of its best friends had said that the only thing to do, was to dismiss its professors and close its doors. But neither his love for the cause nor his innate business grit would allow him to accept such decision. He worked with heart and soul, and committed himself entirely to the work. Under his management a large sum of money was raised; some portions of the land were well sold, and a new building for library, chapel and recitation rooms was erected. To this the name of Colby Hall was afterwards given by the trustees in acknowledgment of his contributions and services. When the one hundred thousand dollar fund was raised he gave liberally to it; and gave again and again; and eventually he made bequests amounting to half a million dollars to that and other colleges and benevolent societies. And to all these must be added the value of his services in inspiring others to contribute to its funds. He remained treasurer until 1870, when he was made president of the board of trustees, with which office he continued to be honored until his death.

But this institution was not the only one that felt the quickening impulse of

his friendship and garnered the fruits of his generosity. The struggles of his early life, and the continual regret that he had been able to attend school so little in his youth, made him more anxious to aid the coming generations of his native state. Waterville College, in Maine, located in a town in which a portion of his youth was passed, was in sore need, and without special aid could hardly continue its beneficent labors. He gave to it very large sums of money at different times—first to save it from going to destruction, and afterwards to complete the payment for the Memorial Hall and increase the general fund, and to erect Coburn Hall. Besides these many large gifts he gave five hundred dollars a year to the library for ten years. In 1865 he was made a trustee of the college, and continued as such to the end of his life. Entirely unsolicited by himself, the name of the college was changed to Colby University, and as such has already won an honored place in the educational history of the country.

Mr. Colby was also an earnest worker upon the board of trustees of Brown University, at Providence, Rhode Island, which was also generously remembered in his will.

The intense business activity of many years, and especially the great labors connected with his railroad enterprise in the Northwest, told upon Mr. Colby's health at last, and the necessity of a complete retirement from all care made itself apparent in 1876. In the autumn of that year he passed

through a long and severe illness; from which he sufficiently recovered to move about once more among his friends, but never to resume his old activity. In the winter of 1887-78 he made a journey to the South, under the advice of his physician, and the winter following was spent abroad. But the end was not far off, and in April, 1879, the final summons came. It found him at peace, and ready calmly and trustingly to meet the great change. He died at his home in Newton on the afternoon of April 2, 1879.

The best account that can be given of the character of Gardner Colby may be found in the recital of his life labors, for they speak for him in tones of the truest eloquence. Reading between the lines, we see that in everything he was a man of integrity, force and faith. As a business man, he worked incessantly, and infused the same spirit of enthusiasm and determination to succeed into those associated with him. He had a well-disciplined mind in commercial planning, and a remarkable

faculty of looking at probable or possible results that might follow from certain observed conditions of trade or of the market. While he worked with great spirit, he was generally prudent; and when he had carefully thought a project through, he was ready to bend every energy to work out the desired result. His high sense of honor and his strict regard for truth on all occasions won for him the respect of men. With those in his employ he was fair and strictly just. In his religious character his individuality was equally marked. He always maintained the same earnest and outspoken allegiance to the truths he early espoused. Of him it could be said that those who knew him best honored him the most. Such had the opportunity of testing the purity of his life and the consecration of his purposes. They became familiar with the man upon all sides of his character, and, striking the true balance between his virtues and his faults, were ready to love and praise him.

THE BAR AND BENCH OF DENVER AND COLORADO.

V.

LUTHER SWIFT DIXON.

WHEN the successor of the late Hon. Salmon P. Chase, as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, was being considered, President Grant wrote two names upon a card. The first was Morrison R. Waite; the second, Luther S. Dixon (then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of

Wisconsin). President Grant then called into consultation Senators John A. Logan, of Illinois, and Hon. M. H. Carpenter, of Wisconsin, who assured the President that either nomination would be promptly confirmed.

The name of Waite, coming first upon the card, was submitted. This



Sutter S. Dixon

fact was not known to Judge Dixon at the time, nor did it come to his knowledge until some time afterwards.

Luther Swift Dixon was born at Underhill, Vermont, June 17, 1825. His father, Luther Dixon, was colonel of a Vermont regiment in the War of 1812. His ancestors were numbered with those who left Scotland for conscience's sake when King James said: "I will have one doctrine, one discipline, and one religion, in substance and ceremony, and I will make them conform, or hurry them out of the kingdom, or worse."

Zephania Swift, his mother's brother, was Chief Justice of Connecticut.

Judge Dixon's education was acquired at an academy at Norwich University. The desire to be a lawyer sprang up in early life. He began to study for this profession in the law office of Hon. Luke P. Poland at Morrisville, where he remained until his preceptor was elected to the Supreme Bench of Vermont. Then he entered the office of Hon. Levi P. Underwood, of Burlington, and was admitted to the bar in 1850. The same year he removed to Portage City, Columbia county, Wisconsin. There he built up a large and lucrative practice. He served from 1852 to 1856 as District Attorney, and was appointed in 1858 Judge of the Ninth Judicial Circuit, to fill a vacancy, by Gov. Randall (afterwards Postmaster-General under President John-

son). In April, 1859, upon the death of Edward V. Whiton, then Chief Justice of Wisconsin, Gov. Randall appointed Judge Dixon to that position. He was afterwards elected twice to the same position by the people. He served that state as Chief Justice sixteen years. Declining another term Judge Dixon removed to Milwaukee and resumed practice, which soon became very large. He was retained upon one side or the other of nearly all the important cases pending in the courts. His services were secured by the state to prosecute the celebrated Granger cases of railroads, which went finally to the Supreme Court of the United States. In 1875 he was employed by the United States to prosecute the famous Whiskey cases.

The climate of Colorado attracted Judge Dixon for the benefit of his health, in 1877. Upon his recovery he returned to Wisconsin. A recurrence of his disease, the asthma, necessitated his return to Colorado in 1880, where he has since remained in the practice of his profession, maintaining a leading position at the bar of this state.

Judge Dixon has a reputation that is national, resting upon his frequent and prominent connection with its important litigation as a lawyer, and a long series of able and well-considered opinions delivered while on the Supreme Bench of Wisconsin.

A BIOGRAPHICAL PARALLEL.

THERE are a few often-recurring names in the early annals of Denver. "The Pioneers of '60" is a familiar phrase. The roll is not a long one—it is growing rapidly less as the century which their deeds and discoveries rendered memorable, draws to a close. Of these names two have a very remarkable blending since '60 in the founding of some of the enterprises and institutions which render Denver a marvel of municipal development—Moffat and Kassler.

George W. Kassler and David H. Moffat are natives of the state of New York, came West about the same time; were associated in the same banking and commercial enterprises, and both have eminently succeeded as is evinced in part by the large business block upon Lawrence street bearing their well-known names, while the history of the First National Bank also is a record of their business relations as partners and as officers for years in its management. Friendship such as their's—silver and golden threaded—is seldom woven together in this life. The longer these gentlemen have known and had dealings with one another the more sincere has become their reciprocal esteem. They may be individual peaks in the same range of history, but there is affinity at their bases—making them as

congenial in personal relationship as they have been successful in rising to the height each has attained, albeit by each other's assistance, without a ripple ever having disturbed their long standing personal and business intercourse.

Having previously given in these pages an outline of the life of Gen. Moffat, as president of the First National Bank and of the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad, this paper is devoted to Mr. Kassler as one of the most honorable and successful business men of this new state.

Mr. Kassler was born in Montgomery county, New York, September 12, 1836. At eleven years of age he entered a store, working in summer and attending school during the winter. He was clerking in the post office at Cooperstown, New York, when he determined to remove to Omaha. There he entered the banking house of L. R. Tuttle and A. U. Wyman—both afterwards serving successively as Treasurer of the United States. Banking thereupon was chosen as a profession by Mr. Kassler. It was at Omaha he first met Mr. Moffat. He removed to Denver in 1860, arriving in April, and entering the bank of Turner & Hobbs. In 1861 he was selected as clerk or assistant to Major J. S. Filmore, Pay-



J. W. Parmore

master, U. S. A., and went to New Mexico to pay the troops in that territory. Mr. Kassler was appointed in 1862 cashier of the U. S. Mint in Denver. Two years afterwards he resigned, and until 1875 was prominently engaged in merchandising and insurance. For several years he was president of the Denver Board of Underwriters.

In 1874 he became director of the First National Bank, served as assistant cashier, soon afterwards succeeded as cashier, and for a while was vice-president. "Almost the entire responsibility and control of the business has devolved on Mr. Kassler," said a writer in 1880, "and how well he has discharged the duties of the position is evident to all having business relations with the bank. It is safe to say that no man occupies a higher position in the public estimation as a financier, a business man, a citizen and a gentleman than Mr. Kassler." Only kind and commendable words are spoken of

him by those who know him best and have had most to do with him in business, social, and church relationship.

The Kassler and the Moffat homesteads are both upon Lincoln avenue—so closely situated that their shadows almost interblend upon the same hillside as the sun sinks behind the Rocky Mountains. Within the parlor of their art-embellished home may be seen a bronze clock and vases—ornate and costly and symbolical—the gift of Gen. Moffat.

The lives of these sons of the Empire State thus afford an instance of parallelism in biography as exceptional as it is praiseworthy. Mrs. Kassler was formerly Miss Maria T. Stebbins, of Clinton, New York. Her name is on the list of pioneer women, who, as self-sacrificing and devoted wives, rendered the success of their husbands in their Western adventures almost inevitable.

HENRY DUDLEY TEETOR.

A REPRESENTATIVE TRIAD OF ST. LOUIS.

JAMES W. PARAMORE.

James W. Paramore, who, in the early days of 1887, was called from the busy career which had accomplished so much for the chosen city of his home, illustrates in a high degree what native genius allied to industry and a high resolve, can accomplish even amid the adverse circumstances of humble surroundings and lack of means. Col. Paramore was essentially a self-made

man; but his life was so ordered that while he won success for himself he also advanced the best interests of all, and was a powerful agent, for the upbuilding of St. Louis and that portion of the West. He was born near Mansfield, Ohio, on December 27, 1830, the son of a farmer in moderate circumstances, and the tenth in a family of eleven children. With a natural desire

for an education, he set his purpose in that direction resolutely, although he knew that it must come from his own unaided efforts. His father at first opposed his ambition, but finally gave his consent on condition that the son should relinquish his share of the parental estate. That condition was willingly accepted, and at seventeen he began his preparation for college at the Mansfield Academy. He then took the regular course at Granville College—now Dennison University—graduating in the class of 1852 with high honors. During this time he supported himself by his own labor. He then taught for two years in an academy at Montgomery, Alabama, and studied law in the office of Bartley & Kirkwood at Mansfield. He afterwards attended the Albany Law School, graduating in 1855 as Bachelor of Laws, and subsequently opened a law office in Cleveland, Ohio, where he made an excellent beginning. A disastrous commercial speculation, however, in 1857, induced him to seek a new field in the West, and he settled at Washington, Missouri, where in addition to conducting a promising law business he published the *Washington Advertiser*, a local paper of fair circulation and influence.

When the great Civil War broke out the young attorney instinctively sided with the Union; and returning with his family to Ohio he promptly enlisted, becoming Major in the Third Ohio Cavalry, and serving under Buell, Rosecrans, and Thomas, in the Armies

of the Ohio and the Cumberland. He participated in twenty-seven engagements—many of them severe ones—and although exposed times without number, was so fortunate as never to receive a wound. He was very popular and efficient as an officer, and after the battle of Stone River was promoted to the colonelcy of his regiment over the Lieutenant-Colonel and the Senior Major, and for a considerable period commanded the Second Cavalry Brigade.

In 1864, Col. Paramore resigned his commission, and engaged successfully in business, in Nashville, Tennessee. In 1867 he turned his attention to railroading, and obtained a charter for the Tennessee & Pacific Railroad, a link designed to connect the Southern Pacific with the waters of the Atlantic at Norfolk, Virginia. Under the stimulus of liberal aid from the state, a portion of the line was completed, but unfriendly legislation followed and the work was suspended. As superintendent, Col. Paramore continued to operate the finished portion until the adoption of the new constitution forbade any further help from the state, when he disposed of his interests, and removed to St. Louis, where a more promising field for his genius and great executive power was offered. His keen eye had already seen the grand possibilities of the future, and he began to urge upon others the possibility of St. Louis becoming a great cotton market; but like all prophets—whether of social or commercial changes—he was some-

what ahead of the day, and his ideas were regarded by many as Utopian. But Col. Paramore was not dismayed in mind, nor deterred from action. The Iron Mountain Railroad had just been completed into the cotton belt, and his quick perception grasped the idea, that this highway extending into the very heart of the cotton producing region of Arkansas and Texas,—well pronounced the finest in the world—opened a new enterprise for St. Louis, and made it possible to there establish one of the leading cotton markets of the world. To accomplish this two things were requisite: First, reasonable transportation charges to St. Louis,—which were readily conceded by those in control of the Iron Mountain Railroad; and second, the reduction of the expense of handling the staple, to the lowest possible figures. The last named condition could be accomplished only by the use of machinery more powerful than had been previously considered necessary. Mr. Paramore, with characteristic energy, set himself to the task of furnishing the second of his needs; and chiefly through his labors the Cotton Compress Company was formed in 1873; of which he was elected president. It commenced business with a capital stock of \$75,000, which has been increased to \$1,250,000, of paid-up capital; possessing the largest and most convenient warehouses for handling cotton in the world. The company occupies about eighty acres of land, and has a handling capacity of fully five hundred thousand bales of

cotton a year, and compressing capacity of five thousand bales daily.

Col. Paramore was the life of this great organization, and gave it the full benefit of his services not only in its days of inception but to the end of his connection therewith. He was the architect of its buildings and compresses, and made himself effectively felt in all the details of management. Through the demonstration of this practical operation he showed St. Louis what could be done, and placed the cotton trade of the city on a substantial basis.* So deeply appreciative were the people of St. Louis of these facts, that in December, 1880, the business men of the city gave a material expression of their gratitude by the presentation of an elegant silver service, accompanied by a letter, in which they said:

“Mr. J. W. Paramore.—Dear Sir: By this testimonial we desire to express our high regard for your character as a friend, and to offer our tribute of admiration for the rare ability you have shown in the successful management of the large business enterprise under your control. To you, more than to any other person, is due the credit for erecting the compress warehouses, by which a flourishing trade in cotton was created; and to you also should be accorded especial praise for your untiring efforts to build a railroad into

*Some idea of the extent of this service can be gleaned from the following facts: from an average of 28,575 bales from 1866 to 1873, it arose to 480,028 bales in 1879-80, and 402,706 bales in 1880-81.

Texas, that our commerce with that state might be increased and forever secured. Not alone as a leader in these enterprises have you manifested that consummate skill and courageous, indomitable energy, which have marked your conduct as a business man, but in every useful measure with which you were concerned, whether for the public good or for private gain, you have always shown the fidelity and disinterested zeal of a true friend and benefactor. Please accept this solid silver service, as being the token of our esteem commemorative of your career."

The above reference to Col. Paramore's labors in connecting the great geographical empire of Texas with St. Louis by bonds of mutual commercial interests, was not made without substantial reasons. While studying the cotton question, Col. Paramore observed that in Arkansas, Texas, Southern Kansas and the Indian country, there was a region capable of producing more than two million bales of cotton yearly, legitimately tributary to St. Louis, but with no economical means of reaching a market. With this idea in mind, he conceived the system of roads known as the Cotton Belt Route, which should penetrate this region and connect it with St. Louis. In the fall of 1881 he resigned the presidency of the Cotton Compress Company and gave his undivided attention to the prosecution of this new and great work. This comprised a system of narrow gauge railroads, extending from Cairo, Illinois, to Laredo, Texas, with "feeders" at

various points; embracing, when completed, one thousand five hundred miles of railroad, and penetrating a section of the Southwest unrivalled for the raising of cotton and miscellaneous products. At Laredo the system was designed to connect with lines building into Mexico, while at Cairo it made an extremely advantageous traffic contract with the Illinois Central Railroad, by which direct connection was made with St. Louis and also Chicago and the East. As president of the Texas & St. Louis Railway Company, Col. Paramore performed some of the ablest and most lasting of the labors of his life. He gave it such service as his ripe experience, broadened views and mature judgment made possible, and with its history his own must be forever bound up; and the value of that service grows greater with every phase of material and commercial development in the great Southwest. He held many original and striking views of his own, and he knew how to impress them upon others. "Upon the subject of cheap transportation," as one well said before his death, "Col. Paramore holds novel and striking views—contrary to the belief generally entertained by the people in the Mississippi valley—viz., that railroad transportation is cheaper than ever. While others have proclaimed the Mississippi to be 'God's great highway for commerce,' he views it merely as a great 'national sewer,' and says that to man has been left the labor of providing cheap and rapid transportation by the construction of

railroads. He energetically insists that, as a matter of fact, cotton can to-day be shipped from Arkansas and Texas *via* St. Louis to Europe, cheaper than from the Gulf port cities." The same writer speaks warmly of Col. Paramore's original and striking methods of thought and adds: "Whether his conclusions agree with those of previous investigators in the same field matters little to him; like every independent and original thinker he has supreme confidence in his own judgment and follows it unfalteringly, although it may lead him to abandon old traditions and attack old idols. Living in a period celebrated for great railroad men, he loses nothing by comparison with the greatest of them. In one short decade he has written his name indelibly on the history of St. Louis and the great Southwest. He has been the chief promoter, and in some sense the creator, of one of the richest trades that pay tribute to St. Louis, and laid hold upon the carrying trade of the Southwest with a boldness and vigor and originality that make him one of the most conspicuous and able leaders of the time. Col. Paramore has not only shown St. Louis how to be a great cotton market, but he has also exerted himself to make it the centre of a system of railroad transportation which now seems destined to revolutionize the railroad system of the south and Southwest, and work incalculable benefits to the industries of these regions."

If so much could be seen and measured when these words were uttered in

1883, how much better can we now see and understand the depth and breadth of the foundations he so patriotically helped to lay?

It was out of this life of unusual activity and usefulness that Col. Paramore was suddenly called on the evening of May 17, 1887. Deep and widespread was the grief of the people, and tender sympathy was conveyed to the stricken from many directions. The press of St. Louis and Missouri but voiced the thought of the people when it declared that the loss fell upon all, and that one who could be illy spared had been called into the higher life. Formal expressions of regret and sympathy were recorded by many of the associations and societies to which he had belonged—the Grand Army of the Republic, the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, the St. Louis Merchants' Exchange, the Third National Bank of St. Louis, and others. Those of the Merchants' Exchange, among other things of a like nature, pronounced him "one of the oldest and most enterprising members of this Exchange, who, by his wise foresight and indomitable energy greatly increased and fostered the commerce of the city of St. Louis;" who "was the originator and moving spirit in building and carrying forward to successful completion the St. Louis Cotton Compress Company, and was also the projector and chief promoter of the Texas & St. Louis Railway Company, now owned by the St. Louis, Arkansas & Texas Railway Company, both of which

enterprises have added so much to building up that branch of our commerce known as the cotton trade." "In the death of Col. J. W. Paramore, this exchange has lost one of its most valued members, and the city of St. Louis one of her most enterprising and strongest friends."

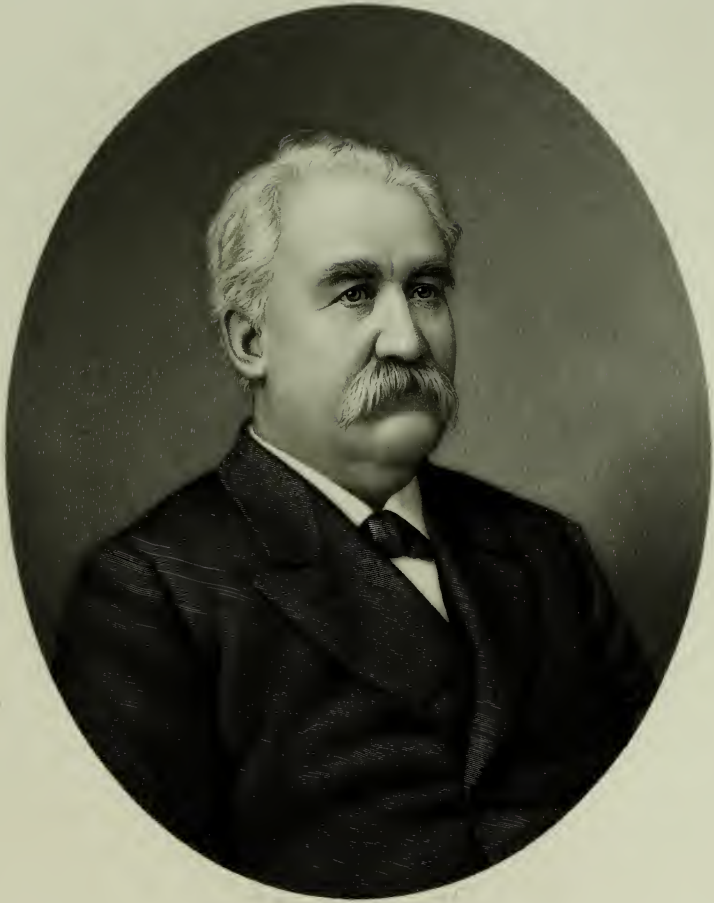
The declarations of the directors of the Cotton Compress Company were equally emphatic in their acknowledgment of his usefulness: "He was the originator and one of the charter members of this company, and was its first president, and held the same office continuously during the first ten years of its existence, and has been continuously a member of its board of directors from the time of its organization until the day of his death. To his wise foresight, untiring energy and unyielding tenacity of purpose, is due the fact of its organization, and the combination

of men and means which were necessary to give and which have given the company a prosperity that has been unequalled." The directors of the St. Louis, Arkansas & Texas Railway Company added the weight of their testimony in these words: "In the death of Col. J. W. Paramore this company has lost one who, more than any other, was the projector and promoter of the lines of road now owned by this company, and that to his energy, indomitable will and unflinching tenacity of purpose in developing plans to construct and equip the same, is due the fact that the building and equipping thereof, so as to add another outlet to the trade of St. Louis into the great Southwest, was accomplished." Surely such sincere and generous praise, and the gratitude which inspired it, becomes a monument better than any shaft of granite that could be raised.

HENRY OVERSTOLZ.

Henry Clemens Overstolz—or Henry Overstolz, as he preferred to be called,—became a citizen of St. Louis in his early manhood, and from the first began the building of a business and personal reputation of an enduring sort, with a genuine, manly character as a foundation; and as the people came to understand his worth he was called upward from one public station to another, until he at last held the highest municipal office within the gift of the people—that of Mayor of St. Louis, in which he made a reputation that must

stand as his enduring monument. He was of German descent, and was born in the city of Munster, Westphalia, Prussia, on July 4, 1822, the direct descendant of the oldest patrician family of Cologne. His father, William Overstolz, was born in Dinsburg, Westphalia, in 1780, and died in St. Louis in 1853. The Overstolz stock is a sturdy one, and noted for its longevity. The ancestral family was one renowned in war and civil life. They were the merchant princes of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centur-



Henry Overstolz

ies, and the name is held in high esteem in their native city of Cologne. Some interesting chapters of history are interwoven with the family record. On October 15, 1268, Mathias Overstolz, a knightly prince, and one of the most celebrated of this name, headed a successful resistance to the assaults of the forces of the Archbishop, who had often endeavored to deprive the free city of its charter. Mathias lost his life in this struggle, and the grateful citizens erected to his memory a statue which is still to be seen in their city hall. Johann Overstolz, a brother of Mathias, was the Mayor of Cologne in 1275. Gerhard Von Overstolz, son of Mathias, fell in the battle of Worringen, in 1287, for a patriotic cause similar to that espoused by his father. It had been the hereditary right of the patricians to have the chief magistrate of Cologne selected from their number only, and for opposing the forcible abrogation of this right, the landed estates of the Overstolz house were confiscated, and they, together with fifteen other patrician families, were banished from the city, and most of them fled to Westphalia.

Henry Overstolz, the direct descendant of these illustrious men—whose highest and best traits will be discovered as dominating his career—resided in his native town until 1836, retaining in after life vivid recollections of these boyhood days spent near the historic home of his ancestors. After enjoying a thorough course of collegiate education in the celebrated Gymnasium of

Munster, he came to America in company with his father and mother and settled with them in St. Clair county, Illinois, some seven miles from St. Louis. In 1846 he removed to St. Louis where he afterwards made his home and toward whose prosperity he contributed so much by his energy, integrity and patriotism. Soon after making his home there he opened a store—in 1847—for general merchandise, in which it was then customary to find the necessary supplies for the farmers of the surrounding districts. In this business he met with such success that in 1852 he retired, and two years later purchased an interest in saw-mills and in a lumber business. His prosperity continued, and in 1867 he once more retired from active business life, secure in an ample fortune. Prior to this his high character and energy won for him the confidence of his fellow-citizens, and he was induced, in 1860, to organize the Tenth Ward Savings Institution, which was changed in 1882, under the National Banking Act, to the Fifth National Bank of St. Louis, of which Mr. Overstolz became president, which office he held during the remainder of his life. About this time he became president of a successful local fire insurance company. In all his business relations Mr. Overstolz showed an ability of the most exceptional kind and an integrity of the highest character.

Mr. Overstolz had not long been a resident of St. Louis before he was called to take part in public affairs and

to commence an official career crowned with usefulness, and that has made an enduring mark upon the history of the city. In the year 1849 he was elected a member of the City Council, which position he held until 1853, when he was elected comptroller of the city and re-elected the following year. A third time he received the nomination of his constituents for the comptrollership, but because of his foreign descent was defeated by the Native American, or Know-nothing party. It is worthy of remark that he is the first German ever elected to a city office in St. Louis; and when, in the autumn of 1856, he was elected a member of the State Board of Public Works,—a body with great powers and responsibilities—he was also the first German to be elevated to a state office in Missouri. On this board he served the full term of four years. In the spring of the same year he was elected alderman, the duties of which office he resigned to accept the position on the State Board of Public Works.

Yet another mark of public confidence and respect came in 1871 when Mr. Overstolz was again elected to the council, of which body he was subsequently chosen president, where he presided with dignity and to the satisfaction of all. His firmness and tact, his great experience in public matters and his unsurpassed knowledge of men made his influence felt to such a marked degree among his colleagues and associates in public and private life, that in 1872 he was re-elected to

the council, and placed at the head of that body as presiding officer again in 1873.

In 1875 he was again called upon, his name being used upon this occasion in connection with the highest office within the city's gift. Nominated to the office of chief magistrate of St. Louis, he accepted the candidacy upon an independent ticket, but his opponent, Mayor Barrett, was declared elected. The death of the latter only a few months after his installation made it necessary to again call an election, and once more Mr. Overstolz submitted his name as an independent candidate against Mr. Britton. Although his opponent was declared elected, Mr. Overstolz contested the election, and, after an exciting contest before the deciding body and in the courts, lasting nearly a year, established his title to the Mayoralty by a rightful election of a majority vote. He was duly inaugurated February 9, 1876, and served the remainder of the term, until 1877, when he was re-elected under the provisions of the new charter, which fixed the term at four years. During these four years he applied himself with untiring energy to the work of inaugurating a complete change in the government of the city and county.

The adoption of the charter marked a new departure in the political career of St. Louis. It was a radical severance of the city and county governments, and the emancipation of local questions from the control of the state legislature. It introduced a new and

united system of local self-government, and it devolved on Mayor Overstolz to bring order out of chaos, and to set the machinery running in harmonious accord with the conflicting elements always present at such a revolution. How well he succeeded the result has shown. During this period, until the separation was satisfactorily accomplished, Mr. Overstolz possessed an irresponsible power that in the hands of many another man would have been abused, but he wielded it carefully and loyally, for the public good alone. At length he succeeded in carrying out the wishes of the people and in ridding them of the objectionable features of which they had so long complained, under the previous dual government of city and county. The reorganization of the municipal government was a work to which Mayor Overstolz could ever look back as the proudest achievement of his political career, while the taxpayers of St. Louis must ever hold him in grateful remembrance.

A just and appreciative commentary* upon this portion of Mr. Overstolz's public career, by one who knew him well, is contained in the following words: "It was the lot of Mayor Overstolz—and I consider it a piece of rare good fortune—to be elected in 1877 as Mayor of the city, under the new system. His term of office was for four years, a period long enough in which

to give a fair trial to his administration. Here again I must be brief, but while I call attention to the great success which has marked him, I think it proper to say that he has not had, during the whole of his voyage, the advantage of halcyon weather. In the very first year of his administration the city was visited by the storm which laid waste many parts of our country. The strike of 1877 will not soon be forgotten by those who were in St. Louis during the week following the 21st of July. During that arduous crisis, Mr. Overstolz acted as became the chief magistrate of a great city. The emergency was most alarming. He met it courageously and strove with energy against the disorder which threatened us with ruin. He called to his aid, as was his duty, the citizens of St. Louis. They answered to his call and with their assistance, without taking a single life, without a trace of that destruction of property and that disgraceful overthrow of lawful authority, which marked the history of the strike in other cities, and without invoking the assistance of the Federal arm, the rioters were crushed and order restored in St. Louis in less than twenty-four hours after the Governor of the state, who fearlessly and well discharged his duty upon that occasion, had placed a sufficient number of arms at the disposal of the Mayor. . . . Now to what essential and distinctive features in the present administration of city affairs are the improvements, of which I have only instanced a few, mainly ascribable?

* From an address before the Missouri Historical Society, upon the public career of Mayor Overstolz, delivered by Col. T. T. Gantt.

In my judgment, to this: that the affairs of the city have been for about four years managed nearly, not quite, upon what are called 'business principles.' The public work has been mostly committed to men whose qualifications for doing good work were the motive of their appointment to do it. Faithful performance of their duties has been demanded and in most cases has been complied with. As part of this new departure, the city government has not been wholly governed by rules of party expediency. To his honor, the Mayor has in some instances overlooked party lines while retaining or selecting an efficient officer."

As a public officer, Mr. Overstolz's acts were marked by integrity and patriotism. He believed that a public office was a public trust. As a member of council, he was progressive, far-seeing, and alive to the necessities of a large and growing city. As a member of the State Board of Public Works, he was a tireless, penetrating and broad-minded official; as City Comptroller, he performed services of the greatest value, and while Mayor he established a fiscal system that brought order out of chaos, and was the first Mayor of St. Louis to keep the expenses within the revenues. Mr. Overstolz was offered the position of Assistant United States Treasurer for St. Louis, by President Cleveland, but declined its acceptance.

Mr. Overstolz's writings were confined almost altogether to matters of a public nature, and bear evidence of

that deep discernment and ripe knowledge which formed such prominent elements in all his efforts. His address delivered before the convention held in St. Louis to encourage immigration to Missouri, occupied a prominent place among the masterly pleas delivered on that occasion. His home life was indicative of a mind of elegant attainments and studious tastes. His library was choice and large, and harmonized with the liberal taste displayed in a valuable gallery of pictures and art objects. A happy home graced by a wife and six children crowned the labors of an active and honored citizen. The maiden name of Mrs. Overstolz was Philippine Espenschied, the daughter of the oldest and most successful wagon-maker of the West, and a citizen of the highest standing in the community.

Early in the year 1887, Mr. Overstolz's health began to fail, and although his friends did not apprehend any serious danger, they were alarmed as week after week passed, and he did not show signs of returning vigor. Toward fall he had reached a point where his physicians retained little hope, and for some two months before his death gave up all chance of his recovery. In the summer, in the hope that travel might be of benefit, he had gone to Europe, and rested for a time in Bonn, Prussia, but feeling no improvement he concluded to return home and reached St. Louis on September 12th. He took directly to his bed and never left it. His original



Engr'd by J. C. Buttre. N. Y.

John I. Roe

malady was heart trouble, which latterly became complicated with kidney disease and dropsy. He sank day by day, and on November 29, 1887, he passed peacefully away. The loss was one that the stricken family could not bear alone; it fell upon the entire com-

munity, and marks of grief and expressions of sympathy were noted upon every side. Henry Overstolz had not lived for himself alone, but all had been bettered because of his life, the inspiration of his presence, and his great public labors.

JOHN J. ROE.

Any enumeration of the men whose business genius and industry have left their mark upon modern St. Louis, that left no record of the life labors of the late John J. Roe would be lacking in one of its essential features. Like most of the indomitable wills that have made their impress upon a history of the city, he was emphatically a self-made man, and all the success he won and the wealth he accumulated was the product of his calculating energy. His parents were farmers, living near Buffalo, New York, where, on April 18, 1809, John J. Roe was born. When he was six years old, the family, having taken the Western fever, removed to Cincinnati, thence to Kentucky, and finally settled at Rising Sun, Indiana, where the father bought a farm and owned a ferry, dying there in 1834.

Schools were few and far between in Indiana at that time, but young Roe made as much use of them as he could without interfering with the duty of helping his father on the farm and at the ferry. The latter employment seems to have given him his first taste for steam-boating, the occupation which he was subsequently to follow so suc-

cessfully; for already, in 1832—two years before his father's death—he had left home and was engaged at Cincinnati in some humble capacity on a steamboat. From this position he rose by successive promotions until he became captain of the vessel, and at the very outset of his career he brilliantly demonstrated his wonderful business ability. By judicious trading, he made such large profits jointly for himself and the owners of the vessel, that in less than two years from the time he engaged on the boat a poor boy with but a few dollars in his pocket, he was the captain and sole owner. After such an auspicious beginning his success was uniform, and in a very few years he had built and was operating a fleet of the finest vessels on the Ohio river and its tributaries. In 1837 he was married to Miss Martha A. Wright, daughter of Thomas Wright of Cincinnati.

In 1840, Capt. Roe started from Cincinnati with a boat-load of merchandise for the upper Missouri river, and stopping at St. Louis became so favorably impressed with its advantages from a commercial standpoint, that he

determined to make it in future the base of his operations. His first venture there was the establishment of a commission-house, which he personally took charge of, leaving his boats to be run by salaried captains. From this enterprise grew the house of Hewitt, Roe & Co., which soon became widely known, succeeded by Hewitt, Roe & Kercheval, which developed a large business in packing pork for the English market.

A fire which occurred during this period left Capt. Roe, after paying all obligations, with nothing but a small interest which he had in several boats, but he began, with wonted cheerfulness and courage, to repair his shattered fortunes, and soon had the firm of John J. Roe & Co., the successors of Hewitt, Roe & Kercheval, established on a solid basis, and maintained its high standing and credit to the day of his death.

During his business career, Capt. Roe was one of the largest pork operators in the United States, and was often associated with the Ames—Henry and Edgar—the Whittakers, the Ashbrooks, and others, in transactions of very great magnitude. He was also a special partner in the house of J. Eager & Co., of New York, and D. W. C. Sanford, of New Orleans, and for years was connected with Capt. "Nick" Wall, in Montana; the Diamond "R" Transportation Line being one of the important interests of the territory to this day.

Capt. Roe took a deep interest in all

that pertained to the prosperity of St. Louis, and the great bridge especially received his hearty approval and support. At a critical moment, when the stockholders were disposed to abandon the project as hopeless, and refused to advance any more money, he infused new life into the project by pledging one hundred thousand dollars in cash, for when it was known that the enterprise was approved by his judgment, it did not henceforth lack for supporters. As an evidence of the weight which justly attached to his opinion, it is related that at that dark hour in the history of the bridge he hastened to New York, had a meeting of the stockholders hastily called, and in thirty minutes from the time of assembling, one million two hundred thousand dollars had been subscribed.

Among the great corporations with which Mr. Roe was connected, and the offices he held, may be mentioned the following: President of the Merchants' Exchange, president of the Atlantic & Mississippi Steamship Company, once the most powerful company on the river; director in the Ohio & Mississippi Railroad Company, director in the Illinois & St. Louis Bridge Company, the St. Charles Bridge Company, the Illinois & St. Louis Railroad and Coal Company, the North Missouri Railroad, and in several street railroad companies, and president and one of the organizers of the Life Association of America, at that time one of the largest and most successful life insurance companies in

the United States. To all of these he gave his personal attention and died literally in harness, for while he was attending a meeting of the Memphis Packet Company, on the afternoon of February 14, 1870, and chatting pleasantly with his friends, his head fell on one side, he gasped for breath, and suddenly expired. His death, so sudden and unexpected, shocked the community and elicited the most poignant expressions of sorrow and regret, and his obsequies were the occasion of a general suspension of business, by direction of the Mayor.

What was the secret of this extraordinary popularity? For throughout his career he enjoyed the unbounded affection of his friends, and was endeared to the hearts of the people of St. Louis. The answer is already found in the uniform kindness and impulsive generosity of his character.

"What makes you so blue?" said the Captain to a young gentleman he met on the street. "I have two thousand barrels of pork to deliver to-morrow, and the railroads inform me that they cannot reach here for three days, and pork has advanced two dollars a barrel." "I'll loan them to you," said the Captain, immediately writing out the order.

"By the by, you said some two weeks ago that you wanted to get a book-keeper's situation; have you succeeded?" said the Captain to a young man he had almost passed on the street. "No, Captain." "Well, go up to ——— and tell Mr. ——— that

you are the young man I spoke about several days ago; if the place suits you he will give it to you."

"The bank does not seem to like this paper," said a business acquaintance, as the Captain was passing into one of the large banks in which he was not interested. "Why, what is the matter with it, Dick? If they don't want it, I'll take it." The cashier overheard the conversation; his opinion changed, and the bank took the paper.

Thousands of incidents like these might be related, illustrating his kind and helpful spirit, and his generous acts toward the embarrassed and struggling, acts which endeared him to all with whom he came in contact, and caused his death to be mourned as a public calamity. The poor found in him a generous and gentle benefactor, but his charities, although innumerable, were bestowed in quiet, and we may be sure they went up before him as a memorial to God. Though not a member of any church he was a constant attendant at the Second Presbyterian Church—where his wife was a member—and no man had more reverence for the teachings of the Divine Master or wove them more visibly into the business of his life. He was not merely an honest man, as the world esteems honesty, but his private life was as unspotted as was his public career. He was a pure man in all that the word implies. During the war he was a strong and active Union man, although originally of a conservative dis-

position, and at one time a slaveholder; but, believing slavery to be wrong, he had set his slaves free.

In disposition Capt. Roe was cheerful and genial. He was easily approached, even by the humblest, and lent a willing ear to their wants. A keen judge of character, when once he confided in a man his faith was implicit. This is illustrated in the following anecdote: An agent who was about starting into the country on a mission involving the disbursement of probably half a million dollars for pork, called for his instructions, expecting to receive the twenty or thirty pages of foolscap usual in such cases. The Captain succinctly answered: "All

you have to do is to take care of your money and see that you get all the property you pay for." The trust reposed in the agent put him on his mettle, and made him doubly watchful.

Capt. Roe established a beautiful home at Lafayette and Compton avenues, then in the suburbs, the grounds containing ten acres. Here he pleasantly welcomed his friends, threw off the cares of business, and became the simple gentleman that nature made him. Here his widow resided until her death in 1884, and here his widowed daughter and her children still live, amid memories too precious to be more than mentioned.

COLORADO FARMING IN EARLY DAYS.

THE first plowing by way of farming on the Divide was done in the spring of 1862 by John Russell. One day while Mr. Russell was thus employed he had a visit from fifty Indians, who were mounted on small ponies. Mr. Russell's fine span of horses attracted the attention of Chief Colorow, who dismounted and stepped in front of Mr. Russell and stopped him, saying, "Swap, swap," at the same time leading his pony, which he desired to exchange for one of the horses. The team had cost too much money to be bartered in so uneven a trade, so Mr. Russell was determined to put on a bold front and to stand his ground if possible. He accordingly raised a gun that he always carried

and took aim at Colorow. The chief saw the determination and stepped back, and the Indians all laughed as if in derision of Mr. Russell, who alone sought to defend himself against fifty Indians. But the strategy had its effect, for the Indians looked upon it as a signal for help, which they believed was near at hand, and they left our farmer to pursue his plowing unmolested, although the action undoubtedly saved the horses, as well as the owner's life. The most valuable crop ever raised on the Divide was raised in 1863. Mr. Russell did not remember the exact number of acres or the number of pounds sold, so we leave it to the curious to figure out from our state-

ments. When the potatoes were about all planted the Indians drove the people off, and after a delay of two months Mr. Russell returned to find the crop doing well in spite of the unavoidable neglect. Soon after a dry spell set in and everybody was discouraged. One day a man came along riding a forlorn-looking pony, and Mr. Russell, in a fit of desperation, offered to trade the crop for the pony. The man looked from one to the other and concluded not to trade, as he could at least get out of the country if he retained the pony. Later on copious showers fell and the crops brightened greatly. A man named Sam Hayden offered \$4,000 for the crop, but the offer was refused. That year the crop was sold for \$22 per hundred pounds at the cellar, and \$26 delivered at Denver. The total sum realized was \$11,600. Many persons

now living on the Divide remember this famous crop and will corroborate our statements. Mr. Russell was not afraid to tell how he disposed of the \$11,000. He had so much money that he did not know what to do with it, as there were no banks in those days, so he bored holes in the walls of his log house and put in the bills, afterward driving in pins, on which the family wardrobe was hung. This is no doubt the most expensive wardrobe or clothespress known in the state.

In 1864 another crop was marketed at Denver by Mr. Russell, which brought \$1,003. It was hauled to Denver with three yokes of oxen, one attached to each wagon. The cost of freighting was \$3 per hundred, and the weight of the loads was 3,500 pounds each.

STANLEY WOOD.

CABLE RAILWAYS: THEIR HISTORY, AND USE IN AMERICA.

WITH the Cable Railway, as with many other valuable discoveries of the age, the credit of the invention does not belong to a single inventor. The progress made in cable traction from the time when its application was first made, in the conveyance of ores or other materials at the mines, until the present time has been slow but sure. Then its use was unnoticed and did not attract the inventor, but now every feature of the system is covered by patents issued to a multitude of inventors. Thirty-one years ago the es-

sential features of the present cable railway system were patented in this country by E. S. Gardner, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

It is true that in England more than forty years ago a patent was granted, in which the cable conduit between the tram rails as well as the longitudinal slot in the centre of tracks between the tram rails, were to some extent illustrated, and while not exactly similar to the illustrations in the Gardner patent, yet the similarity is enough to suggest that the principles covered by

the English patent are used by the modern cable railway. Yet Mr. Gardner in his letters patent more fully described the principles essential in the construction of cable railways as they are to-day constructed and operated. At a time when the question was being generally discussed the inventor's attention was called to the following description of the London & Blackhall Railway, published in 1852, which may be of interest:

"A pair of powerful marine engines well erected at each end of the line to which the drums for winding up the rope were connected by friction clutches. The drums were of cast iron, each twenty-three feet in diameter, and their circumference revolved on an average of twenty-six miles per hour. The rope was five and three-fourth inches in circumference, and being upward of six miles in length weighed about forty tons and was sufficiently long to reach from one end of the line to the other, when somewhat more than one-half the rope was wound upon the drums. The cable was supported along the line by cast iron wheels or sheaves, three feet in diameter and seven and one-half inches in width, which not only prevented the rope from trailing upon the ground, but also guided it around the curved portion of the line. The carriages were connected to the rope in such manner that they could be instantly released without stopping the motion of the rope and again connected if required."

Prior to the year 1850 street railways

operated by animal power had not been in use as a means of city transit, but since that time the street railway has become the generally accepted plan of city transit throughout the entire world, and no better power than that furnished by animals having been offered, this was considered the most approved means of transportation.

Animal power for street railway purposes will at no distant day be superseded by more economical and approved means. Animal power as applied to street railways was first adopted in this country, and when the success of the plan was demonstrated the larger cities of Europe were not slow in following our lead in this direction.

Many men of genius prior to 1870, and immediately following the allowance of letters patent to Mr. Gardner for his cable traction railway, gave the subject of cable railways special consideration. Some of them proposed to operate elevated street railways by means of overhead cables; others proposed the suspension of the car from the overhead cable; while the great majority of those interested in the matter proposed schemes that were absolutely impracticable. The only attempt to operate an elevated street railway by means of endless cable was the case of the Greenwich street elevated road in the city of New York, the first railway of its kind in this country. Cable traction in that case was thoroughly tried, and the non-success of the plan here was not because it was impracticable, but because the principles in-

volved in applying cable traction were not well understood. With the knowledge, experience and results that we have to-day the plan of cable traction could be successfully applied to the elevated railway system of New York city, and when applied these roads could operate a high rate of speed and increase the carrying capacity of individual trains fully one-third of the present capacity. In view of the great gain in economy, capacity for carrying speed, and the saving in structural repairs by the removal of the heavy locomotives now in use from the structure, we may before long see cable traction applied to one or more of the elevated roads.

Just previous to the year 1872, Mr. A. S. Hallidie, of San Francisco, gave special thought and study to the various methods of operating carrying ropes for mining purposes, commonly known as ore conveyors, and secured many patents for the improvements of the system. It is related of Mr. Hallidie that one day while prosecuting his studies he was seen to be watching an omnibus drawn by two horses laboring up Jackson street, from Kearney street to Stockton street, a very heavy grade. The horses when put to their utmost slipped and fell to the pavement, having exerted all their strength in their effort to draw the load. They were then dragged down the gradesome considerable distance. This incident was of daily occurrence, and Mr. Hallidie concluded that a better means of transit over the steep grades of San Francisco

could be devised, and his investigations finally resulted in his securing very valuable patents pertaining to cable traction, which are to-day among the most valuable of their kind.

It is true of all inventions that have proven most useful in the development of commerce and in the advancement of mechanical science, that they have been adversely considered and passed upon as being impracticable and visionary; and, too, the inventors many times have been tolerated as cranks by the most learned men of the times. Notwithstanding the prejudices, some of which were urged against Mr. Hallidie at the time, work was begun on the Clay street Cable Railroad, San Francisco, under Mr. Hallidie's personal supervision about June, 1873, and was completed during the month of August the same year.

Notwithstanding the personal standing of Mr. Hallidie in the city of San Francisco, the fact is, that when he disclosed his plan of the Clay street cable railway to a few personal friends, they feared that their excellent friend was a little visionary, and that it was their duty, if possible, to prevent the outlay of the money required to carry out his experiment, as they termed it, and in consequence he did not receive the aid and encouragement he had expected.

With the assistance of competent engineers, Mr. Hallidie's plans were finally completed, and the work of constructing the line (one mile of double track) was begun. During the progress

of the work the success of the scheme was unfavorably criticised by many of the engineers of the day.

The road was completed and the fixed day for the trial trip having arrived, and a trip up and down the steep grade (16 feet in 100 feet) must be made in order to be with the limitation of the franchise granted by the city. The night previous was a busy one, and was occupied in the examination and adjustment of the important parts of the mechanical features of the road. In the early morning, before the evidences of the eventful day had appeared, the day in which before the sun should set, there was destined to be given to the world the successful results of the first attempt at cable traction, one of the most useful inventions of the age, the inventor and his friends were on the ground. The observer stationed at the foot of the hill notes a buzzing sound. It is the music of the moving cable in the tube beneath the street going faster and faster until it is humming in satisfaction of its ultimate speed. The car that has been standing idly on the summit of the grade moves, hesitatingly at first, as if conscious of the terrible steep before it, which, should the slightest mistake in, or the failure of, the details of grip or brake meant indescribable wreck and destruction. As the rising mist cleared, the water of the bay reflected to the occupants of the car in a multiplied form the dangers of the descent. The car moves forward and lower, gliding along the descending grade of the Clay street hill. Rapidly

the car approaches and it will only be a moment ere the base of the hill will be reached. The car stops at the base and a smile of exultation and pleasure is visible on the face of the travelers. A few moments of delay and the car with its occupants starts on its return up the steep grade, which it accomplishes without incident, and the summit being reached the occupants send up cheer upon cheer while all congratulate Mr. Hallidie. The road has proven a success mechanically and this age has new and improved means of transportation. To Mr. Hallidie belongs the credit of bringing into actual use the system of traction as well as the discovery and invention of some of the most important features of our present cable railway, and to the city of San Francisco belongs the distinction of being the first city to adopt the cable railway.

Following the successful completion and operation of the Clay street cable railway, other roads were constructed and new and useful improvements made by Henry Root, Asa E. Hovey, William Eppelsheimer, of San Francisco, and others scattered throughout the country.

In the year 1881, Mr. C. B. Holmes, of the Chicago City Railway Company, who had given special attention to the practical operation of cable railways in San Francisco, and who carefully investigated the results of operation, concluded to apply this principle of traction to the street railways under his care, and converted the State street and Wabash avenue lines.

In view of the fact that cable railways had not been built at any other place than San Francisco, where there is a uniformly even temperature, there was some risk assumed in undertaking to operate a cable railway in a climate where low temperatures and great snow falls was the rule during the winter season.

Many familiar with the lines then in operation in San Francisco expressed grave doubts as to the possibility of operating by means of endless cable in deep snow and with the temperature away below zero. Mr. Holmes being a man of keen judgment and having a clear understanding of the principles involved in mechanical construction, determined to proceed with the work notwithstanding the adverse opinions of those who professed knowledge in the premises. It was also urged that the streets of Chicago were level and there was no need of cable traction, and considering all the conditions it would be more costly to operate than to continue to operate by animal power.

At that time cars larger than any I have yet seen on street railways were hauled on these roads by two animals and consequently the argument seemed pregnant with reason, but nevertheless the directors of the roads supported Mr. Holmes, and the cable on the two streets named were built and have proven successful, not only in mechanical effect, but in the increase of passenger traffic, beyond the most sanguine expectations.

To Mr. Holmes belongs the credit of demonstrating the practicability of operating cable railways through snow and extremely low temperature, and establishing the economy of the operation of a cable railway over the street railway operated by animal power.

In the year 1879, the writer, after investigating in all its details the question of cable traction, became impressed with the many advantages it offered over any known method of operating street railways. In every particular it was, beyond all question, the best method suggested for the new street railway then proposed for Kansas City. It is true that cable railways at this time were by no means the complete mechanical constructions of to-day.—They were to some extent experimental. In San Francisco in constructing these roads straight lines were followed. In no case did the main operating cable pass around right angle curves.

The sub-construction has been improved. The driving machinery modified in design, and the general feature of the construction, which in principle is similar to the original San Francisco construction, has been greatly modified.

Shortly after this time, I think in 1880, I had the pleasure of entertaining Mr. Hallidie at dinner, who on his return trip from Europe, stopped at Kansas City a portion of a day, for the purpose of a conference regarding the construction of the cable railway I then had in mind. The location of this road was most discouraging, in so far as

the physical conditions were concerned, great high bluffs rising high above the terminus of the proposed road, the summit of which was accessible only by means of a viaduct. Excessive grades throughout the entire line, with right angle curves, then a serious objection to overcome.

The conditions to be met in the proposed road were different from the conditions met in the construction of the only roads in the world, three in number, in San Francisco. The enterprise lacked the confidence of capital, being considered a boyish freak. One daily paper put it, in objecting to the grant said: "To see two-thirds of the streets end in coal shoots, for that is what these elevators are, is asking too much with an untried experiment."

It was this sentiment in the community that prevailed for a time, which with the opposition of horse railway companies, defeated the granting of a franchise to construct this road for quite three years, during which time the Chicago road had been completed and the Geary street and Presidio street cable railways in San Francisco had also been built. In the spring of 1885, the Kansas City Cable Railway was opened to the public, which from the day of opening has been an unqualified success, notwithstanding that the physical conditions in the construction of this road were more difficult to overcome than those met and overcome in other roads.

In 1883, the Market street cable railway, San Francisco, was completed,

which road is considered among the most complete roads now in operation.

Great credit is due Mr. William J. Smith, of Kansas City, and Mr. Philip A. Chase, of Lynn, Massachusetts, who sustained the Kansas City cable railway enterprise from the beginning with their capital and influence, the former devoting much personal time to the securing of grants. The successful completion of this cable railway in Kansas City was an event of importance to the city. Directly to the success attending this road can be traced the development of the great cable system the city now enjoys. To-day in this city of over two hundred thousand people the only evidence left of the old horse car lines is that owned by one of the cable companies, and which it is said will soon be changed to cable.

The cable and rapid transit system of this city is truly interesting. In cable construction every imaginable difficulty has been met and overcome. Steep grades, as steep as any in the country, are found here, with cable cars ascending and descending as regularly and as smoothly as on level streets; also high iron viaducts, and long spans of most interesting design, as a means of ascending the high bluffs, from the summit of which the view is most beautiful.

The long line of elevated railway winds through the western portion of the city, coming finally to the base of the high bluffs as though the rugged side of the rocky steeps was the end of

this road, the barrier seeming to be too great to overcome. Where this structure meets the bluff and ends, a large double track tunnel penetrates the rocks, passing under houses and streets, meeting the surface of the streets in the heart of the city. Cable cars glide every two minutes along the elevated approaches and are lost to sight as they pass into the tunnel, appearing again in the business portion of the city beyond. Here can be seen cable roads on the surface of the streets, on the steep grades and sharp curves, elevated above the streets, in *tunnels* under the ground, below streets, in fact all manner of cable railway constructions.

It is said that Kansas City has the finest cable system in the country, being most modern in construction, and more universally adapted as a means of communication between all parts of the city. The city is a cable city in every sense of the word, having the greatest number of miles in operation and the greatest variety of constructions in meeting physical condition associated with their location.

Cable railway construction is not now a matter of experiment. The cable moves as regular in its daily work of hauling cars as the hands of the clock in indicating time. There have been two roads constructed in this country that have proven more experimental than they should, due entirely to the promoters departing from well established principles of cable engineering, attempting in their constructions to improve the mechanical features by the

introduction of untried inventions that seemed on first examination to be correct, but in practical results when used proved failures. Cable traction is growing more and more in favor as the people become more acquainted with its use.

Much has been said about electricity but in so far as power is concerned no more can be accomplished with an electric motor than can be accomplished with a steam motor. The same is true of other motors. I know that it will seem strange to many of the advocates of electricity when I express the belief, or opinion, that it is very questionable whether electricity can ever be used in conduits below the streets, in applying it to the propelling of street cars, as has been attempted in several cities, being very unreliable, due to the lack of knowledge requisite to the absolute control of the electric fluid, if we may term it thus, while passing over the conductors in the conduit. The other objection is based on the question of expense as compared with other methods.

The storage of electricity for street car motor purposes is also experimental, and when by the inventions of men, electricity can be produced at much less cost than at present, by the combination of elements now unknown, generating the electricity on the motor, doing away with the storage battery entirely, this individual motor plan may succeed. The storage plan needs to be further perfected before it can be claimed a success.

The overhead wire bears evidence of success for roads limited in the amount of business, but at present electricity as applied in the overhead wire plan, in economy of operating and cost of carrying passengers amounting to 20,000 and over per day, does not approach the economic results realized in the use of cable traction, all conditions being considered.

Notwithstanding the numerous methods proposed for the operation of street railways, cable railways are being rapidly introduced. Ten years ago San Francisco was the only city that could boast of possessing cable railways; today the cities of Chicago, Kansas City, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, New York, Omaha, Denver, Sioux City, St. Paul, St. Louis, Los Angeles, Cincinnati and Portland, can now claim with San Francisco cable railways in successful operation.

In foreign countries Melbourne and Sydney, Australia; London and Birmingham, England; and Edinburgh, Scotland, have also cable railways in operation.

The question may be asked by those who have never ridden on a cable road, how are cable roads operated, and what are they like?

A power plant is located midway between the two extreme ends of the road in which large stationary engines and driving machinery is placed, of proper capacity. The cable passes from the large driving drums to a variable tension car in which is arranged a large sheave from which the cable passes to

the vault sheaves in vault below the street in front of power-house, thence to the conduit or tube in which the cable is supported about every thirty-five feet with small twelve-inch carrying sheaves upon which it rides. These sheaves are accessible by means of small manholes arranged in the cable tracks at the street surface. The cable passes to the end of the road through one conduit, around a large end sheave, returning through the other conduit to the opposite end of the road, passing around the large end sheave at this end of the road; it is then led back through the first conduit mentioned to the power house. It will be seen by this arrangement an endless cable is secured, the normal speed being about eight miles per hour. Communication is had between the moving cable and grip-car on street by means of a grip with horizontal jaws, one stationary, the other or upper jaw having a vertical motion, being operated by a lever in the grip-car. When in use one jaw is immediately under the cable the other above it. The narrow shank or plates of the grip pass from the jaws described, through a narrow slot three-quarters of an inch wide, located in the centre between the rails of the track, at street level, and which extends from one end of the road to the other in both tracks, connecting with the upper frame of the grip where they are fastened to the operating levers. By throwing the grip lever forward the upper jaw of the grip closes down upon the moving cable. The car beginning to move soon ac-



Robert Gilman

quires the momentum of the cable. To stop the train the lever is thrown in the opposite direction and the car gradually comes to a standstill by the proper use of break appliances. There are two tracks having the tram rails and the slot rails in position, which rest upon heavy cast iron yokes or supports. The slot rails form the narrow slot through which the grip shank passes. The surface of the street between the rails and tracks are paved with the best paving materials; stone paving blocks are more frequently used. The tube or conduit below the street is made from Portland cement concrete, laid around forming cores, which are removed after the cement is properly set, and again used in forming other sections of the

conduit. Two cars constitute a train, a grip and passenger car, the former being usually an open car, the other a closed coach. The cars move at the normal speed of the cable up hill and down again, as long as the cable is retained by the grip. At the curves a series of vertical conical shaped curve pulleys are arranged which are in constant motion when the cable is moving. The cable is in most cases steel, one and one-quarter inches in diameter, weighing two and one-half pounds per foot, made from six strands of nineteen steel wires in each strand. This, in brief, is a general description of a cable railway.

ROBERT GILLHAM.

ROBERT GILLHAM.

Some record of the work Robert Gillham has himself performed in the direction of cable railroad extension, and in other lines of public usefulness, seems pertinent in connection with the above. He may be justly termed not alone the founder of Kansas City's Cable Railway system, which is one of the mechanical wonders of the world, but one of the pioneers in cable railway construction; for when he entered this field of enterprise there were only three cable railways in the country, all in San Francisco, and none of them much like the improved cable roads of to-day which are in no small degree due to his inventive genius and engineering

skill. Mr. Gillham was born in New York, September 25, 1854, the third in order of nativity of John and Clarissa Gillham's four sons—John, Mancielli, Robert and Walter. His preliminary education was received at a private school at Lodi, New Jersey, and at the age of sixteen he became a student in the classical and mathematical institute at Hackensack, New Jersey. Later he entered the office of Prof. William Williams, principal of the institute, and under his private tutelage continued the study of engineering until 1874, when, at the age of twenty, he began the practice of his chosen profession by establishing an office in

Hackensack. He worked faithfully and patiently, and one by one numerous important engineering enterprises were entrusted to him, embracing the construction of bridges, special sewerage, sanitary engineering and reports of different kinds; and his rapidly extending reputation as an engineer of growing ability brought him much special work in and about New York city.

Early in October, 1878, Mr. Gillham concluded to visit the great West, and he arrived in Kansas City in the latter part of the same month. A little very superficial investigation was sufficient to firmly impress him with the idea that, ere many years had passed, Kansas City would become one of the most important points in the rapidly developing West. The thing that struck him as one of the most conspicuous drawbacks to Kansas City's speedy advancement was its crude, and in every sense inadequate, street railway system, for at that time the public were compelled, to reach the city proper—on the hill—by a tedious ride up Bluff street to Fifth on slow mule cars, then the only ones in operation; and he found himself studying as to some quick and modern means of transit between Main street and Union depot, and after much consideration and the laying aside of other important projects, he determined upon the well-known and indispensable Eighth and Ninth street cable road, with the viaduct at the Union depot. Through the influence of the horse railway company and others opposed to the enterprise, the

granting of the franchise was from time to time refused. Finally the city council promised that if Ninth street, between Delaware street and Broadway was widened, the concession would be granted. Through the influence of Mr. Gillham this measure was finally accomplished, and from a narrow side street, inadequate to the business of the city, Ninth street was widened to its present width; but again the granting of the franchise was postponed. Undaunted, Mr. Gillham again bent his energies to securing the right to build this road, destined, as he believed, and has been proved, to do more for the city than any other one enterprise within its borders, until at length the franchise was granted to him and his associates at that time, Mr. W. J. Smith, the present president of the company, and Mr. George J. Keating, who withdrew from the enterprise soon after the passage of the franchise. The construction of the line was a great engineering undertaking—greater than any similar one can be now or hereafter for cable railway construction was then in its infancy, and so far as Kansas City was concerned it was untried, and there were many who doubted its ultimate success.

Not only did Mr. Gillham design and build the road, but every dollar used in its construction was secured through his personal efforts, and he nearly gave his life to the cause. People will long remember the unfortunate accident that befell him upon the completion of the great work, re-

sulting almost in the loss of his life, and incapacitating him for nearly a year to attend any professional business. We refer to the fracturing of his skull by the falling of a grip in the engine-house vault.

Prior to the completion of the Ninth street line, Mr. Gillham conceived the idea of an elevated railway across the bottoms of West Kansas to Wyandotte, and began the circulation of a petition with a view to securing the right to build such a road. Shortly after this, without knowledge of Mr. Gillham's plans, Mr. D. M. Edgerton, of St. Louis, proposed to do the same thing. They soon met upon common ground and speedily united their efforts for their common cause. With the assistance of friends they fought hard and long against injunctions and other litigations, and, slowly but surely, modified the prejudices of property owners along the line of the proposed road. The franchise was defeated twice in the council and finally granted, and then, through their personal efforts, Messrs. Gillham and Edgerton secured the money necessary to construct the road, which, since its opening, has been a marked success. From an engineering point of view the elevated structure has not been equalled in the country for beauty of design, strength, durability and lightness. This is regarded as another great enterprise of Kansas City in which Mr. Gillham was one of the promoting spirits. After operating the road to St. Louis avenue and connecting with the Ninth street line for more

than a year, it was found necessary in order to accommodate its patrons and increase its business, to extend it in some means to Delaware street in the heart of the city. A towering bluff intervened. It was not feasible to reach the top of this by an inclined viaduct. The difficulty could be surmounted only by a most skillful and ingenious engineer, and by unanimous consent of all concerned the task was entrusted to Mr. Gillham, who designed a cable railway elevated from St. Louis avenue to the bluff at the foot of Eighth street, piercing the bluff by means of a double track cable railway tunnel, intersecting Washington street on the surface, and extending along the surface of Eighth street to Delaware street—a bold undertaking, which, by some engineers was considered impracticable. Work was begun in the spring of 1887, and in less than eleven months from the day ground was broken trains were running through the tunnel to Delaware street and return. This, by all competent judges, is considered a remarkable instance of rapid construction, as the work was impeded by different causes, one of which was the caving in of the partially completed tunnel. The securing of money to carry out this project was no small undertaking.

Mr. Gillham was one of the principal organizers of the Grand Avenue Cable Railway Company, and was called to be its first chief engineer, but owing to numerous other duties he declined the appointment. Associated with Mr. W. J. Smith, he purchased by

contract a half interest in the old Grand Avenue Horse Railroad Company and the Kansas City & Westport Railway Company, and associating with them some of the original owners and many of the present stockholders in the Grand Avenue Cable Railway Company, they organized that corporation. When Mr. Gillham sold his cable stock in this company he resigned from the directory. He is president and chief engineer of the People's Cable Railway Company, in the organization of which he assisted, and is a director and one of the largest stockholders of the Inter-State Consolidated Rapid Transit Railway Company (the Elevated Railway Company). He also constructed the Riverview Cable railway and is largely interested in the Omaha Cable Traction Company, of Omaha, Nebraska, whose roads he constructed, as chief engineer. He is being consulted with reference to the application of cable railways in St. Joseph, Missouri; Nashville, Tennessee; Cleveland, Ohio; Fort Worth, Texas; Brooklyn, New York; Scranton, Pennsylvania, and many other cities, and is constantly engaged in making reports pertinent to these projects. He was also consulted in the matter of elevated railways in Chicago. He has been also engaged in constructing or preparing to construct the following cable railways as chief engineer: the Kansas City Cable Railway Company (its Washington street line); Independence avenue line; the Omaha Cable Traction Company's lines; the People's Cable

Railway (the Tenth street and Brooklyn avenue); branch lines of the elevated railway in Kansas; the Denver City Cable Railway Company's line, Denver, Colorado; embracing eleven miles of double track, and the West End Street Railway, Boston, Massachusetts, in which system when completed, there will be seven "power houses" and over fifty miles of cable railway. These, briefly stated, are the principal gigantic enterprises which Mr. Gillham has projected or been prominently connected with up to the present time. The record is a remarkable one to be made by a man of his years, and one of which any civil engineer in the country would be proud. He has at the same time been identified with other enterprises of special importance to Kansas City. He is president of the Armourdale Foundry Company, a company organized originally by Mr. C. E. Moss, and to whom is due the credit of building up the great business the company now enjoys, and who was associated with him for a number of years as owners. Mr. Moss finally, for the purpose of retiring from business, disposed of his interest in this company to Mr. Gillham, in which he now has a controlling interest. It is an extensive manufacturing concern with the best equipped works of the kind west of Chicago, and makes practically two-thirds of all the architectural iron work used in Kansas City and the surrounding country. The other members of the company are Mr. Gus. P. Marty, vice-president, and Mr. John Gillham,

Jr., secretary. Ten years have scarcely passed since Mr. Gillham came to Kansas City and identified himself inseparably with its future growth and progress, and to-day he ranks as one of its most useful citizens and is probably better known by his achievements

throughout the entire West than any other resident here. He married the only daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Matthias Marty, of Kansas City, and has two daughters, Elsie and Edith, aged respectively five and three years.

INDIAN LEGENDS ABOUT MANITOU SPRINGS, COLORADO.

It is now nearly twenty-two years since Manitou has become the objective point and goal of the Western tourists and pleasure seekers, and their visitation in numbers approaching a hundred thousand each "season" has fully verified the pleasing vaticination of Fitz Hugh Ludlow, who spent a few days in that locality during the summer of 1863. The extraordinary prescience of that author and traveller will be more apparent when we reflect that, at that time, the spot was without name and virtually undisturbed by the encroachment of civilization. He says:

"When Colorado becomes a state the springs of the Fountaine-que-Bouille will constitute its Spa. In air and scenery no more glorious summer residence could be imagined. The Coloradoan of the future, astonishing the echoes of the rocky foot-hills by a railroad from Denver to the Colorado Springs and running down on Saturday to stop over Sunday with his family, will have little cause to envy us Easterners our Saratoga as he paces up and down the piazza of the Spa Hotel mingling his full flavored Havana with

that lovely air, quite unbreathed before, which is floating down upon him from the snow peaks of the range."

The Springs, which constitute the leading attraction of Manitou, have a masterly "setting." Pike's Peak, the unfailing landmark and beacon to the Argonauts who crossed the Great American Desert in quest of the Golden Fleece, the peer of all the giant gems which stud our mountain rosary, grandly and fitly presides over the mountain landscape, defying the thunders, battling the storms, or smiling through an atmosphere the purest and most pellucid of the Earth, the reflected rays of the genial sun. A subjacent coterie of inferior peaks, Monta Rosa, Rhyolite, Pissgale, Cameron's Cone, Garfield and Cheyenne, ragged and grand, each stupendous and imposing if alone, but dwarfed and humiliated in presence of the superior, amplify and complete a picture which is almost without a parallel in nature.

Prof. Hayden seems fully warranted in pronouncing this scenery "grand beyond that in the vicinity of any other medicinal spring."

But the earlier and equal though far different appreciation of these Springs and their environment, by a race now fading from this mundane panorama, is more particularly the subject of this contribution. They ever appealed effectually to the superstitions native to the various tribes of Indians visiting them; and the Utahs, the Arapahoes and the Cheyennes never permitted themselves to pass them without the observance of some religious ceremonial in the form of characteristic medicine dances, and casting various votive offerings, and discharging quaintly decorated arrows into their waters. Through the centuries during which this unsophisticated people have come in contact with these Springs, many incidents of surpassing interest must have had place which now live in the memories of their seers, or medicine men, as legends and traditions, which have been transmitted from father to son, after the manner of all primitive people.

These legends, which embody the idiosyncracies, habits of thought, and religious conceptions of a race otherwise non-historical and in the last stages of decadence, are of especial interest and value to the ethnologist, and, whenever possible, should be rescued from oblivion. Therefore the following is "entered of record" as the sole scintillation from the dim past which has thus far been elicited from the reticent red man of the early history of these Springs and his relation to them.

The Indians regard with awe the "medicine" waters of these fountains

as the abode of a spirit who breathes through the transparent water, and thus, by his exhalations, causes the perturbation of its surface. The Arapahoes, especially, attribute to this water-god the power of ordaining the success or miscarriage of their war expeditions: and as their braves pass often by the mysterious springs when in search of their hereditary enemies, the Yutes, in the "Valley of Salt," they never fail to bestow their votive offerings upon the water-spirit in order to propitiate the "Manitou" of the fountain and insure a fortunate issue to their "path of war."

Thus at the time of my visit the basin of the spring was filled with beads and wampum, and pieces of red cloth and knives, while the surrounding trees were hung with strips of deer skin, cloth and moccasins.

The Snakes, who in common with all Indians, possess hereditary legends to account for all natural phenomena, or any extraordinary occurrences which are beyond their ken or comprehension, have, of course, their legendary version of the causes which created, in the midst of their hunting grounds, these two springs of sweet and bitter water which are also intimately connected with the cause of separation between the tribes of the Comanche and the Snake. Thus runs the legend:

Many hundreds of winters ago, when the cotton woods on the Big River were no higher than an arrow, and the red men who hunted the buffalo on the plains, all spoke the same language,

and the pipe of peace wreathed its social cloud of Kinnick-Kinnick, whenever two parties of hunters met on the boundless plains,—when, with hunting-grounds, and game of every kind, in the greatest abundance, no nation dug up the hatchet with another because one of its hunters followed the game into their bounds, but, on the contrary, loaded for him his back with choicest and fattest meat; and ever proffered the soothing pipe before the stranger, with well-filled belly, left the village—it happened that two hunters of different nations met one day on a small rivulet, where both had repaired to quench their thirst. A little stream of water rising from a spring on a rock within a few feet of the bank trickled over it, and fell splashing over into the river. To this the hunters repaired; and while one sought the spring itself, where the water, cold and clear, reflected on its surface the image of the surrounding scenery, the other, tired by the exertions of the chase, threw himself at once on the ground and plunged his face into the running stream.

The latter had been unsuccessful in the chase, and perhaps his bad fortune, and the sight of the fat deer which the other threw from his back, before he drank of the crystal stream, caused a deep feeling of jealousy and ill-humor to take possession of his mind. The other, on the contrary, before he satisfied his thirst, raised in the hollow of his hand a portion of the water, and lifting it toward the sun, reversed his hand and allowed it to fall to the

ground,—a libation to the Great Spirit who had vouchsafed him a successful hunt, and the blessing of the refreshing water with which he was about to quench his thirst.

Seeing this, and being reminded that he had neglected the usual offering, only increased the feeling of envy and annoyance, which the unsuccessful hunter allowed to get the mastery of his heart; and the Evil Spirit at that moment entering his body, his temper fairly flew away, and sought some pretence, by which to provoke a quarrel with the stranger Indian at the Spring.

“Why does a stranger,” he asked, rising from the stream at the same time, “drink at the spring head, when one to whom the fountain belongs contents himself with water that runs from it?”

“The Great Spirit places the cool water at the spring,” answered the hunter, “that his children may drink it pure and undefiled. The running water is for beasts which scour the plains. Au-sa-qua is *the* chief of the Shoshones; he drinks at the head water.”

“The Shoshone is but a tribe of Comanche,” returned the other, “Wacomish leads the grand nation. Why does a Shoshone dare to drink above him?”

“He has said it. The Shoshone drinks at the spring head; the other nations of the stream which runs in the fields. Au-sa-qua is the chief of his nations. The Comanche are brothers. Let them drink of the same water.”

“The Shoshone pays tribute to the Comanche; Waco-mish leads that nation to war; Waco-mish is chief of the Shoshones as he is of his own people.”

“Waco-mish lies; his tongue is forked like the rattlesnake’s, his heart is as blank as the Misho-tunga (Bad Spirit).”

“When the Manitou made his children, Shoshone or Comanche, Arapahoe, Shian, or Paine, he gave them buffalo to eat and the pure water of the fountain to quench their thirst. He said not to one ‘drink here,’ and to another ‘drink there,’ but gave the crystal spring to all that all might drink.”

Waco-mish almost burst with rage as the other spoke, but his coward heart alone prevented him from provoking an encounter with the calm Shoshone. He, made thirsty by the words he had spoken—for the red man is ever sparing of his tongue—again stepped down to the spring to quench his thirst, when the subtle warrior of the Comanche suddenly threw himself upon the kneeling hunter, and forcing his head into the bubbling water, held him down with all his strength, until his victim no longer struggled, his stiffened limbs relaxed, and he fell forward over the spring, drowned and dead. Over the body stood the murderer, and no sooner was the deed of blood consummated than bitter remorse took possession of his mind where before had reigned the fiercest passion and vindictive hate. With hands clasped to his forehead, he stood transfixed with horror, intently

gazing on his victim, whose head still remained immersed in the fountain. Mechanically he dragged the body a few paces from the water, which, as soon as the head of the Indian was withdrawn, the Comanche saw suddenly and strangely disturbed. Bubbles sprang suddenly up from the bottom, and rising from the surface escaped in hissing gas. A thin vapory cloud arose, and gradually dissolving displayed to the eyes of the trembling murderer the figure of an aged Indian, whose long snowy hair and venerable beard, blown aside by the gentle air, from his breast, discovered the well-known totem of the Wau-kau-aga, the father of the Comanche and Shoshone nations, whom the traditions of the tribe, handed down by skillful hieroglyphics, almost deified by the good actions and deeds of bravery this famous warrior had performed while on earth. Stretching out a war club toward the affrighted murderer, he thus addressed him:

“Accursed of my tribe, this day hast thou severed the link between the mightiest nations of the world, while the blood of this brave Shoshone cries to the Manitou for vengeance. May the water of thy tribe be rank and bitter in their throats.”

Thus saying and swinging his ponderous war club (made from the Elk’s horn) round his head, he dashed out the brains of the Comanche, who fell headlong into the spring, which from that day to the present moment remains rank and nauseous, so that, not even

when half dead with thirst, can one drink the foul water of that spring.

The good Wau-kau-aga, however, to perpetuate the memory of the Shoshone warrior, who was renowned in his tribe for his valor and nobleness of heart, struck with the same avenging club a hard flat rock which overhung the rivulet, just out of sight of this scene of blood, and forthwith the rock opened into a clear round basin, which instantly filled with bubbling, sparkling water, than which no hunter ever drank a sweeter or a cooler draught.

Thus two springs remain, an everlasting memento of the foul murder of the brave Shoshone and the stern justice of the good Wau-kau-aga, and from that day the two mighty tribes of the Shoshone and the Comanche have remained severed and apart although a long and bloody war followed the treacherous murder of the Shoshone chief, and many a scalp torn from the head of a Comanche paid the penalty of his death.

A. Z. SHELDON.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

MR. JAMES R. GILMORE in his three books,—each of which may be considered a chapter in one grand story—"The Rear-Guard of the Revolution," "John Sevier as a Commonwealth-Builder," and "The Advance-Guard of Western Civilization," has done much to gain for a section of the country heretofore neglected, the due interest and attention which its deeds and the fruits thereof demand. He has also gained a more fit meed of honor for men who were almost forgotten, but who—their works once seen of men—will be forever remembered. Of these was John Sevier, whose body has just been removed from an obscure resting place, and placed in a grave of honor in the capital of Tennessee. On Monday, June 17, 1889, Gov. Taylor of Tennessee, and staff, accompanied by a committee of the legislature, proceeded to Montgomery, Alabama, and from thence to Cowles station, some thirty miles east of the city. The company went on foot to the grave, which was about a mile off in a cotton field under cultivation. At the grave Gov. Seay, in a touching and appropriate speech, delivered the sacred dust to the Governor of Tennessee. Gov. Taylor made a fitting response. The ground was broken by R. T. Dearmond of Knoxville, after which the remains were dis-

interred, placed in a handsome metallic casket, and taken back to the city; and conveyed thence to Knoxville, where a fitting resting place had been prepared.

ON Wednesday, June 19, the remains of Gov. Sevier were reinterred with imposing ceremonies. The casket arrived from Chattanooga, where it had been brought from Alabama, accompanied by Gov. Taylor and his staff, state officials, and a committee from the legislature. Owing to rain the procession did not start until 3 o'clock when the clouds passed away. The afternoon was beautiful. The procession was composed of state and city officials, descendants of Gov. Sevier, Tennessee military companies and civic organizations. The line of march was over two miles long. Twenty thousand people assembled at the court-house to witness the ceremony of reinterment. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Dr. T. W. Humes, and Gov. Taylor made an address delivering the casket to Knoxville. The oration of the occasion was then delivered by the Hon. W. A. Henderson, and Capt. J. W. McCallum read a poem. The ceremonies of reinterment were conducted by the Rev. Dr. James Park. The city was handsomely decorated, and the

ceremonial was the most imposing ever witnessed in Tennessee. A fund has been started to erect a monument to cost \$20,000 over Sevier's grave in Knoxville. This is tardy but adequate recognition of one of Tennessee's greatest men.

THE action of the diocese of Ohio, at its recent convention in Toledo, in the matter of the change of name of the educational institution at Gambier, has been the subject of much discussion among Episcopalians, although few really understand its meaning. To explain the reason for that act, Dr. Bodine has made the following statement: "For more than sixty years the legal name of this institution has been 'The Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Ohio,' whilst its popular name has been Kenyon College. This has given rise to much confusion. The legal name was given by Charles Hammond, who drew the act of incorporation. The popular name was given by Bishop Chase, the founder of the institution. A year ago a movement was started among the alumni to change the legal name to Kenyon College. This change was approved by the Diocesan Convention. For sixty years the head of the institution has been the Bishop of Ohio. It is now thought that with the growth of population the bishop has all he can do in attending to the work of the diocese, and that he ought not to be charged with the superintendence of this educational work. So it was voted that hereafter there should be one man at the head of both Divinity School and College at Gambier, and that this man should not be the Bishop of Ohio. It was also voted to increase the alumni representation upon the board of trustees." There is a romantic story connected with the early days of this college, which one of the few who know, will relate in these pages soon.

SINCE the death of Gen. Harney several stories illustrative of his courage or other manly qualities have been told, some of which, as related by a correspondent of the *San Francisco Examiner*, are as follows: I have heard my

father say (he served under Harney in the Seminole war and also in Mexico) that he was the biggest, strongest, most powerful soldier that has worn a uniform since Frederick the Great. He was a giant in stature, a Hercules in strength. His powers of endurance were phenomenal. In the Seminole war he once went without food for four days and nights, and at the end of that time took Billy Bowlegs, who had caught him in the swamps, by the nape of the neck and threw him a distance of ten feet. The savage had an old bayonet pointed at his heart at the time. Another time when surrounded by Indians, he cleaved his way through them with a sword, and when their arrows had him weakened and almost helpless by loss of blood, he made a final rush, and, seizing one savage, hurled him against another with such force that both were disabled. The same night he swam three miles, trudded nine miles through a swamp, and finally reached an outpost in safety. Indians were always afraid of Harney. He could shoot an arrow better than they. He was a dead shot with a rifle, and when it came to physical violence—something that an Indian has no taste for—he could throw their mightiest athletes about like so many rubber balls. It was no trick at all for him to knock a truculent savage down with one hand, and with the other take his mate, lift him clear off the ground, and dance his legs over his fallen comrade. The Indians up about Fort Snelling, when Harney was a Captain at that post, used to call him "Thunder Bull"—who roared like thunder and was stronger than a buffalo. The old General was, even in 1861, when he retired from the service, the finest looking man in the army. He was six feet four inches and built like an athlete.

THE following letter, addressed to Mr. Henry Clews, author of "Thirty Years in Wall Street," throws a strong light upon a passage of war history as there related: Dear Sir: Having expressed my interest in portions of your work which I read on the day of its arrival, I think it would be less than ingenious if I did

not, after what relates to the Cabinet of Lord Palmerston in p. 56 and in the following chapter, make some reference to it. Allow me to assure you that, so far as this cabinet is concerned, you have been entirely misled in regard to matters of fact. As a member of it, and now nearly its sole surviving member, I can state that it never at any time dealt with the subject of recognizing the Southern states in your great civil war, excepting when it learned the proposition of the Emperor Napoleon III. and declined to entertain that proposition, without qualification, hesitation, delay or dissent. In the debate which took place on Mr. Roebuck's proposal for the negotiation, Lord Russell took no part, and could take none as he was a member of the House of Lords. I spoke for the Cabinet. You will, I am sure, be glad to learn that there is no foundation for a charge, which, had it been true, might have aided in keeping alive angry sentiments happily gone by. You are, of course, at liberty to publish this letter. I remain, dear sir, your very faithful servant,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

A WELL-KNOWN pioneer of the Western Reserve passed away when Gen. Nelson Eggleston died at Aurora, Ohio, on May 27. He was born in that township in 1811. In his boyhood he was notably a good scholar, and graduated at Hudson College in 1831, studied law and was admitted to practice, but his peculiar temperament made it not wholly satisfactory, and he became a farmer, and for fifty years made that his profession. In the early days of railroading, 1835 to 1840, the General took a wide interest in the subject and one of the first railroad meetings ever held in Ohio was called at his house in Aurora, and steps taken to organize a railroad between Cleveland and Pittsburgh, which went so far as a preliminary survey, but the financial disaster of '37 killed it, and when revived in 1848-49 the railroad went south through Hudson and Ravenna, but was soon afterwards paralleled by the Cleveland & Mahoning Railway. Mr. Eggleston married Caroline Lacey in 1835, and her death only pre-

ceded his by some three months. In early days Mr. Eggleston was an officer in the militia being advanced to the grades of adjutant, colonel and general. He was a great student in modern literature, and especially science, and was familiar with all of the most noted authors, and was a most fascinating talker in this field of learning. While well read on political matters, he took little outward interest, and steadily refused office of any grade. The pioneer history of Ohio was a most important book to him, and few in the state had so extensive a pioneer acquaintance as was his, and he ever took a lively interest in pioneer gatherings, and was at one time president of the Geauga Lake Association.

THE twenty-second annual meeting of the Western Reserve Historical Society was held at Cleveland, Ohio, on June 15. Judge C. C. Baldwin, president of the society, presided. Secretary D. W. Manchester's report showed the society to be in the most prosperous condition in its history. The attendance during the past year was unusually large. Volume II., of the publications of the society, is now in the printer's hands. This volume includes pamphlets 36 to 72 inclusive. The present membership is as follows: Patrons (\$500 each), 5; life members (\$100 each), 69; annual members, 126; corresponding members, 40; honorary members, 5. During the year one life member and seven annual members have been added. The additions to the library have been as follows: Pamphlets, 834; bound volumes, 340; newspapers, single numbers, 750; bound volumes, 15; total 7,850. The total number of pamphlets now in the library is 10,384. During the year there have been 167 additions to the museum and 5 manuscripts. There have been added to the library 20 volumes of the New York *Herald*, covering the war period. The following named new corresponding members were elected: Hon. Amos Perry, of the Rhode Island Historical Society; Dan Gleason Hill, of Dedham, Massachusetts; Frank W. Richardson, corresponding secretary of the Cayuga, New York, Historical Society; John

Ward Dean, secretary of the New England Genealogical and Historical Society; George E. Littlefield, of Boston, and J. O. Austin, of Providence, Rhode Island. The election of officers resulted as follows: president, C. C. Baldwin; vice-presidents, D. W. Cross, J. H. Sargent, W. P. Fogg, and Sam Briggs; corresponding secretary and librarian, D. W. Manchester; treasurer, J. B. French; elective curators (holding over to May, 1890), C. C. Baldwin, Rutherford B. Hayes, Stiles H. Curtiss; to May, 1891, Amos Townsend, Douglas Perkins, P. H. Babcock; to May, 1892, Levi F. Bauder, Peter Hitchcock, Henry N. Johnson; trustees of invested funds, Hon. William Bingham, Hon. R. P. Ranney, Hon. C. C. Baldwin; permanent curators, William J. Boardman, Benjamin Stannard, James Barnett, George A. Tisdale; executive committee, C. C. Baldwin, Douglas Perkins, S. H. Curtiss, Sam Briggs and P. H. Babcock.

EX-GOV. A. B. CORNELL very properly rebukes the open criticism of those who believe the proposed monument to Gen. Grant will never be built. In a card, under date of June 10th, appearing in the *Washington Post*, he says: "The citizens of New York have much to be thankful for, and they are always grateful for the charitable consideration of their neighbors. They have raised \$130,000 toward the erection of a memorial in honor of Gen. Grant. They have further resolved to raise the sum of \$1,000,000 for the purpose of completing the proposed memorial. The Grant Monument Association is a corporation chartered by the Legislature of the State of New York, and is provided with perpetual legal succession. They believe that patience is a great virtue, and they feel that safe progress is more important than speedy progress. The illustrious Grant passed from this life four years ago. He taught us how to be patient. He knew how to wait, and he knew better than most men when to stop waiting. The trustees of the Grant Monument Association will endeavor to emulate his great example. They will never dishonor his memory."

MEANWHILE the trustees of the Garfield National Monument Association are preparing for the dedication of the almost completed structure in Lakeview Cemetery, Cleveland, although the date of that event has not yet been decided upon. The total subscription at date is \$126,600.54, of which the city of Cleveland gave more than one-half. The sums received from the various states range from \$4 from North Carolina to \$12,997.86 from New York. England is credited with \$5; France, \$1,149.16; Australia, \$12; Canada, \$3; and Belgium, \$40.

THE monument erected to yet another deceased President, Chester A. Arthur, by a number of friends who voiced their friendship and admiration in this fitting manner, was unveiled on June 15th, in the presence of but a few who were close to him while in life. The Arthur family burial plot is in Rural Cemetery, on the west bank of the Hudson river, near Albany. It is neither a large nor a conspicuous plot, but from it a beautiful view may be had of the Hudson and the valleys that cover a plain-like expanse far down to the horizon. A movement originated in 1887, among ex-President Arthur's friends in New York city, and a subscription was started. A surplus was received, which will probably be used toward erecting a monument to Gen. Arthur in New York city.

THE monument over Gen. Arthur's grave cost \$10,000. A broad flight of five granite steps leads from the path to the turf which covers the burial plot, while around the enclosure are granite pillars, between which are suspended heavy chains of bronze. In the centre of the plot is the monument, a sarcophagus of dark granite, perfectly plain and highly polished. The sarcophagus stands on two piers of lighter-colored granite, also highly polished. The piers rest on a broad base of granite, and the base is supported by a smoothly dressed granite plinth ten feet long and six feet broad. At the foot of the sarcophagus stands a figure representing the Angel of Sorrow. The figure is of bronze, and is of heroic size. It stands with

folded wings leaning against the sarcophagus, one wing being thrown outward by the pressure in the most animated and picturesque manner. The left arm of the figure is extended along the sarcophagus, laying on the tomb a palm of bronze. There is no inscription on the sarcophagus, but on the base is the word "Arthur" in letters raised in high relief, and also a tablet of bronze sunk into the base with the inscription:

CHESTER ALAN ARTHUR,
 Twenty-first President of the United States.
 Born Oct. 5, 1830.
 Died Nov. 18, 1886.

There are also buried in the plot Gen. Arthur's father and mother, his wife, and a son. A fund for the erection in New York of a statue to Gen. Arthur has been raised, and the money has been paid in. As yet no design has been adopted, but one soon will be, and the work will then be begun. The statue will doubtless be placed in one of the principal public squares or parks in New York city.

JAMES A. BRIGGS, whose recollections upon various important matters have often appeared in these columns, writes under date of Brooklyn, June 10, 1889: "Forty-nine years ago today was a great political gala day in the Lower Valley of the Maumee, from Toledo to Perrysburg. There were on the morning of the 10th eighteen steamboats in line going up the river, floating in the breeze our beautiful flags. It was a sight never to be forgotten. Thirty thousand of the Whigs of Northern and Northwestern Ohio, with a small sprinkling of them from the interior of the State, and a goodly number from Michigan, led by the young and eloquent George Dawson, of the *Detroit Advertiser*, and George C. Bates, a young lawyer, one of the most effective of speakers, met on the battle ground of Fort Meigs to welcome Gen. William Henry Harrison, the military hero of Fort Meigs, and

The father of all the great West,
 The hero of Tippecanoe.

"When Gen. Harrison was speaking on the stand erected on the old battle-ground, he was listened to by no less than 30,000 Whigs, who had come up to do him honor as the hero of the battle-field, and as the Whig candidate for the President of the United States. Among the great men present was Senator Thomas Ewing, the father of Gen. Thomas Ewing, president of the Ohio Society, in New York. Mr. Ewing was one of the really intellectual men of the land. Mr. Robert C. Schenck, now of Washington, then a young and promising lawyer of Dayton, accompanied Gen. Harrison on his tour. He was in Congress from 1843 to 1851, and was one of the ablest debaters in the House. Gen. Harrison visited Cleveland, spoke there from the balcony of the American House, and went home to Cincinnati by way of Columbus, Springfield, etc. The Whigs in attendance at Fort Meigs carried to their homes the spirit and enthusiasm of that meeting, and everywhere the most patriotic meetings were held. We never had a political campaign before, and never had one since, equal to the great Whig campaign of 1840. The questions that divided the parties at that time were more ably and thoroughly discussed by the leading men of the Whig and Democratic parties than they were ever before or have been since. There have been campaigns of more speakers, but none of such ability. All the very strong men of the land from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, and from the Lakes to the Gulf, were on the stump before the people. Where, in 1888, were the men equal to Webster and Calhoun, Clay and Wright, Preston and Hamer, Ewing and Cass, Seward and Ingersoll, Forward and Cambreling, Binney and Hunter, Reeves and King, of Alabama; Butler, of Kentucky; and Corwin, Phelps, of Vermont; and Buchanan, Sargeant, and Niles, Marcy, Prentiss and Dallas, Clayton and Polk, Collamer and Wilkins, Spencer and Woodbury, Granger and Douglas, Duncan and Giddings, Summers and Rantoul, Bancroft and Davis, Winthrop and Allen, Sutherland and Andrews, Wade and Dix, and a host of others of strong and eloquent men like Jones, of Tennessee,

and Wilson, of New Hampshire? They were real 'spell binders'—teachers and instructors of the people in political science."

MR. BRIGGS was one of the staunch anti-slavery men of the early day, and a prophecy in verse made by him long before the Civil War deserves to be preserved. In 1849, in the city of New Orleans, a number of negroes who had met for religious worship were arrested by the police and locked up in a calaboose. Upon reading it he wrote the following lines:

Ye may not meet to worship God,
Ye of the sable skin—
Beneath the bright and sunny skies,
Where color is a sin.

Ye may not read the Book Divine,
That points the way to Heaven,

And teaches that for all who sin,
Redemption, free, is given.

Ye may not meet to sing and pray
As Christians met of old,
For ye are chattels—ye were bought
With white man's yellow gold.

What right have slaves to read that Book
In which they'd learn and know
Our Father, God, made of one blood
All nations here below;

What right have ye of darkened hue,
A free man's soul to feel;
Or lift from off your gall'd neck
The tyrant's leaden heel?

Be patient! Wait! the day *will* come,
When ye shall all be free,—
When ye shall worship Israel's God
With perfect liberty.

CORRESPONDENCE.

NOT A COMRADE OF BOONE'S.

To the Editor of the Magazine of Western History:

We have a good many slipshod historical statements. I recognize one of this character stating that John L. P. McCune, the oldest man in Clark county, Indiana, who recently passed away, was on intimate terms with Daniel Boone and made many raids with him. If this means that McCune was intimate with Boone and made many raids with him in Kentucky, it is clearly a mistake. McCune was born in 1793; and Boone, in or about 1795, moved to Missouri; and there were no raids in Kentucky after Wayne's treaty and the pacification which followed, in 1795, when McCune was only two years old.

If McCune resided a portion of his life in Missouri he might have known Boone there, but as he served in the Thames campaign, and early in life learned his trade and settled in Clark county, it does not appear likely that he could have figured with Boone on the frontier of Missouri—and even there Boone shared in no raids.

L. C. D.

THE SEA SERPENT AGAIN.

To the Editor of the Magazine of Western History:

I send you the following newspaper clipping as some additional evidence in favor of the existence of the Sea Serpent. It is of later date than any of the appearances noted in the excellent article in a late number of the *MAGAZINE*, being so lately as the year 1886:

"BELFAST, ME., September 17.—The Sea Serpent has again been seen, this time by competent authority. Prof. W. H. Winslow, M. D., Ph. D., of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, owner of the cruising cutter *Pilgrim*, has arrived in port and writes as follows to the *Journal*: 'I was coming up the coast in my yacht *Pilgrim* before a light southwest-wester, August 24th, and saw, just off Cape Neddick, at the distance of a quarter of a mile, an object which I supposed was a man fishing from a boat. I was surprised to find that he had vanished when I tried to make him out with marine glasses. Soon it appeared again, a little nearer shore, and I had a good look at him, her, or it. It looked like a black spar, buoy, or log of wood, a foot in dia-

meter and eight feet long, projected from a boat-like body at the front and above the surface of the water at an angle of about twenty degrees from the vertical. The surface was black and shining, the angle between the neck and body was curved, and the general appearance was as if the part above water was continuous to a very long sub-aqueous body. Before I could get the glasses to bear accurately the marine monster sank, then he appeared in-shore of us upon the bow, upon the beam, upon the quarter, and then sporting in the breakers; he kept about the same distance from us, and did not afford us any better view than that at first. The animal was lively and perfectly at home in the water. He was seen by all on board, and all agree upon the above description. There

was no inebriety, enthusiasm, or delusion about the case, but calm, careful, critical observation. I was educated at the University of Pennsylvania in zoology, and comparative anatomy, and I know the stripes of living and extinct marine animals. I have lived upon the ocean, in the navy and out, for several years, and cruised widely, have seen the usual monsters of the deep, and I am sure this strange being seen off Cape Neddick was unlike any yet described in natural history, and unique in seafaring annals.'"

I desire to add that I have known Dr. Winslow well for many years, and when he says he saw the marine monster in the manner above described, I as much believe in its existence as if I had seen it myself. T. J. CHAPMAN.

AMONG THE BOOKS.

"THE STORY OF LOUISIANA." By Maurice Thompson. (In "The Story of the States" series.) Published by D. Lothrop Company, Boston.

Mr. Thompson has well said that to write a history of Louisiana several volumes of the size of this would be needed; especially if it should attempt to cover all that was once Louisiana—reaching to the far north and to the unmeasured northwest. He has therefore done well, in telling the story of the state, to hold himself within the limits as at present geographically defined. But he has found therein as much, and as varied, material as he could well compress within the limits defined. He has performed his task well, and because he has not touched upon many things that might have been given the fault must not be laid to him but to the simple fact that much had to be rejected for the reasons already given. He covers the ground from the beginning: the colony of France; a paper Eldorado; in the days of Bienville; from France to Spain; under the flag of Spain; intrigue and unrest; under the stars and stripes; the territory of Orleans; the old regime; in the Civil War—this is the

ground across which we are hurriedly led. The work is abundantly illustrated, and adds yet another to a series that has already demonstrated the wisdom of the thought by which it was brought into being.

"THE STORY OF WASHINGTON, THE NATIONAL CAPITAL." By Charles Burr Todd, author of "The Story of New York," etc. Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. (In "Great Cities of the Republic" series.)

This story of our national capital has been entrusted to skilled hands, for in that of the metropolis, as already told, Mr. Todd has shown himself not only a skillful and correct writer, but one who can please and interest as well as instruct. He has made the best history of Washington we have yet seen—not so full as some nor so abounding in the guide-book features as others, but such as would attract both the local and general reader, and the young as well as the old. His style is admirable—clear, direct, concise, and simple; telling plainly what he sets out to tell, and leading nowhere into by-paths that have no connection with the ground upon which he treads. Maps

and a large variety of beautiful illustrations elucidate the text.

"LATER SPEECHES ON POLITICAL QUESTIONS, WITH SOME CONTROVERSIAL PAPERS." By George W. Julian; edited by his daughter, Grace Julian Clarke. Published by Carlon & Hollenbeck, Indianapolis.

In a former volume, the speeches delivered by Mr. Julian during and before the war—those memorable addresses in which the eloquent Indian leader voiced his convictions and helped to lead the sentiment of the North—have been preserved for the instruction of later generations; and in this later volume we find a continuation of that record of Mr. Julian's public life. These speeches deal with questions of current American politics from 1871 to 1889, and embody, to some extent, the political history of the country during that period. They will hold a particular interest to those who withdrew from the Republican party in 1872, as they set forth with clearness and force the reasons which prompted Mr. Julian and his associates to depart from the political organization which they had helped to create, and which they believed had strayed from the true and upward course. Among the addresses here embodied are: "The Campaign of 1872," "The New Trials of Democracy," "Evolution and Reform," "The Fraud of 1876," "The Issues of 1880," "The Republican Party and Reform," etc. Among the controversial papers may be found Mr. Julian's memorable reply to Mr. Howe and to Mr. Scurtz, and his "Webster and Blaine," which appeared in this *MAGAZINE* in September, 1888. That Mr. Julian has been a living force in American politics is a conceded fact; that he is still at work for the general good is shown by his many recent utterances for reforms he believed to be demanded, evinced especially by the plea for New Mexican redemption, eloquently and forcibly put forth in

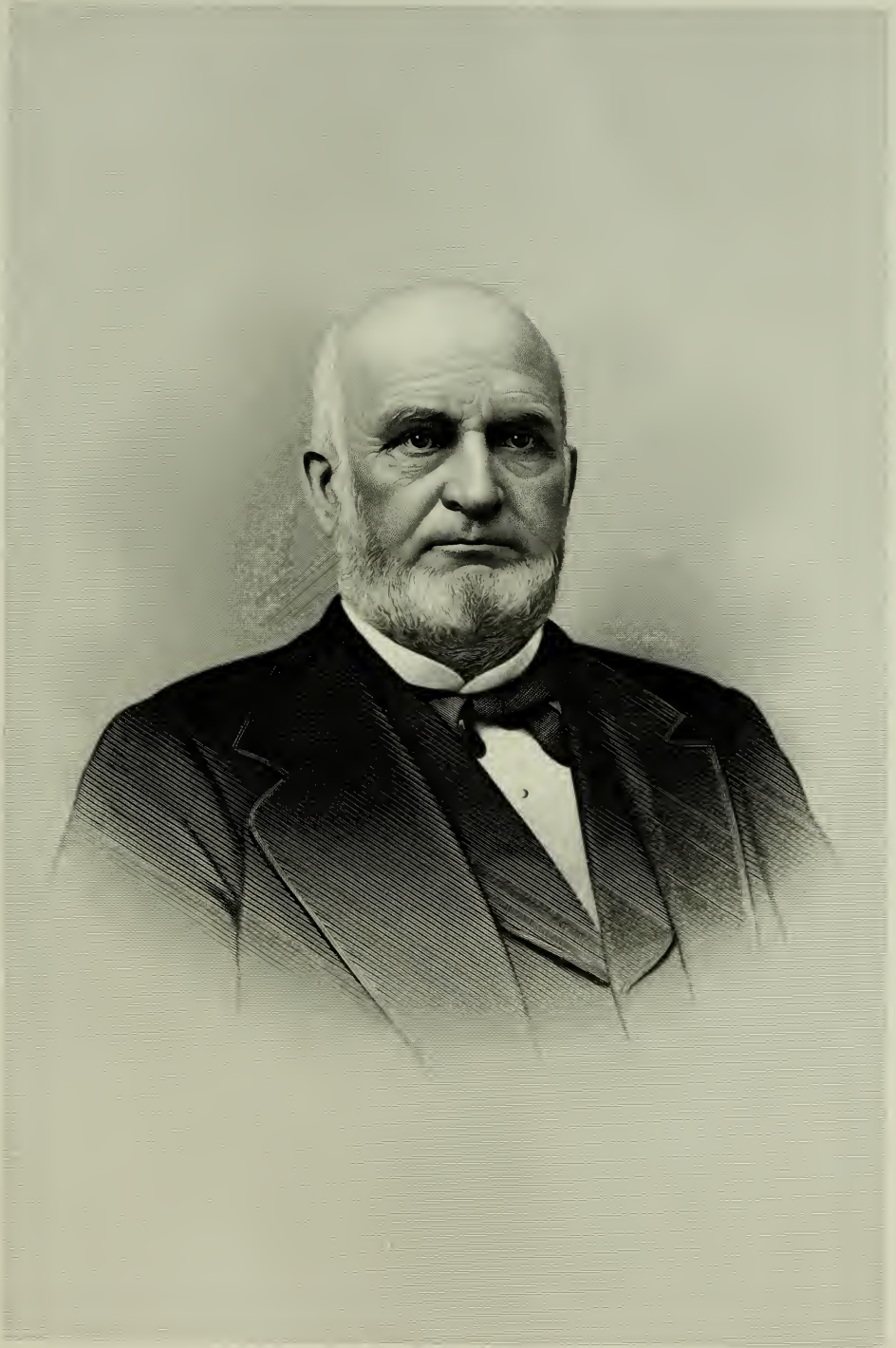
another portion of this number of this *MAGAZINE*. That he is a statesman and a patriot his most outspoken critic has never denied, and the speeches and papers of this recent publication will bear us out in the declaration. Naturally he speaks from his own standpoints, and those he criticizes will not allow all his declarations to go unchallenged; but he speaks fairly, eloquently, logically, and the polemic knight who would take issue with him must come well mounted and well armed.

"TRANSACTIONS OF THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AT UTICA, NEW YORK. 1887-1889."

This volume, of a series of great historical value, is devoted to the proceedings of the New Hartford Centennial, and the addresses delivered before the society at various times, among which the following may be cited: "The Geology of Oneida county;" "The Origin and Early Life of the New York Iroquois;" "Ancient Utica," etc., etc.

"THE STORY OF MANITOU." "AROUND THE CIRCLE: One Thousand Miles through the Rocky Mountains; being a description of a Trip among Peaks, over Passes, and through Canons of Colorado." "RHYMES OF THE ROCKIES."

These three unique little books, published by the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad Company, contain not only a large amount of valuable matter pertaining to the Rocky Mountain region and the West, but are profuse in illustrations, artistic in the letter press, and show unusual literary ability. The literary and mechanical preparation has been confided to the hands of Major S. K. Hooper and Stanley Wood, both well known all through the West, and nothing but work of a high order could be expected. Their acquaintance with the region covered is extensive, and they possess the proper idea as to what the outside world wishes to know of the West.



Philetus Sawyer

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No. 4.

REV. DR. ROBBINS ON THE WESTERN RESERVE.

REV. THOMAS ROBBINS, D. D., was one of those able, learned and godly ministers of the Gospel, who form such a conspicuous feature of the old New England life. His diary,* filling two octavo volumes of more than a thousand pages each, is one of those solid, dull, wearisome chronicles that, at first sight, cause the reader to cry out, "Why waste all this good composition, press-work and paper on printing some tens of thousands of entries, the vast majority of which have no human interest whatever?" Who, for example, is concerned to know that February 29, 1800, the ground was frozen very hard, or that on a certain day Dr. Robbins had his hair cut, having worn it "tyde about twelve years," or that he began a sermon on Gal: III. 24, at a certain time? But, as the reader notes that the work is printed for Dr. Robbins' nephew, and so is a work of family piety, his severity begins somewhat to

relax. Moreover, as he turns over the two thousand pages he begins to have a certain respect for a mind that, for fifty-eight years, had the patience to set down this infinitude of detail; and so comes to listen with resignation, if not with interest, to Dr. Tarbox, against whom he has also been very much inflamed for writing some thousands of annotations most of which are as dull and unimportant as the texts themselves, as he says in the introduction: "It would be in vain for us to attempt to point out all the uses for which such a work as Dr. Robbins has here left as may be employed;" illustrating the observation by reference to the meteorologist and the student of former political prejudices and of old customs and habits. And, finally, when the Western Reserve reader learns that Dr. Robbins spent nearly three years on the Reserve in the beginning of the century, as an active missionary, and sees that one hundred and seventy of his circumstantial pages are filled with his observations and doings in that time, he still more relents, and soon begins to cultivate a certain gratitude towards all those who have had anything

* "Diary of Thomas Robbins, D. D., 1796-1854." Printed for his nephew. Owned by the Connecticut Historical Society. In two volumes. Edited and annotated by Increase N. Tarbox. Boston, 1886.

to do with the voluminous diary. The diary is, in fact, a contribution of value to the history of the Reserve; not containing anything new in kind, perhaps, but much that is new in quantity, set down with such careful detail that, we venture, interesting facts relating to well-known communities are here recorded, that can be found nowhere else. We propose to present some of the facts showing what was the state of morals and religion that Dr. Robbins found here in 1803-1806. First, however, we shall gratify the reader's curiosity by giving a fuller account of the Doctor himself.

Thomas Robbins was born of a good old ancestry in Norfolk, Connecticut, in 1777. He entered college at fifteen. He studied both at Yale and at Williams, and graduated from both those colleges in 1796. He was licensed to preach in 1798. He supplied various New England pulpits the three or four years following; taught an academy at Danbury, Connecticut, and made two long missionary tours on horseback; one among the new settlements of Vermont, and one among those of Western New York. In May, 1803, he was ordained as a missionary to the Western Reserve, in the service of the Connecticut Missionary Society. He returned to New England in 1806 so broken in health by his arduous service that a year and more elapsed before he could resume regular ministerial work. Beyond that point we need not follow him, except to say that the last years of his life he was the librarian of the Connecticut Historical Society. The diary

covers the long period extending from his graduation to his death.

Dr. Robbins, like nearly all his class, was a man of decided views and positive character. Religiously, he was a thorough believer in "strong doctrine." He habitually calls Episcopalians, Methodists, and other religionists, with whom he does not agree, "Sectaries." He shared to the full that keen interest in politics which was so characteristic of the old Congregational clergy, and which, no doubt, was a barrier to the progress of Congregationalism. He was a Federalist, of course. Such entries as those that follow, illustrate at once his character and the strength of political prejudice in the good old times, and also give piquancy to the monotonous dullness of the diary.

July 4, 1800: "In the morning we heard news of the death of Mr. Jefferson. It is to be hoped that it is true." September 25: "In weeks past I have written seven numbers to show that Mr. Jefferson will never be President of the United States, which have been published." February 23, 1801: "Was informed that Mr. Jefferson is chosen President of the United States. I think it is clearly a great frown of Providence." June 3, 1803: "The states of New York and Rhode Island seem to be effectually given over to Democracy. We hope the God of our fathers will yet protect us." November 9, 1803: "The treaty is published and ratified by which Louisiana is ceded to this country. I believe it to be unconstitutional." January 16, 1815: "We

hear of an invasion at New Orleans. I hope that the British will take it." Naturally, he considers the Treaty of Ghent "a most merciful interposition of Heaven in our behalf."

On August 28, 1803, Dr. Robbins, with much shrinking, started on his long journey to New Connecticut. He was twenty-six years old. He was equipped with a horse and saddle, with \$141.67 in money, and the necessary wearing apparel. As he crossed the state line he prayed: "Almighty Father, do Thou go with me and be my Helper." He travelled by the Pennsylvania route, which was then generally preferred to the one through New York, and was three months on the road, much of which time he spent in religious work under the direction of the missionary society that had sent him out. His notes of travel have a good deal of interest. In Westmoreland and Washington counties, Pennsylvania, he found great interest in religion, and there first met those extraordinary physical phenomena that have so often attended religious excitement in new and rustic communities. When he saw people "struck down" and "falling" by scores in the public congregation, he marvelled and wrote in his diary: "A most extraordinary sight, such as I never saw or conceived." Afterwards the same manifestations attended his ministry in Ohio, though in a diminished degree. Father Badger, of whom more soon, had a similar experience. Robbins often mentions "fallings and violent exercises" after he

reached the Reserve. "The bodily affection," he says, "is constant twitchings and frequent fallings without cessation, and without noise." The common theory was that these demonstrations were the work of divine grace, but some doubted. Robbins himself doubted for a time, but finally dismissed his scruples, as did Badger, and undertook publicly to convince the gainsayers. It is worthy to remark that the irreligious were not the only ones thus visited, for Robbins frequently remarks that he was himself strangely affected.

The young missionary finally reached Poland, the first halting place for so many who came to the Reserve in those days, November 29, and thanked the Merciful Providence that had guided and guarded him on his long hard way. He immediately entered into the rough, hearty life of the pioneers, and was with them at all seasons until he left the state. We shall now follow his footsteps more closely.

Dr. Robbins preached his first sermon at Poland. He soon visited Canfield, where he found sixty families and where he made his headquarters for much of the time that he remained in Ohio. He soon met with Father Badger, who had been sent out as a missionary by the Connecticut society in 1801. Badger had pitched his tent at Austinburg. The whole Reserve was a single county at the the time. There does not appear to have been any fixed line of demarkation between the two mission fields: Badger came South and Robbins went North, but

in general, the one labored in the north-ern, the other in the southern parts of the county.

The zealous evangelist reports great need of missionary labor at Canfield. The people are mostly from Connecticut and "appear pretty stupid" in religious matters, but "little disposed to attend lectures." "Many people held bad principles in religion, and some were much inclined to infidelity." He visited and catechized a school of seventeen children that he found "in a pretty good way." He seems never to have missed a good opportunity of visiting a school, and his notes show that the use of the Assembly's catechism in schools was common. He soon fell to work to organize a church at Canfield. Then he started out evangelizing, and was cheered to find gracious revivals of religion in progress in many communities.

At Warren there was already a Baptist church, but the people generally appeared careless about serious things. There was also a poorly regulated school. He improved the opportunity at Warren to observe: "The conduct of Congress in most things quite contemptible." At Smithfield (a name lost from the map), where a church had been organized the fall before, there was in January, 1804, a powerful work of grace in progress. Still many doubted and hesitated about important doctrines. At Austinburgh there was also a great awakening. Here, in February, 1804, he, Badger and others composed a confession of faith and

covenant, and articles of practice for the churches of the county.

In the course of this winter he visited a large number of towns. In Harpersfield some of the people were much awakened on religion; others were "very stupid." In Morgan the religious interest had fallen off. In Hubbard he found sixty families and a number of Methodists. At Coitsville he found Rev. Mr. Weeks, a Presbyterian clergyman, and the first regular minister of religion on the Reserve. After some months of travel and intercourse, he reports that the serious among the Pennsylvanians "pay less regard to the Sabbath as holy time than is done in New England," adding what more surprises us, "The greater part of the New England people in the country are pretty loose characters."

On March 19 we find Robbins assisting in writing a notification of the incorporation of trustees for a college, which was sent to Connecticut for publication. He makes frequent mention of this "College." It was finally located, after no small competition, at Burton, and was, of course, the well-known Lake Erie Seminary that was for some years a Pharos of learning in the woods of Northern Ohio. Hartford, in particular, appears to have been much disappointed at the location of this school.

Coming back to Poland he finds the people "pretty stupid in regard to the excellency and spirit of religion." This spring he visited a well-regulated and well-instructed school, particularly

in the catechism, in Warren. He underwent much anxiety on account of the Methodists. July 1 he reports the serious part of the people of Canfield apprehensive of these inroads. Two days later he found a Methodist church, with a preacher at Deerfield, and feared lest the preacher turn out a dangerous character. Later, at Vienna and Ravenna he encountered "Methodists who were seeking to gain an influence," and expresses the opinion, evidently born of the wish, that they will not succeed.

At Hudson he found a church, organized in 1802. He wrote up the church records, and catechised the children in the school. On a subsequent visit to Hudson he testifies that the serious people are dull and worldly. From Hudson he went on to Cleveland, the situation of which he much admired, but found the people loose in principles and conduct; "few of them had heard a sermon or a hymn in eighteen months." At a later date he reports that the people of Cleveland and Euclid have united for Sunday services.

On September 14 the people of Canfield were very attentive to a sermon on original sin. November 4, he says Smithfield and Hartford together are now the largest New England settlement in the county. The people of Smithfield are in accord with those doctrines that exalt God and humble the creature. He reports that the Pennsylvanians were not generally used to having prayer at funerals. This

month he first visited Burton, apparently hitherto unvisited by any missionary. Here he found the frame of a large academy standing, the same afterwards known as the Literary Institute. On the 25th he wrote: "was invited to an entertainment with a number of people, it being Christmas," adding: "The people, however, are not Episcopalians." He reports but two or three professors of religion in the place. Afterwards he was urged to settle in Burton as minister of the church and head of the academy, but he declined.

Dr. Robbins closed a year of very hard labor, during which he had suffered much from sickness, had seen the face of no relative, and had had no home, with a devout thanksgiving for the Divine protection.

Not different from the above are the religious items of the diary until the end. He finds few serious persons in Middlefield, while in Mesopotamia the people are some "stupid," and some "much inclined to infidelity." The settlers of Windsor are very thoughtless. He preached the first sermons ever heard in many of the towns that he visited. At Mentor the people were much inclined to infidelity and immorality, some of whom he censured for trading on the Sabbath. Here he had a particular conversation with a "stupid, cross infidel." At Painesville he visited a well-regulated and instructed school. At Harpersfield he found much opposition to Mr. Badger. April 22 he pronounced the Canfield school the best in the country.

Religious matters now began to assume the form of more consistency. The people begin to raise money to build meeting-houses and pay for preaching. There is an inquiry for pastors, and monthly conferences are held in various places. At Youngstown, May 8, 1805, he preached his first sermon in a regular house of worship. At Harpersfield, October 18, Robbins, Badger, Rev. David Bacon and others, formed a conference of four churches—the first ecclesiastical organization other than a church ever formed in Northeastern Ohio. Still the word “stupid,” by which he means indifference to religion, becomes more common as we go on. Most of the “serious” Hubbard people are Methodists and Baptists. Some people at “Chagreen” (Willoughby) set afloat a false and wicked story about him. Mr. Jones, the Baptist minister at Warren, “entertained erroneous sentiments,” and Robbins fears the Warren people are more slack than they were before Mr. Jones came among them. November 4 he had interviews with the principal citizens; they were not only pretty destitute of religion, but hostile to him and to religion; hostility to him they had shown by circulating a false story to the effect that he had interfered in the late election. At Kinsman he heard an ignorant Methodist preach.

In the winter of 1805–1806 Dr. Robbins made two visits to Marietta. He preached at Marietta and at Belpre, and in the end was invited to take the principalship of an academy at the former

place, and a pastorate at the latter, both of which he declined. Returning to Canfield, he reports the people stupid, and expresses the fear that the Reserve settlements will be greatly injured by the influx of Pennsylvanians.

Dr. Robbins had now been from home nearly three years; he was broken in health; he had served the society and the young communities of the Reserve with great zeal and faithfulness; and he resolved to return home. Leaving Ohio May 21, 1806, he reached Norfolk July 4, and immediately pronounced it “a very stupid time” in Connecticut.

Many other items similar in tenor to the foregoing could be extracted from Dr. Robbins' diary. These, however, are both enough and sufficient. They have not been brought together because of their value as items of knowledge, but because they throw a strange light upon the religious, moral and social character of the Reserve in the first period of its history. They show conclusively that the first settlers were not generally godly men, such as founded Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, or even Marietta and Granville, Ohio. When Dr. Robbins calls the people “dull” and “stupid,” he may mean no more than that they are less zealous in religion than he, an ardent evangelist, thinks they should be; but when he says, “The greater part of the New England people in the country are pretty loose characters,” we cannot dispose of the testimony in that way. The men who have created

the traditional view of the early history of the Reserve, have either been ignorant of the following facts, or they have accorded to them little weight :

First, the Reserve was opened to settlement at a time when religion in New England was at a low ebb. Secondly, Old Connecticut did not at first send, as a rule, what she considered her best elements to New Connecticut. At a later day, the character of the emigration improved in respect to religion and morals; but the first emigration was largely made up of men who desired to throw off the heavy trammels of an old and strongly conservative community, where church and state were closely connected, and where society was dominated by political and religious castes. Still further, the East was at this time swept by an epidemic of land speculation; while the laxative moral influence of a removal from an old and well-ordered society to the woods produced its usual effects.

Robbins' diary is sustained by the memoirs of Father Badger,* who came to the Reserve as a missionary before Robbins came, and also remained after he had returned to New England. At Hudson, July 4, 1801, Badger heard Benjamin Tappan, afterwards a United States Senator, deliver an oration which was "interlarded with many grossly, illiberal remarks against Christians and Christianity." At Painesville, he reports that "not one seemed to have the

least regard for the Sabbath;" at Willoughby, Mr. Abbot, the principal man, "did not thank the missionary society for sending missionaries out here;" and at Newburg "infidelity and profaning the Sabbath" were general, and the people "bid fair to grow into a hardened, corrupt society." He found his audience as "unfeeling" and "stupid" as the woods in which they lived. In Middlebrook, under the rule that all who contributed to ministerial support might vote, two men, he says, were chosen elders of the church "who belonged to no Christian communion, and were not very rigidly moral."

This view is sustained by the early records of church organization and building. Settlers began to establish themselves in a number of towns in 1797. But the first church, that of Austinburgh, was not formed until October, 1801. White men have been continuously on the site of Cleveland since 1796. Trinity parish, the first church organization, was formed in 1816, and the first meeting-house was opened in 1829, thirty-three years after the arrival of Moses Cleveland.

Badger preached in Newburg in 1802, and Robbins soon after; but no church was organized in that village, which, for a time, was more important than Cleveland, until 1832, and the first church building was not erected until 1841-42. The population of Cleveland was for many years small, but it was large enough for the town to be a hot-bed of infidelity and irreligion.

The foregoing facts are presented

* A Memoir of Rev. Joseph Badger. Hudson, 1851.

purely in the interest of historic truth. They show most conclusively that it is idle to seek for Pilgrim or

Puritan communities in the early settlement of the Western Reserve.

B. A. HINSDALE.

THE REPUBLICAN NOMINATING CONVENTIONS OF
1856 AND 1860.

II.

PENNSYLVANIA was then an "October state." That is, it elected its state officers in October, and it was always sure to follow, in November, the path it pursued in October. All the elements of opposition to Buchanan united on a state ticket for the October election and arranged for an electoral ticket to be voted for in November, to divide the vote between Fillmore and Fremont. If this plan had succeeded in October (and it was beaten by only 3,500 votes), it would have won in November, giving about half the electoral vote of the state to Fremont; but the pro-slavery Fillmore men who had discounted the possibility of that event by making an arrangement to withdraw Fillmore from the canvass of the "People's Party," carried the state in October. The chairman of the Fillmore state committee has since assured me that the party had arranged expresses to carry the news as speedily as possible throughout the South withdrawing Fillmore as a candidate for President as soon as it became known that the People's party state ticket had been elected. The active Fillmore men took good care to prevent such a possibility by voting for and electing the Demo-

cratic state ticket; hence this action was not necessary, but it would have been carried out if needed, and this would have frustrated completely any attempt to carry the state for Fremont. So that, under the circumstances, it was next to impossible, if not an actual impossibility, to elect Fremont. Would it have been better with McLean? I think not.

A triumph in 1856 under any candidate would, I am free to think, have been a premature one. A great deal had been done, enough, almost anyone would think, to rouse up the American people to resistance to the "slave-power;" but it needed the events of the Administration of Buchanan to consolidate public sentiment, and bring it into healthy, safe and sure action. Those four years were years of wondrous suffering to many, and of many trials to those who are slow, as well as to those who are quick of faith; but they were necessary to solidify public feeling, and to mature a line of policy to be pursued when the power to follow it came. Consequently when the time came around for another convention, the party born amid doubts and fears, with no specific policy outlined at first,

beyond opposition to slavery expression; and which stumbled along blindly in its first campaign, was now purified by four years of trial, had cast off its doubts and fears, and stood ready for another trial under a leader well-known and in whom all had confidence, to undertake a final trial for supremacy. It came ready armed and equipped for the next fight.

And with this changed feeling came also a struggle for the chief place. Unlike the Convention of 1856, there was a superabundance of candidates. Every state almost had one; but the man who, to a mere looker-on, seemed the chosen favorite, was Wm. H. Seward, of New York. Pennsylvania presented Simon Cameron; Illinois, Abraham Lincoln; Ohio, Salmon P. Chase, and Missouri, Edward Bates; but no one of these had much strength beyond his own state except Seward. He appeared to have friends everywhere and his prominence was so great that it seemed as if his nomination was almost sure; but appearances are generally deceptive.

The struggle to get into this Convention was much more brisk than was apparent in 1856. Generally, the choice was made in State Conventions; but there was a much better parade of statesmen and of public men of mark than at the previous convention. New York sent Wm. M. Evarts, and men of his class; Pennsylvania sent Wm. D. Kelly; Ohio, D. K. Cartter; Indiana, Henry S. Lane and Caleb B. Smith; Illinois, David Davis; Wiscon-

sin, Carl Schurz; while Michigan, New Jersey, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Massachusetts, Vermont, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island sent their very best men as delegates. It was a splendid gathering of representative men; and not only had the prominent men pressed forward but the masses. The people were there. A hall with the capacity of 2,000 had been sufficient to hold the national convention of 1856; it took one with a capacity of 10,000 to hold that of 1860, and even that was not large enough. Where the outsiders all came from it would be hard to say; but New York had a large crowd there—a *claque*, in fact, large enough, it was thought, to clamor Seward's nomination through; Michigan was largely represented, and Wisconsin, and so also were Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa, to say nothing of Missouri; but the largest part of the crowd was from Illinois, anxious to help "old Abe," but not exactly knowing how to do it. The struggle to get into the hall of this Convention was great, and although I was there as the representative of a leading newspaper, I had hard work to get admission to the platform. Once there I got a good place, and was seated close to Henry S. Lane and other active Indiana and Illinois politicians.

The president of the Convention was George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, who was, I think, a Seward man, but who was chosen for his excellent abilities as a presiding officer, and the choice fell upon the right man. Scattered

over the platform were the men chosen to present the several candidates' claims to the Convention, and never, to my knowledge, was work so well looked to and so well apportioned. And here I may as well recount what was to me the chief incident of the Convention and the one that decided, as I thought at the time, the choice of Abraham Lincoln as the nominee for President. For, although the drift of everything seemed to point to the choice of Seward, yet my sympathies being against him and in favor of any one able to beat him, I was keenly alive to everything that served to indicate a different result.

New York, as I have intimated, had a strong outside crowd along to "boom" Seward, and besides these there were the Michigan men, nearly all for Seward, and the outsiders from other states who preferred Seward to any one. So there was plenty of material for a *claque*, and it found an organizer in a prominent bruiser from New York city, who was unlike his class generally in his political preferences. This man was entrusted with the work of organizing a Seward *claque*. And he did it well. He placed his men in groups all over the hall, up stairs and down stairs, and in every position where sound would count, with instructions to watch closely for the moment when Everts should announce the name of Seward as a candidate, and then to "make Rome howl" with enthusiastic applause in response. It was calculated that this would strike conviction into the minds of the Convention that Seward

was a man of the people, and this sudden outbreak an evidence that he was the popular choice. The plan was well laid; but it was, as it proved, an instance of reckoning without your host. Whoever conceived it had ignored the fact that the streets of Chicago were full of people ready and willing to shout themselves hoarse for Lincoln, and when the Seward men went into the Convention and looked at the assembled crowd, dotted over with groups of Seward claquers, it never occurred to them that the other portions of the crowd were there to howl the Seward men down, if need be.

Who, of Lincoln's Illinois friends it was who took the hint and worked upon it, I have never fully learned, but always believed it to be Judge David Davis. Certain it is that some one did it, and did it very quietly but effectively—so quietly that no one of the Seward crowd had any suspicion of it. The immense mass of Lincoln men present from Illinois, Indiana and Iowa were easily found and easily organized; and they being three to one to the Seward men it was easy to make the volume of sound big enough to drown the noise of the New York *claque*. These western admirers of Lincoln filled the house from one end to the other. They remained perfectly quiet until their time came, and then—But do not let me anticipate.

The convention gathered in surprising good humor. Friend shook hands with friend, and a broad smile of assured victory spread over every face. The Convention got through with its

organization, appointment of committees, etc., and at last settled down to work. The presentation of names had begun, and in due course, William M. Evarts arose and gravely presented the name of William H. Seward. Instantly the hall was filled with a deafening shout of applause, stamping of feet, clapping of hands and a general breaking loose of noise as if the whole Convention was wild with enthusiasm for Seward. For the applause and noise came from all parts of the house, and was so instantaneous in breaking out as to suggest it being completely spontaneous. Doubtless the New York buffer congratulated himself that *that* was a settler. No other demonstration could approach it.

Then Evarts went on to finish his truly eloquent speech. As an oratorical effort it was unapproachable, and to all who heard it, delightful. Someone else followed in presenting some other candidate, and then an Illinois man arose and presented the name of Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois. What was that, an earthquake? For instantly the Convention was overwhelmed with a racket to which the Seward demonstration was but as the noise of the juvenile tin trumpet. From all parts of the house came not only one voluminous burst of applause, but one after another in quick succession, until the whole convention seemed not only carried away by it, but to be taking part in it. Henry S. Lane beside me, was beating his huge cane on the table with increasing vigor, and as if his sal-

vation depended on it; all the Lincoln men on the platform were likewise engaged; as one cheer would seem to be dying away another would arise, until finally everyone quit from sheer exhaustion only. Such an outbreak of noise I have never heard, before or since; and, as a vindication of what the people at home thought of Abraham Lincoln, it was sufficient to give everyone pause, and to concentrate opposition to Seward from that moment forward upon the man from Illinois. As a specimen of political tact, the Seward *claque* was unique and very creditable under the circumstances, but it was chiefly remarkable for the much better demonstration to which it unwittingly gave rise.

In the balloting that followed Lincoln was the only one of the big "field" who steadily gained from the start. On the first ballot he had but little support outside of Illinois, Indiana and Iowa. The first ballot stood:

Seward.....	173½
Lincoln.....	102
Scattering.....	189½

The scattering votes were divided among McLean, Chase, Bates, Cameron, Collamer and Dayton; but after the first ballot, each one of these lost except Bates. On the second ballot the vote was:

Seward.....	184½
Lincoln.....	181
Scattering.....	99½

On the third ballot, the vote, before it was announced was:

Lincoln.....	231½
Seward.....	180
Scattering.....	53½

There being 465 votes cast, 233 were necessary to a choice; hence Lincoln lacked only $1\frac{1}{2}$ votes, and as the votes had not been announced, it was open to anyone to change his vote. At this juncture, Cartter, of Ohio, rose and changed four votes from Chase to Lincoln, thus ending the contest in Lincoln's favor.

The feeling for Seward was genuine and was based on admiration for a man who had always stood firm in the Senate on the side of Freedom, and always had a strong, sound word to say for the right. Yet while deserving and receiving this meed of admiration for his services as a statesman, there was a feeling with very many that he was not the man for the occasion—that there was something lacking in his make-up as a leader. (Horace Greeley was one of these, and being unable to get into the Convention from New York, appeared as a delegate from Oregon). He had as much talent, perhaps, as Lincoln, but the latter was a man of the people, who had risen from a lowly origin, had made a place for himself among public men, and seemed to have not only a full comprehension of the slavery question, but to be thoroughly in sympathy with the people on it. To quote the illustration in my last, he "believed in it," thoroughly and heartily. His was not merely the conviction of the scholarly man, but the profound judgment of a heart that beat in complete unison with the enlightened conscience of the nation. People felt not merely admiration for, but un-

bounded confidence, in him, and this it was that led them, by a wise discrimination, in a critical time, to choose him as a candidate for the chief place in the nation. To vary a common simile, it was not that they loved Seward less but that they loved Lincoln more, that made them prefer one to the other. The choice of one did not imply any lack of trust in the other.

And so, with the nomination of Hamlin for Vice-President, terminated the second national nominating Convention; and with the success of its nominations, the work of the National Convention of Feb. 22, 1856, was put fairly in the way of being consummated.

I did not follow the crowd from Chicago to Springfield, but later on, in company with Judge Casey, of Pennsylvania, now dead, I paid him a visit, and it was the only occasion I had of seeing him without restraint or hindrance; and as I can add nothing that will illustrate his public character I will conclude by a reminiscence of two anecdotes told by him. For while he never, as far as I could see, volunteered a story, they seemed to come to him naturally, as illustrations. Judge Casey was telling him some Pennsylvania hunting story, and that reminded Lincoln of one of the same kind. In the old days, when preaching was confined to school houses and men went to church with their guns in their hands and hounds at their heels, a preacher was one Sunday preaching away in good earnest about the vanity of earthly things, when, in the midst of his

eloquence, the hounds gave a howl to show that they had scented a deer. Instantly every hunter jumped for his rifle, and in a few moments the school house was empty and the men scattered over the hills after the hounds. Only one old man was left behind, and he was too much of a cripple to follow the rest. The old man was standing in the door, looking at the chase, when the preacher came up behind him and in a disgusted tone exclaimed, "Vanity of vanities! all is vanity!" "Naw!" said the old man, "by gemini, dey'll catch him yet!" There was no vanity, to him, in being sure of catching a deer.

The other anecdote was in answer to a remark of my own, to the effect that, in his new sphere of President, he would be too seriously occupied to tell anecdotes, as he was doing now. It reminded him, he said, of a member of the bar in that country, who used to tell vulgar and profane stories, and clinch every statement with an oath.

He told his stories with so much zest as always to provoke extreme uproariousness. Finally, this story teller became converted and joined the church. Presently, when he began his legal rounds over the circuit, he would relapse into his old story telling, leaving out the profanity and obscenity. Thus emasculated, his stories fell flat. He told one; nobody laughed. Another, and then no jollity. Still another and another, but at the end of each every one was quiet and unmoved. "What is the matter with my stories?" he exclaimed. "Were they all so flat that people laughed only at the interlarded profanity?" "And that," Lincoln added, "will be my fate. I will have to make my stories so severely decorous that no one will laugh at them." But he didn't. He remained a story teller to the last; and his stories were not only decorous, but always as funny as they were free from dirt.

RUSSELL ERRETT.

REMINISCENCES OF THE THIRTY-SIXTH AND THIRTY-SEVENTH CONGRESSES.

BY JOHN HUTCHINS, OF THE THEN TWENTIETH OHIO DISTRICT.

III.

At the conclusion of Mr. Nelson's speech, Mr. Roger A. Pryor, a Democrat from Virginia, took the floor in reply. His speech was able but of the ultra Southern type, sustaining mainly the views of the Southern representatives who had spoken. After replying to Mr. Nelson he paid his respects to

Helper's book and the refusal of the Republicans, especially Mr. Sherman, to answer disproving the publication or approving it. There were sharp colloquies between Mr. Pryor and Mr. Nelson, and here is a fair specimen. Mr. Nelson had stated that he was not ashamed to own that he was a slave-

holder. To this Mr. Pryor replied: "And really, when I observe the men who surround him and acclaim him, I believe it was a hazardous declaration; hazardous inasmuch as by that declaration he is likely to forfeit the respect of those to whose confidence he has especially recommended himself."

Mr. Nelson: "I have no apprehension of any kind."

Mr. Pryor: "Undoubtedly the gentleman has no apprehension—none whatever. But I am not to be deterred from a free and fearless declaration of my sentiments touching that gentleman by anything he can say, much less by anything he dare do." (Commotion and hisses from Republican benches.)

Mr. Pryor then continued his speech. Here are brief extracts therefrom: "The whole drift, tenor and intent of the gentleman's argument, I affirm, was to put the representatives of the South who participate in this contest, in a position they will not be sustained by the country; and that is the issue to which I shall hold him. And I intend to show that the position in which the representatives of the South—I speak by way of distinction—which the Democracy have assumed in this discussion, is a position in which they will be sustained, not only by their own constituency, but by fair-minded men of all parties and all sections in the country; and in which they will be sustained in the most triumphant manner by the irrevocable award of history.

"Allow me here to protest most emphatically that I am no disunionist.

Allow me to protest that I am as warm an admirer of the Union, in the spirit of the Constitution, as the gentleman from Tennessee. I do not yield even to him in the ardor of my attachment to the confederacy, but I do say that my patriotism is of a different character and different policy. Sir, by a sort of perverse idolatry he worships our mountains and hills, our valleys, our rivers and lakes; he worships, in other words, the visible, senseless symbol. I worship the spirit of the Constitution. (Applause in the galleries and on the Democratic benches.) But when that spirit has departed, when the divinity has been dethroned from the altar, I no longer pay my homage there. I did not, in his grand rhetorical climax of declamation, hear him say once or intimate even, that he regarded the Constitution. He loved the Union very much, but I did not hear him at any time declare that he had any reverence for the Constitution."

Mr. Pryor then stated that he was a lover only of the spirit of the Constitution. "Yet when the spirit of the Constitution has been exorcised and outraged, then there is no longer in it that equity and justice which our fathers intended to breathe into it, wherewith to animate the inert mass; then I am a disunionist. Yes, sir, this 'Glorious Union,' much as I revere it with all its venerable associations, I would rather see rent and torn like the fabled body of Osiris, beyond the possibility of repair or reorganization, than bow my neck to the brute will of

a majority, unlimited and unregulated by the spirit of the Constitution." (Great applause on the Democratic benches and in the galleries.)

"The representatives of the South, themselves never being intimidated by threats, will not assume that other persons are to be controlled in their course by apprehension. No, sir, the occasion is too momentous. In truth, I rather agreed with the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Stevens) yesterday, when, in a tone of irony, he taunted us with having over and over again indulged in menaces of disunion. So we have. We have threatened and resolved, and resolved and threatened, and backed out from our threats and recanted our resolutions, until, so help me God, I will never utter another threat or another resolution, but as the stroke follows the lightning's flash, so with me, acts shall be coincident and commensurate with words."

Mr. Pryor fiercely arraigned the Republican party and Mr. Sherman, as its representative in the House, and spoke at great length; and in the light of events which have since transpired the whole speech is interesting reading, showing to what extent the convictions of men will sometimes carry them in periods of great excitement.

There was a spicy debate between Mr. Pryor and Mr. Nelson, in which Mr. Nelson said: "I merely wish to say, in courtesy to the gentleman from Virginia, that I intended no disrespect to him in the observation I made that I saw no logical sequence in his re-

marks. The gentleman has won a reputation as one of the ablest editors in the South, of his party, and I do not by any means wish to discredit his intelligence, though owing to the unfortunate sentiments he has advocated, I do not wonder that he did not come up to the reputation I have heard of him."

A second ballot for Speaker was had at about 5 P. M., with no election.

On December 8, an effort was made by Mr. Israel Washburn, Jr., Mr. Grow, and others, to stop debate, but it failed. Mr. Reuben Davis, of Mississippi, made a speech, violent in manner, against the Republican party, and its leading men, charging that Senator Seward had used treasonable language in the Senate about two years before, and then referred to Mr. Washburn as follows:

"I believe the gentleman from Maine—that smallest one of the Washburn family*—(general laughter) used about the same language last winter."

This was one quotation made by Mr. Davis from Mr. Seward's speech:

"Free labor has at last apprehended its rights, its interests, its powers and its destiny; and is organizing itself to assume the government of the Republic in the territories or out of them, wherever you may go to extend slavery. It has driven you back in California

*There were three Washburn brothers in the Thirty-Sixth Congress, members of the House—Israel Washburn, Jr., of Maine; Elihu B. Washburn, of Illinois, and Cadwalader C. Washburn, of Wisconsin. Israel, Jr., was quite small in stature.

and Kansas; it will invade you soon in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Missouri and Texas. That invasion will be not merely harmless but beneficial, if you yield reasonably to its just and moderate demands." Senator Seward was here stating the demands of free labor and the general advance of the anti-slavery sentiments, and its influence upon slavery everywhere. Mr. Davis, however, did not so construe his (Mr. Seward's) remarks, and then said: "That is exactly what John Brown said, in that if we would allow him to take our niggers off without making any fuss about it he would not kill anybody." Mr. Davis also said "that Virginia had hung the traitor John Brown and may, if she can get a chance, hang the traitor Seward." (Laughter.) "We have repeatedly refused to yield, and you have sought to force us to yield by violence; and Virginia has met it with violence and has hung the man; and Virginia has had twenty-five hundred men under arms and has defied all your efforts to rescue him." We will give one more extract from this extraordinary speech. "Do not call us disunionists at all; that is not our policy. I know what you are after; you are a money loving people. (Laughter.) You think we will go off and leave you in possession of this fine house. (Loud laughter.) We do not mean to do it. You think you will get the money in the Treasury now. You think you will get the Navy and the Army with arms in their hands. You are mistaken. We are going to bring

that Navy to put down this rebellion against the Government. We are going to bring that Army to put it down. That is what we mean to do; and we will hang the last one of you." (Roars of laughter.)

At the conclusion of Mr. Davis' speech, Mr. Edward Joy Morris, of Pennsylvania, obtained the floor and made a conservative speech. Referring to the Kansas trouble, he paid the following compliment to Mr. Sherman: "Where stood my honorable friend from Ohio? With his back firmly set against the whole power of this wicked Administration, standing up nobly for the rights of the people against the Government, and in favor of law and order. There he stood, and for his gallant conduct on that occasion and in that struggle he shall have my vote as long as there is a possibility of electing him Speaker of the House." (Applause from the Republican benches.)

Mr. Morris claimed that the whole North had been charged "with acts of conspiracy and treason against the people of the Southern States," and said: "I am no apologist for the North. The North asks no apology. It is not in an apologetic mood; it has nothing to apologise for. It is loyal to the Constitution; it is loyal to the Union."

Mr. Sydenham Moore, of Alabama, obtained the floor and approved generally of the sentiments expressed by the representatives from the South in the speeches made the day before. His

speech was a defiant one. A few extracts from it will show its spirit and tenor. Speaking of the Union and the sacrifices which he was willing to make on account of it, he said: "But if any sacrifices are to be made of the least Constitutional rights of the South, I for one am not prepared to make any, let the consequences be disunion or what they will. Though I am not a disunionist, yet if cherishing that sentiment caused me to be regarded as a disunionist, let it be so. I take the responsibility at home and elsewhere, and here I say that I do not concur with the declarations made yesterday by the gentleman from Tennessee, that the election of a black Republican to the Presidency was not a cause for the dissolution of the Union. Whenever a President is elected by a fanatical majority at the North, those whom I represent, as I believe, and the gallant state which I in part represent, are ready, let the consequences be what they may, to fall back on our reserved rights and say: To this Union we have no longer any lot or part in it! If this Union is to come to an end, if we are forced in defence of our Constitutional rights to secede from the Union, it will be for the North to determine whether it shall be peaceful secession or not. As to being forced to submit, as to being whipped into submission as some of the braggarts of the North have threatened, we have no fears. When this union was formed it was regarded as an experiment. Patrick Henry, with his matchless eloquence, and many others

of the purest and best patriots of the land, men who had devoted themselves to the cause of the Revolution, opposed the ratification of the Constitution. They believed then and some of them predicted—one I remember was Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia—that if the Union was formed, the Southern states would sink down to mere appendages of the North."

At the conclusion of this exciting speech Mr. Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, obtained the floor. He with others was getting tired of hearing threats of a dissolution of the Union if the North did not "toe the mark" better in accordance with the views of the Democratic party as then organized, particularly the Southern part of it, and that portion of the North who were in sympathy with the South. And on his own judgment he concluded to reply to those threats without going into a particular discussion of the slavery question. Mr. Corwin was one of Ohio's most distinguished men, who had occupied high and important positions in his own state and in the Government at Washington, and he was a very eloquent man and was well known throughout the Union. He was without doubt one of the most entertaining and interesting stumpers in the nation. Other Ohio men were as able if not more able than he, but few, if any, of Ohio's distinguished men had all those marked characteristics which made him a power as a popular orator whom everybody delighted to hear. The expressions of his face when speaking were such that

his audience could detect before they were uttered the flashes of wit and bolts of sarcasm struggling within for escape, and the adversary at whom they were aimed was sure to feel their force and power. He was withal a conservative man and not as pronounced in his anti-slavery views as perhaps a majority of the Republicans who then had seats in Congress. His speech was attentively and respectfully listened to by all parties and was temperate in tone, and although all his utterances were not concurred in by some Republicans, his wit, eloquence and good nature in its delivery had a good influence upon the excited and angry members from the South, and it brought out the sentiments of some Democrats from the North who were then in party sympathy with the Democrats of the South, and it did "pour oil upon the troubled waters," which Helper's little book had disturbed. In view of the great events which have taken place in the nation since this exciting historic contest for the election of Speaker occurred, extracts from speeches made during that contest cannot fail to be interesting reading to those who are anxious to ascertain and understand the true cause of the war of the rebellion. All the extracts made are taken from the *Congressional Globe*, containing the official proceedings of Congress.

Mr. Corwin said: "Mr. Clerk, I feel some embarrassment in rising to address this House, although it is not of the character usually alluded to on such occasions. I am perplexed to know

what are the proper subjects of discussion before the House, if House it may be called. I remember, sir, on an occasion something like this, when the House was engaged two or three weeks in attempting to secure its organization. The difficulty then was the contested election in the state of New Jersey. We obviated the difficulty in reference to the presiding officer by electing a member of the body, the venerable Mr. Adams. He presided for twenty days or more, at least until we had effected an organization. But that aside, Mr. Clerk, I do think if the honorable gentlemen would consider calmly and dispassionately the purposes for which we have been sent by our respective constituencies to this place, they would see that it must be better to organize the House, through which organization the momentous topics which have been broached here might be calmly and dispassionately discussed. It has been my fortune to witness every one of the crises to which gentlemen on the other side of the House have referred. I was here in the memorable period of what is called nullification. I was here during that other crisis of 1850, as it is called. If we can summon back the spirit which actuated the men of that day, all these unpleasant occurrences of the past few days would disappear, and we would come as the proper representatives of this great nation; with hearts as well as heads, to do this work in a proper and parliamentary manner. I have heard with pain the constant and reiterated

threat, by gentlemen upon the other side of the House—though I do not intend to criticise their taste or judge of their feelings or expressions—of a dissolution of the Union, if one party or another should happen to succeed. Can it be possible that gentlemen of the South would be willing to encounter the fatal consequences of a disruption of the Constitutional Confederacy, merely because a particular individual shall be elected Speaker of this House?" (Several voices: "We do not mean that.")

Mr. Moore, of Alabama: "We refer to the election of President."

Mr. Corwin: "If then, a particular man in this great Confederacy, should be voted into the Presidential chair by a majority of the people, he being called a Black Republican, is that sufficient for a dissolution of the Union?"

A voice from the Democratic side of the House: "I am for it. It is."

Mr. Lamar: "Will the gentleman allow me to ask him if Fillmore, the candidate for whom he voted, and around whose council board he sat, did not express the very sentiments which he here denounced?"

Mr. Corwin: "I did not denounce those sentiments. I denounce nobody. I am willing to answer all questions patiently. I have not the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with the gentleman from Mississippi, but I do not wish to be held responsible for the opinion of others, but only for my own. I would, however, at the same time I am answering the interrogatory of the

gentleman from Mississippi, observe that Mr. Fillmore, prior to his election as Vice-President of the United States, did express, in a very formal manner, every opinion held by the Republican party of to-day. But I find that when that gentlemen came into the presidential chair, he so administered the government, that every conservative man, both from the North and South, gave him credit for impartiality. A president may belong to a party that may urge him to extremes—as I think there are modern examples of that sort. He may belong to a party that may sometimes push him a little from the proper path of good policy, but it is impossible for an intelligent man, who understands the constitution of this country, as most men are likely to do who are invested with the presidential office, to do wrong. While this great branch of the government, the law-making power exists, if they choose to array themselves against any act of a President, that act is as chaff before the wind. It is only when a President has the voting people in his favor and a party inflamed with the lust of power, and confident of their strength to back him, that this government has to fear any encroachment of the President. I have never read the speech of Mr. Seward referred to; and I presume that there are thousands of men, devoted to the Republican party, these last two years, who have never heard of it, and for the reason that the men who have influence in that party do not consider themselves the worshippers of any idol.

Nothing more unjust, as a matter of argument, nothing more illogical in conclusions, than inferences which are often drawn from the speeches made in this hall, and other occasions when such speeches relate to political question in dispute between excited political parties."

Mr. Davis, of Mississippi: "During the last session of Congress Mr. Giddings presented Mr. Seward as the champion of the Republican party on the platform of principles which are embraced in that speech of his, and I say that if Mr. Seward be the representative of that party then, of course, they endorse his principles. That is what I mean."

Mr. Corwin: "I do not know what Mr. Giddings may have done, but I do not suppose it was the intention of Mr. Giddings to convoke a political caucus of the House of Representatives and to make a nomination at that time. If he had such an intention, it would have been his duty to send for me. (Laughter). There may have been gentlemen here who, from their attachments to the character of the politics of Mr. Seward, would wish to see him President of the United States. But I repeat there is nothing more unjust to men composing the Republican party than to charge them with a determination to elect this or that man. We will not be held responsible for the individual opinions of anybody anywhere. I do not intend to assume here or anywhere else any sort of unauthorized power, but I profess to be as much one of the leaders of

the Republican party and just as much an embodiment of that party as Mr. Seward or any other man. (Laughter). Now the gentleman from Mississippi undertook to criminate Gov. Seward by charging him directly with complicity with the affair of John Brown, and to prove that, he makes it appear to us, according to his argument, that Mr. Seward announced it, in the Senate of the United States a year and a half ago before it happened, that Brown was to invade Virginia. A letter is also referred to, written by a person named Forbes, which is said to have been found in John Brown's carpet bag. Now, until a grand jury shall indict Mr. Seward for murder at Harper's Ferry, and until a petit jury shall be sworn to try him, I take it for granted that we may as well rely on the word of Gov. Seward, rather than that of a man, who, from his own confession, ought to be unworthy of credit. I mean Mr. Forbes. . . . Now I would suggest to the gentleman from Mississippi whether it would be quite fair to inculcate a gentleman like Mr. Seward in the atrocious and abominable act of John Brown on such testimony as that of Forbes. I do not believe the gentleman from Mississippi would be guilty of such an injustice as that."

Mr. Davis, of Mississippi: "Did not John Brown believe in the political doctrines of Mr. Seward?"

Mr. Corwin: "And if he did, does that imply or are we to infer from it, that every man out of the millions who have voted the ticket of the Republican

party, would engage in the Harper Ferry movement? Now, Mr. Clerk, let us put away all these irregular and, as I think, very unjust modes of criminating a man, by referring to what has been done by the South or what has been done by the North. I have no doubt that if you trace the history, from its birth to its death, of any political party that has ever existed, even in the best periods of the British monarchy in modern days or in the best days of this blessed Republic of ours, everybody will find something to condemn; something which he would be willing to have undone; something which, for the honor of the country and the sake of free government, everywhere, it were better had never been transacted, and had better never been transferred to the pages of history. I am sure if every man examines himself as with a lighted candle, he will be certain to find acts of his life which he will regret had ever been committed. And so it is and will be with parties and governments so long as parties and governments are made up of fallible men."

Mr. Corwin then referred to the fact that some of the people of Ohio in 1833 tendered their services in common with others, to Gen. Jackson to quell the rebellion in South Carolina, and that a portion of the people of the state since that time, at a meeting in Ohio adopted one of the resolutions on which the main dogma of nullification was then based. Such resolutions as Mr. Calhoun offered in the United States Senate, were offered by these same men

at a meeting held in the town of Cleveland, "in my own state, touching the safety of a runaway negro, and that these extravagancies will occur 'where liberty of speech and liberty of the press' are allowed. We all say there must be liberty of the press. . . . And that liberty of discussion must be permitted. . . . The great difficulty which we had to encounter in Ohio, during the last Congress was from the meetings of the character to which I have referred. I presume the gentleman from Ohio before me (Mr. Vallandigham) with whom I differ on almost every subject, unless it may be that of original sin (laughter), must know this."

Mr. Vallandigham: "Will the gentleman allow me to say that the Governor of Ohio, Salmon P. Chase, was present and addressed that meeting?"

Mr. Corwin: "He was, and he advised the people to go home and resort to the ballot box for redress, and they did. I voted for Governor Chase; it was the best thing that I could do. I am quite satisfied with that vote. My colleague will remember that Governor Chase informed them at that meeting that they could proceed to no violence whatever, and they must redress themselves at the ballot box. As a proper executive officer he denounced the object for which they had assembled, if that were forcible opposition to law. . . . Such are the people of the Republican party of Ohio, of which it seems I stand as the acknowledged leader to-day. (Great laughter.)

As to the object of that part to which the gentleman from Mississippi, Mr. Davis, alluded, I can only say, so far as I know, and I believe I am as well acquainted with them as any others of their great leaders. (Laughter) They are the same that have characterized all the great conservative parties in the history of our constitutional government But I do not mean to be drawn into a discussion of these matters in detail. Let it suffice that I mention the fact, and for it I mean to hold myself responsible as a lawyer. (Great applause) I know we have but two points of compass now in our political geography—North and South. I beg gentlemen of the South to remember that there are in our country about nine millions of people who reside in the West; that they have an identity of language, manners, and social systems, although they may differ about what is called Democracy We, of the West, do not mean to be held responsible to the North or to the South, though, with God's blessing, we mean to preach good and wholesome doctrines to both, and if we possibly can, preserve and cherish fraternal relations with both. I had occasion not long ago to listen to a Boston man. He is called a Black Republican. You, at the South, believe that Wendell Phillips is an exponent of the Republican party of the North. He is a man of large talent with an intellect that would do credit to humanity itself. Wendell Phillips preaches the very same doctrines that you now attribute

to Mr. Seward, and which Mr. Seward would no more act upon than he would commit suicide to-morrow. (Applause in the galleries and from the Republican benches.) Mr. Phillips belongs to that school of politicians, and to those transcendental schools that we have nowadays, who have already scaled the heights to which the human mind will be supposed to arrive fifty centuries hence."

Mr. Corwin continued at great length amid many interruptions and replying to numerous questions. His answers were prompt and frequently to the great amusement of the House, and showed great tact and shrewdness. He admitted the bravery of John Brown and that all men admired it. He stated that Governor Wise said he was the gamest man he ever saw, and that he was a sincere man and he would trust his word for anything. He then paid his respects to the Helper book and agreed with what Mr. Nelson of Tennessee said about it, and added "that man came from North Carolina. Ought we not to make war upon North Carolina for allowing that fellow to come among us and publish a book containing documents of an incendiary character?"

A voice from the Democratic side: "Who published it?"

Mr. Corwin: "I do not know. I imagine the press might be much better employed in publishing our speeches made here, though I, if I may be permitted to say so here, think that would be rather poor business. I had

the pleasure of introducing my colleague, Mr. Sherman, as a candidate for the office of Speaker. I knew he was charged with indorsing that book. I looked into 'Chitty on Bills,' to

see how far he might be liable. (Laughter.) I did not know but I might be held liable as second indorser." (Renewed laughter.)

CHARLES H. GERE.

CHARLES H. GERE, editor of the *Nebraska State Journal*, may certainly be counted one of those able and sagacious builders of the great Northwest whose deeds have been, from time to time, recorded in these pages. As statesman, as editor, and in other lines of labor, he has made himself felt with beneficial result, and still stands foremost in the rank, and pledged by his past to even yet more effective labors in the future. He has been an adopted son of Nebraska for nearly a quarter of a century; had a part in laying the foundation of its statehood and in directing the policy that has brought a magnificent development, and in carrying forward the various lines of education and reform that have made the young commonwealth, in some respects, the peer of any in the land. Aside from his distinctive public labors he has, as a man of intelligence and energy, a citizen of influence and high moral principle, and a journalist of broad culture, won a prominent place in the appreciation and affections of the state.

Like many men who have compassed a wide usefulness and won extended reputation in the West, Mr. Gere is of Eastern birth and parentage. He was

born in Gainesville, Genessee county,—now Wyoming,—New York, the son of Horatio N. and Julia D. (Grant) Gere. The family is one well known and of honorable record; Mr. Gere's maternal grandfather, Dr. Isaac Grant, being a volunteer from Connecticut in the war of the Revolution, serving with Wayne at the storming of Stony Point, and, with his brother was for some time an inmate of the British hulk *Grosvenor*, a prison ship in New York. With the exception of his brother he was the only survivor of his company,—raised at Litchfield—at the close of the war. Tracing the ancestral tree back through the paternal lines, we find that the Geres settled in New England in 1632, and an ancestor was a high sheriff in Massachusetts before the Revolution. Another ancestor, Capt. John Gere, was burned at the stake, in colonial times, by hostile Indians.

The early years of Charles H. Gere were passed in Anne Arundel county, Maryland, and Chenango county, New York, where he attended the common schools of the day, afterwards fitting himself for college at Oxford Academy. He graduated from Dickinson college, Pennsylvania, in the class of 1861. He then taught for a year in an academic

institution in Pennsylvania, and another in the public schools of Baltimore. When Lee invaded Pennsylvania he put into execution a desire and purpose before held, by leaving the school room and enlisting in the Tenth Maryland Infantry. He afterwards became a member of the Eleventh Infantry regiment which was also recruited in Baltimore. At the close of the war he was mustered out of the service, being honorably discharged on June 20, 1865.

In the days of school life, the young man had decided upon the law as his avocation, and gave such time as he could to a course of reading for the same; and soon after his return to civil life he was admitted to the bar at Baltimore.

Rightfully concluding that the West with its opening opportunity and advancing importance, was the best place in which youth and energy could develop themselves, Mr. Gere, immediately upon his formal entrance upon his profession, proceeded to Nebraska, to which place his family had emigrated from New York some eight years previous. He opened a law office in Pawnee City and was soon prominently identified with the interests of the place. He was elected to the first state legislature upon the Republican ticket in 1866, becoming a member of a body of some historical importance, as it was that legislature that elected the two first United States Senators in accordance with the enabling act for the admission of Nebraska into the Union. Upon the formal admission of the state

in the following March, Mr. Gere became the private secretary of Gov. Butler. Upon the location of the capital of the state at Lincoln, he engaged in journalism, establishing a newspaper at the new seat of government—an event which was the beginning of Mr. Gere's career in a profession he has so highly adorned, and in which he has won such signal success.

This new journalistic venture was at first called the *Commonwealth*, but two years later the name was changed to the *State Journal*, under which title it has become one of the best known and most influential of the journals of the Northwest. In the spring of 1868 Mr. Gere removed to Lincoln, and devoted his entire energies to his newspaper, having been its editor-in-chief and one of its proprietors from its establishment.

But Mr. Gere's peculiar fitness for the discharge of important public trusts, caused the people to once more call him to a place of public usefulness. In the fall of 1868 he was elected to the state senate, representing a district composed of five counties. He served here two years, and was identified with the inception, advance, and fruition of many important measures that have inured for Nebraska's good. He was chairman of the committee on education, and reported the bill for the organization of the state university, and framed and took charge of the bill for the erection of the first university building. He was a member of the committee on railroads, and drafted and had

charge of the bill that eventually passed to distribute the internal improvement lands of the state, among such roads as should first build within a limited period.

He was subsequently chairman of the Republican State Central Committee and served four consecutive terms, performing its arduous duties satisfactorily. He was elected to the convention of 1875 that framed the present state constitution, and took an active part in the deliberations of that body. In 1880 he was again elected to the state senate, and served as chairman of the committee of Ways and Means, and among the bills introduced and put through by him was a revision of the school law.

In 1882 Mr. Gere was appointed by Gov. Nance a member of the board of regents of the state university, to fill a vacancy, and has been twice elected

since that time to the same position. He was soon after the appointment, made president of the board, and has continued to fill that position until the present time.

Mr. Gere is a firm believer in the principles of the Republican party, and has ever given them and the party his earnest and helpful support, not only through the columns of his journal, but upon the rostrum, and in the quiet influence of private life. An experienced parliamentarian, and of magnetic presence, he has been chosen the presiding officer of three Republican state conventions, since his entry into politics.

Mr. Gere was married to Mariel E., only daughter of the late Capt. John Clapham, of Washington, D. C., in 1871. One son and three daughters have been the fruit of that union. The daughters are living.

THE MILITARY CAREER OF AN OFFICER IN HARMAR'S REGIMENT.

1775-1792.

II.

DURING the summer of 1787, from July to the last of November, Capt. Zeigler accompanied Harmar on his Western expedition for the purpose of treating with the Indians and deciding difficulties among settlers about public and private property. The regiment embarked at the Falls of the Ohio, or what is now Louisville, for Port St. Vincent, or Vincennes, Indiana, July 8, 1787. At Pigeon's Creek, one hun-

dred miles above the falls, the baggage was sent up the Wabash River in boats with an escort of one hundred men, part of them belonging to Zeigler's company. The Indians attacked one of the boats on July 27th, killing one of Zeigler's men. They also the same day killed a number of the settlers. This little fleet of open boats filled with soldiers in the Continental uniform, the men constantly on the watch, for the

Indians who lurked on the shores of the Wabash which otherwise passed through an almost uninhabited wilderness, must have presented a pretty and romantic spectacle to any infrequent hunter or fisherman who chanced to approach the river as Zeigler's command, the sunlight glancing on their weapons and buttons, rowed silently toward Vincennes. At night they disembarked, tied their boats to convenient trees, and encamped to sup and sleep and breakfast in carefully patrolled and guarded camps, their fires smoking and smoldering long after they had departed in the early morning hours, and the last boat had disappeared from sight.

From Port St. Vincent Zeigler's and Strong's companies marched through the woods to Fort Finney. Starting at 11 A. M., October 1st, and arriving October 7th a little before sunset after a fatiguing march, though, as Buel records in his Journal, the tour was more pleasant than it was when they made it in July.

While at Fort Finney on October 28, 1787, Col. Harmar "received the brevet commission with pay and emoluments of a Brigadier-General," and left immediately, accompanied by Quartermaster Pratt and Adjutant Denny, for Fort Harmar in a barge, with a sergeant and fourteen men. Zeigler's and Strong's companies were ordered to follow the next day and Major Wyllys with Finney's and Mercer's companies, to remain at Fort Finney. The two companies "embarked for Fort Harmar

October 29, making about fifteen miles a day up stream, encamping on the shore every night and embarking early in the morning. They had a fine breeze and reached Muskingum November 21, at 10 A. M., and took possession of their old quarters at Fort Harmar," where they spent the following winter.

The time for which the men now in the service were enlisted did not expire till midsummer, 1788, but it was thought advisable to secure recruits and bring them west in season. Capts. Zeigler and Bradford and Lieutenant Pratt volunteered to go to their respective states to recruit, and started East May 9th. On April 7th of this year the *Mayflower*, laden with Gen. Rufus Putnam and the directors of the Ohio company, landed at Muskingum and laid the foundations of Marietta. The officers of the little army stationed at Fort Harmar, had a special and personal interest in this colony for they were nearly all shareholders in the Ohio company. David Zeigler owned two shares.

Captain Zeigler and his company of Pennsylvania recruits arrived at Fort Harmar on the 9th of September, escorting from Fort Pitt Gen. Butler, Capt. O'Hara and the friendly chief Cornplanter, with about fifty Seneca Indians, who came to negotiate a treaty with the United States Government. Major Denny says that "Zeigler and his party were received with a salute of three rounds of cannon and the music;" and Bruel says:

“ We saluted them with our field pieces which they returned with a running fire from their rifles.” As the boats came into view everybody turned out to gaze at the pretty sight. A number of ladies and children had joined the colony at Marietta during the summer and they enlivened the group of soldiers and citizens who watched the landing of the Indians and their military escort. Dr. Manasseh Cutler, one of the founders of the Ohio company, was visiting Marietta at this time and, from a boat on the river, saw the imposing spectacle, which made a great impression on the imaginations of all the diarists who witnessed and described it. “ Soon after we left the Point,” Dr. Cutler says; in his interesting Journal, “ saw the soldiers and a number of Indians expected from Fort Pitt, coming down on the other side of Kerr’s Island. We crossed the river and met them. Capt. Zeigler commanded the company of new levies of fifty-five men. There were about fifty Indians in canoes lashed together. The soldiers were paraded in a very large boat—stood up on a platform and were properly paraded with the American flag in the stern. Just as we got up with them they began to fire by platoons. After they had fired, the Indians fired from their canoes singly, or rather confusedly. The Indians had two small flags of thirteen stripes. They were answered from the garrison by train who fired three field pieces; flag hoisted.” Zeigler was noted as a drill master and disciplinarian, as

well as for his personal bravery. Major Denny says, in his Military Journal, after describing the arrival of Cornplanter and the United States soldiers at Fort Harmar: “ Zeigler is a German, and had been in the Saxon service previous to our late war with England. Takes pride in having the handsomest company in the regiment; to do him justice his company has been always considered the first in point of discipline and appearance. Four-fifths of the company have been Germans. Majority of the present are men who served in Germany.”

In December, 1789, Gen. Harmar, leaving Cap. Zeigler with twenty soldiers at Fort Harmar, left Marietta for Fort Washington taking three hundred men with him. In the following autumn, September, 1790, Harmar undertook the expedition against the Indian villages, near the present city of Fort Wayne, which ended in a retreat to Fort Washington. The real object of the campaign was, however, accomplished by a party of six hundred militia under Col. Hardin, including fifty regulars commanded by Capt. Zeigler. They burned the deserted villages, destroyed corn, fruit trees, provisions and all the property of the Indians. This necessary destruction of the possessions of the savages caused them much suffering. A white man who was a captive at this time, though he had no reason to love the Indians, was so impressed by what seemed to him the vandalism of the soldiers—the sudden effacement of the pleasant villages, barns and orchards

on which years of labor had been expended—that he could never afterwards hear Harmar's name mentioned without accusing him of wanton cruelty and expressing his detestation of him. Burnet says, in justification of this campaign, in Notes on the Northwest Territory, that "the savages made vigorous efforts to harrass and break up the American settlements in which they must have succeeded, but for the total destruction of their property and provisions just at the approach of winter.

"Harmar's army nominally, though really much smaller, consisted of five hundred Pennsylvania and one thousand Kentucky militia, beside three hundred and twenty men of the First U. S. Infantry and a battery of U. S. Artillery. The Kentucky militia were very insubordinate, less in number than had been ordered out, poorly equipped, and consisted principally of old men or boys, substitutes who had never fired a gun, instead, as should have been the case, of smart, active woodsmen, well accustomed to arms, eager and alert to revenge the injuries done them and their connections." The Pennsylvanians were even worse than the Kentuckians. The Kentucky volunteers were noted for insubordination as late as the war of 1812. Traditions still linger in Dayton, Ohio, which was the rendezvous for the western militia, of the border-ruffian-like conduct of the hunters from across the Ohio river who entered stores and dwellings and helped themselves to what they fancied, without asking leave

or making payment. One of their favorite amusements was putting their heads into doors or windows and giving a fearful Indian war whoop to frighten women and children.

After disbanding his army at Fort Washington, Harmar went to Philadelphia, resigned his commission, and demanded a Court of Inquiry, which met at Fort Washington, September 15, 1791, and adjourned on the 22nd. The members of the court were unanimously of the opinion that the personal conduct of the General was irreproachable, and that he deserved high approbation for the manner in which he had handled the army and conducted the expedition. Capt. Zeigler was one of the principal witnesses, and testified: "Some time had elapsed before the different corps and battalions could be organized, on account of rank—the militia officers disputing for the command—and after a good deal of exertion by Gen. Harmar they commenced their march, September 30, 1790, the militia under Col. Hardin having been sent on a few days before. October 3rd, they joined the militia. He observed that the order of march, encampment, motions, etc. would have done honor to the first officers either in America or Europe. All necessary precautions were observed to gain the point the General set out for. On the 15th of October, he (Zeigler) was sent out with fifty regulars and 600 militia commanded by Col. Hardin. They were victorious, burning the villages, etc. On the 19th, Col. Trotter was detached

with 300 militia and thirty regulars. The men in the rear on discovering the Indians would not come up. The militia fled in the most shameful manner and the Federals were sacrificed. October 21st the army started for Fort Washington. On the night of October 21st a force of 400 was sent out under Major Wyllys, but defeated by militia running ahead and leaving Major Wyllys unsupported. The good of the service was Harmar's constant study, but it was impossible, on account of the insubordination of the militia, for him to turn back his army and renew the attack on the Indians. Zeigler never permitted his men to go thirty yards from camp, but the militia strolled off as far as they pleased and were a complete rabble. One hundred and twenty warriors could have defeated them on the 15th of October. Capt. Doyle would have been justified in arresting some of the officers and sending them home, but had he done so would have broken up the whole army." The loss of the Americans during Harmar's expedition was one hundred and eighty. Two federal and nine militia officers were killed. The Indians lost one hundred and twenty men. At the close of this campaign Capt. Zeigler was ordered back to Fort Harmar where he remained in command till St. Clair's expedition was organized.

Incensed by Harmar's destructive campaign the Indians, on the evening of January 2, 1791, attacked the settlement at Big Bottom and killed or took

prisoners fourteen persons. In regard to this massacre Zeigler wrote from Fort Harmar on January 8th to Gov. St. Clair who was in Philadelphia: "I have the misfortune to inform you that on the second instant, in the evening, the settlement called Big Bottom, consisting of sixteen men, one woman and two children was destroyed by the savages, and only two men escaped and three supposed taken prisoners as the bodies were not found. As soon as I got acquainted, assisted Col. Sprout, (Commander of Ohio Company's militia) to make a detachment with as many men as I possibly could spare towards the settlement; the Indians were gone before the party arrived."

In the fall of 1791 Gen. St. Clair who succeeded Harmar as Commander-in-Chief of the army, began his campaign against the Indians. His army contained 2,000 men. On the 4th of November occurred the terrible reverse, known in history as "St. Clair's defeat." "The Indians being in their own country easily surprised and surrounded the army before day break, and safely hidden behind trees and stumps, fired at them from every direction. They could skip out of the reach of the bayonet and return as they pleased. They were visible only when raised by a charge. The ground was literally covered with the dead." So dreadful was the appearance of the battle-field, the despair and fright of the soldiers, the distress of the wounded, that Major Denny used to declare that

he could not endure to describe or think of the scenes he witnessed on that fatal day. Thirty-seven officers and 593 privates were killed or missing; thirty-one officers and 252 privates were wounded. The battle lasted from six till nine A.M. when the panic-stricken army began their retreat to Fort Jefferson, and thence starting at ten P.M. to Fort Washington. Fortunately they were not pursued by "those banditti" as Major Zeigler called the Indians.

Major Denny says that the first regiment, "the only complete and best disciplined portion of the army had been ordered back upon the road on the 31st of October. They were thirty miles from the battle ground when they heard distinctly the firing of the cannon, were hastening forward and had marched about nine miles when met by some of the militia who informed Major Hamtramck, the Commanding officer, that the army was totally destroyed. The Major judged it best to send on a subaltern to obtain some knowledge of things, and to return himself with the regiment to Fort Jefferson, eight miles back, and to secure at all events that post. He had made some arrangements, and as we arrived in the evening found them preparing again to meet us." The defeated army reached Fort Washington the 8th of November after an exhausting march.

A few weeks after his defeat Gen.

St. Clair went to Philadelphia, leaving Major Zeigler, who was promoted December 29, 1791, at Fort Washington, where he continued in command of the United States Army for about six weeks. In January, 1792, a Congressional committee was appointed, at the request of St. Clair, to inquire into the causes of the failure of his campaign. Major Zeigler was summoned as a witness, and in his testimony shifted the blame for the defeat from St. Clair's to the inefficient quartermaster's shoulders, testifying that the ammunition, guns, clothing, provisions, axes, and everything provided for the army, was of the poorest character, and furnished so late in the season that it was almost impossible for the General to begin his expedition at the time proposed. Axes were an important item to the soldiers as they were obliged, besides building the log forts, Hamilton and Jefferson, to cut a road through the trees and bushes. The Congressional committee reported: "That in their opinion the failure of the late expedition can in no respect be imputed to the conduct of the commanding General, either at any time before or during the action." In 1792, probably while in Philadelphia as a witness for St. Clair, Major Zeigler resigned his commission in the army. He settled as a merchant in Cincinnati where he lived till his death in 1811.

MARY D. STEELE.

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION OF OMAHA.

III.

CHARLES MACKENZIE DINSMOOR, A. M., M. D.

Fortunate is the professional man in this day of hard struggle and competition who wins success and position despite all disadvantages; more fortunate is he if the rewards of his toil come before he is compelled by advancing years and infirmities to lay down his work. Of this latter class is Charles Mackenzie Dinsmoor, A. M., M. D., of Omaha. So great has been the measure of his success that it becomes a pleasure to inquire into the causes which have tended to produce it. We find he is of Scotch-Irish descent, inheriting the mental power and perseverance on the one side combined with the enthusiasm and geniality of the other. His paternal ancestor, Capt. John Dinsmoor, emigrated from Londonderry, Ireland, as early as 1750, settling in New Hampshire, and founding the town of Derry. His maternal grandfather, Deacon Charles Mackenzie, came to our shores with his father from the county of Ayer, Scotland, in 1756, and settled in New Boston, New Hampshire. Afterwards, in about the year 1770, both paternal and maternal grandparents made their homes in the town of Hartland, Windsor county, Vermont, where some of their descend-

ants still reside upon the old homesteads. Here was born August 1st, 1828, Charles Mackenzie Dinsmoor, the eldest of a family of four children. Until the age of eighteen he lived with his grandfather, Deacon Charles Mackenzie, doing farm work and attending the district school. He was fitted for college at Kimball Union Academy, at Meriden, New Hampshire, and received his degree of Master of Arts from Waterville College, Maine. His native tastes led him to adopt the medical profession and he pursued his studies with the late Drs. Ira Warren, of Boston, and Horace Green, of New York; also at the Vermont Medical College, and at the Harvard Medical College, where he took a partial course, completing them at the Hahnemann Medical College and Hospital of Chicago. From the Missouri Homœopathic Medical College of St. Louis, Missouri, he received in 1881 the honorary degree of M. D.

After following his profession for several years in Massachusetts, Indiana and Missouri, he came, in 1878, to Omaha, where he has built up a large and lucrative practice. The high standing and professional ability of

Dr. Dinsmoor no one can gainsay. Ready and accurate in detecting the nature of disease, while in the treatment careful, skillful and successful, he is regarded as an authority of eminence among medical men of his own school in the West, while men of otherschools recognize and respect his ability and integrity. Many professional honors have been bestowed upon Dr. Dinsmoor since his residence in Omaha. He is a member of the Nebraska State Homœopathic Medical Society, of which he has been president; of the Western Academy of Homœopathy, of which he has been vice-president; also a member of the Associated Alumni of Hahnemann Medical College and Hospital of Chicago, which he has served as president; and of the American Institute of Homœopathy.

Although devoted to his profession, Dr. Dinsmoor has by no means neglected the many duties which have fallen to his lot as a citizen to perform, and in many ways has his public spirit manifested itself. To his credit may it be said its tendency has always been towards objects promotive of fraternity and charity. This could only proceed from a general kindness of disposition and a very sympathetic nature.

Of the order of the Knights of Pythias he is one of the most active and influential members, belonging to Nebraska Lodge No. 1 of that order, and of which he is a Past Chancellor; also surgeon with the rank of Major of the Second Regiment (Omaha) Uniform Rank, and President of the Omaha

Building Association of the order.

Near the close of the year 1888, the ritual of the Kassidean Knights was heard for the first time in Nebraska and St. James Priory, No. 5, A. E. R., was duly instituted in Omaha. This order is said to trace back its origin to the ancient escenic rite, as practised by the temple builders of King Soloman's time, and in its ritual is not unlike the Masonic. It is fraternal in all that the term implies, and the titles of its officials are in the phraseology of the ancient days. "It is an order" says one whose opinion has already been given to the public, "based on the grandest and most profound fraternal principles. The order is one which gives its first consideration to the communion of men and will not sink to the level of insurance associations. To be sure we have a rank of endowment, but it is one which does not encumber the main body of the order, and we propose to keep it in that condition. We pride ourselves on the fact that our antiquity has to be conceded by Masons as before theirs." Dr. Dinsmoor holds the office of Excellent Prior, and is also a member and officer in the National Grand Chapter A. E. R.

Thus in whatever direction his attention may be turned his recognized ability renders him a leader, honoring the position he may be called to fill. Dr. Dinsmoor has been twice married. His first wife, Miss Caroline A. Montague, was born in Bridgewater, Windsor county, Vermont, in the year 1828, and was the daughter of Moses and

Anne Montague. She was educated at Kimball Union Academy, at Meriden, New Hampshire, and was married to the doctor on the 20th day of August, 1852. She was one of nature's noblewomen, known only to be loved and respected by all who came in contact with her, for her sterling qualities as wife, mother and friend. She died August 1, 1871. In July 1876, the doctor was again married, this time to Miss Orpha Elizabeth Clement, who was born in Randolph, Vermont, December 2, 1828, her father being George Dwight Clement; her mother, Orpha Troop Clement. The family moved to Illinois in 1836. Miss Clement was educated at Mount Morris Seminary, then the leading educational institution in the West. She early developed great intellectual power with remarkable executive ability, which with her interest in the young made her a most successful teacher, such being her chosen profession. In 1870 she founded and became principal of Maple Wood Seminary, of Leavenworth, Kansas, which, from an educational standpoint, was a great success. After five years of arduous labor her health gave way and she was obliged to lay aside that work and rest. In 1878, two years after her marriage, she came with her husband to Omaha, when she became interested in the educational work of the state and delivered a number of very able lectures at the different institutes.

Mrs. Dinsmoor was warmly supported by the literary people of the state for the office of regent of the State Normal

School at Peru, but because of the then Governor's prejudice against women for such positions she was not appointed. She was president of the Women's Associate Charities of the State of Nebraska, a society which was organized January 15, 1885, and is an incorporated body. The objects of the society are to establish a Home for the Aged, an Industrial Home for Women, a State Hospital for the Sick, and a State Home for Dependent Children. Mrs. Dinsmore labored hard for the passage of the bill in the legislature of the winter of 1886-7, making an appropriation for the establishment of the Home for Children, but the bill failed and it was her earnest hope that she might yet live to succeed in an object so important and so necessary to the well-being of the state. The last hour of her life was devoted to this grand object. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Woman's Associate Charities Society, succeeded in getting an appropriation of \$15,000 from the legislature for the purpose of founding a State Industrial Home for Women, which is under the control of the Board of Charities and Corrections.

Mrs. Dinsmoor was preparing a bill for further appropriations for furnishing, and for additions to this institution, when the summons to her long home came. She died of apoplexy, the result of intense brain-work, December 7, 1888, at her home in Omaha. She was really a great woman; the helper of the poor, the counsellor of the rich. "Her vision

of life," says a recent publication. "was at once sympathetic and pathetic—everybody loved and respected her. Her tenderness was never weakened by any touch of maudlin sentiment, and the honesty and veracity of her judgment were unimpeachable. This is the testimony of hosts of friends who knew and loved her best." Eloquent trib-

utes were paid her memory in a memorial service, by a number of speakers, each representing some cause with which she was identified, gathered together to do honor, for the last time, to one of the best known and most highly esteemed of Nebraska's noble women.

CONSUL WILLSHIRE BUTTERFIELD.

THE LOCOMOTIVE IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS.

DENVER AS A RAILWAY CENTRE.

THE "Stourbridge Lion," the first locomotive ever run in America, was received in New York from England in 1829. The same year it was set to running upon the Delaware & Hudson Canal Company road. That event not only forms an epoch in the railroad history of this country, but, in connection with the circumstances surrounding it, completes a story of absorbing interest. This narration reappeared in this magazine (vol. ix. page 310), and was originally prepared by the Horatio Allen, the engineer by whom "Stourbridge Lion" was first operated—the forerunner and prototype of the majestic engine which has become the symbol of American progress.

If one of our Colorado readers may wish to see the ideal locomotive materialized, let him step into the office of the Denver & Rio Grande Railroad, in Denver, and take a look at the model engine, in a glass covered case, sur-named the "Royal Gorge." It is a piece

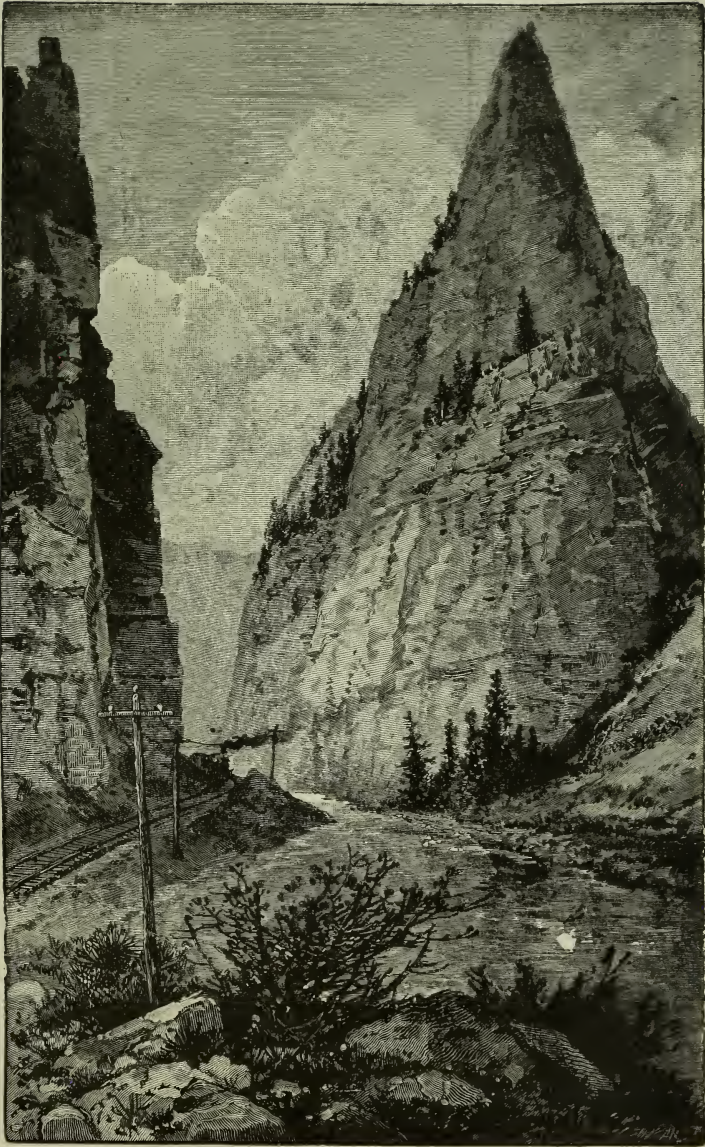
of marvelous mechanism constructed out of Colorado minerals—iron, gold and silver, and is a perfect type of the iron-horse that is doing more than any other agency in attracting the tide of emigration westward, and that has made Denver the greatest railroad centre, for its age, on this continent.

Since the first locomotive reached Denver (June 22, 1870) eighteen railroad companies have made this city a terminus.

Referring to the report of the Chamber of Commerce for 1888 I find the facts so succinctly stated in the words of Charles H. Reynolds, Esq., the secretary, as to call for their insertion in these columns as part of the history of the development of the West.

The western extension of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific system, known as the Chicago, Kansas & Nebraska Railway is the last arrival.

Giving, as it does, another line of through cars to the eastern market, it



CURRECANTI NEEDLE—BLACK CANON.

On the line of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad.

suggests the fact that we have, at present writing, four through sleeping cars daily to Chicago, three to St. Louis, one to New Orleans and three terminating at Missouri river points. This exclusive of western lines, *via* the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe, Denver & Rio Grande and Union Pacific systems.

Vestibule trains are no longer of the future, but we can vie with the old states in the convenience, comfort and magnificence of our railway equipments. Last year we pointed with pride to the fact that sixteen roads were centering in Denver, now eighteen is the magic number, with a total mileage, in the state, 4,302.44 miles.

The following list of roads is interesting in this connection :

Union Pacific : Operating the Omaha short line, *via* Julesburg to Omaha.

Kansas Pacific : To Kansas City.

Denver Pacific : To Cheyenne.

Denver South Park & Pacific : To Leadville and Gunnison.

Colorado Central, standard gauge : To Fort Collins *via* Boulder and Longmont.

Denver & Boulder Valley, standard gauge : To Boulder *via* Brighton and the Erie coal mining district.

Colorado Central, narrow gauge : To Georgetown and Central City *via* Golden.

Denver & Morrison, narrow gauge : To Morrison *via* Camp Logan, the new military post.

The Denver & Rio Grande Railroad: Extending over the entire Southern and Western portions of the state, giving us

close connection with all principal points and an outlet to the West *via* Ogden to the Pacific Coast, and to the South *via* Santa Fe. Originally of narrow gauge, it has by use of the third rail, already put into service standard gauge rolling stock between Denver, Pueblo, Canon City and Trinidad.

The Burlington & Missouri River Railroad: A part of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy system, through to Chicago *via* Omaha, Kansas City and Lincoln.

The Denver, Texas & Fort Worth : To the Gulf and Atlantic sea board, *via* Trinidad, Fort Worth, Galveston and New Orleans.

The Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe : In direct and rapid connection with its grand trans-continental line from Chicago to the Pacific Coast, and also operating the Denver Circle R. R. to Rosedale, Sheridan Heights, and other suburban towns.

The Missouri Pacific : Through line to St. Louis, *via* Kansas City.

The Chicago, Kansas & Nebraska : To Chicago; Kansas City and the East.

The Denver, Utah & Pacific Railroad : To Longmont and Estes' Park, through the Erie coal mining district.

The Denver & Scranton, narrow gauge : Line to the coal fields.

The Colorado Midland, or, "The Pike's Peak Route:" The only standard gauge road cutting through the mountains, and giving an additional outlet to Manitou Springs, Leadville, Aspen, Glenwood Springs and the surrounding mining districts.

The nineteenth railroad—making one a year since 1870—is the projected Colorado & California Short Line Railway. This road will place Denver on a trans-continental broad gauge line of travel to the Pacific Ocean by way of Salt Lake.

From the report of the Superintendent of the Union Depot, we glean the following:

First, that the baggage report is as follows:

	No of Pieces Received.	No of Pieces Forwarded.
1888.	218,182.	196,724.
1887.	168,005.	173,457.
Increase.....	50,187.	23,267.

Second, that the ticket sales suggest the following comparisons and summaries:

In 1888.	No. of tickets,	173,540.	amt'g to	\$692,151.40.
" 1887.	" " "	160,262.	" "	734,977.65.

Showing an increase of 13,278 tickets sold at a reduced revenue to the roads of \$42,826.25; an inverse ratio that shows a very decided gain to the traveling public. By adding to the above figures the sales made by the roads at their own offices, we have a total number of tickets sold in Denver during 1888 as follow: : 286,602 tickets valued at \$1,662,271.27.

These figures are for outgoing passengers only, neither do they include through tickets *via* Denver, round trip tickets sold at other points, nor "dead-heads." The best judges of travel give as an estimate that the figures above would not cover over sixty per cent. of the actual number of persons.

This would give us a total of 955,340,

or 2,620 daily, leaving and arriving at the Union Depot.

Donald Fletcher, Esq., president of the Denver Chamber of Commerce, (1888), concludes an able report with the following reflections and suggestions:

"During 1888 the Chicago & Rock Island and the Missouri Pacific railways began running trains to Denver. The Denver, Texas & Gulf railway was finished, and the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe completed their own line from Pueblo to Denver. Railroad freight rates are much lower than in former years. The construction of the Gulf road has doubtless saved to this city alone over \$2,000,000 on freight charges, and with the growth of the state and the city the greater volume of business will undoubtedly justify a further reduction.

"I wish to speak for myself, now, after a year's experience and observation, when I say I regard the disposition of nearly all the railroad officials towards Denver, as good, and that everything in their power is being done by them to foster the development of this state and city.

"They owe a duty to the stockholders who build the roads and need a six per cent. dividend in thousands of cases to get the necessaries of life, as well as a duty to us; and I believe that the presidents, general managers and officials generally of the roads running into Denver want to do the fair thing for both sides.

"Yet I speak for all, I believe, when I say it is one of the first and most im-



THE LOOP OF THE SAGUACHE RANGE—COLORADO MIDLAND.

portant things to secure; that Denver be made an excepted city—excepted from the workings of certain portions of the interstate commerce law. We have no navigable water, as Kansas City and San Francisco have, but it is not right that the freight charges from Kansas City to Denver—600 miles—should be as great as the freight rate from New York to Kansas City, much more than double the distance. Nor is it right that freight rates from Chicago to San Francisco on many classes of goods are much less than from Chicago to Denver. Our natural advantages as a distributing centre, the large volume of business we give the railroads, and the fact that we have water transportation part of the way from New York by way of the Gulf should

entitle us, as in the case of other distributing centres that possess navigable water at their doors, to become one of the Excepted Cities.”

The locomotive is the monarch of the Rocky Mountains. Having left the depot upon the plains at Denver, the illustrations afford a view of his flight through the Black Canon; of his appearance upon the “Loop on the Saguache Range,” and as he disappears in Hagerman Tunnel,* 11,500 feet above the level of the old road bed where the wheels of the “Stourbridge Lion” first revolved just sixty years ago.

HENRY DUDLEY TEETOR.

*Thus named in honor of J. J. Hagerman, Esq., one of the founders and the first president of the Colorado Midland Railroad.

EARLY TRANSPORTATION IN THE WEST.

THE FIRST AND LATEST STEAMER ON LAKE ERIE.

BEFORE the discovery and development of the great mining and lumber industries of the West, or the demands of commerce had rendered possible the facilities of modern transportation, the chief means of conveyance was the birch-bark canoe and pony of the Indian. The carrying capacity of each was enormous and something wonderful. With canoes sometimes six feet wide and thirty-five feet long, sixty packs of furs, each pack weighing a hundred pounds; a thousand pounds of provisions, sufficient for a crew of eight or

ten men, in addition to bark and gum for repairs, the early traveller and explorer tells us was not an unusual load down the Great Lakes to Quebec and as far as Albany. Of course transportation in this way was necessarily slow, because these canoes were so slight and fragile that when loaded they could not withstand rough weather, nor approach a rough beach. In the latter event, freight and canoe were “backed” around a portage, reloaded, and the journey resumed. A very convenient and useful trading boat was the Mack-

inaw bateau. It was built of oak or pine boards, had flat bottoms, shaped the same at each end, and had high sides. The pirouge was a long canoe frequently made of a large red cedar-tree with high sides and ends, and was used mainly for passengers, carrying about eight persons. A canoe in common use was called a "dug-out," because it was made by chopping, digging and burning out the trunk of a tree. Some of the trees were enormous and capacious, but it required great skill and experience to successfully manage a canoe thus constructed, a slight lateral motion or unsteady position being sufficient to capsize it. Little wonder that the Indian was erect and "straight as an arrow." He spent much of his time, too, in the midst of tall, straight trees.

In his famous expedition to the upper lakes in 1820, Gov. Cass employed canoes for transportation. This expedition, at the time it was made, was the most important, taken all in all, that had ever been undertaken with the sanction and authority of the general government. The objects primarily were an examination into the condition of the Indian tribes who occupied that country, and to procure the extinction of Indian titles to the land about the straits of St. Mary's, Prairie du Chien and Green Bay, and to open up communication between the two latter points. The expedition also had in contemplation a thorough and scientific examination of the copper region in the vicinity of Lake Superior. Much had

been heard of this section through Indians and half-breeds, who said a large mass of virgin ore, weighing several tons, had fallen from a hill; specimens had been sent to Washington, and, in 1800, Mr. Tracy, a Senator from Connecticut, had been dispatched to make an examination, but he proceeded no further than Mackinaw. Gov. Cass also intimated that it would be well to consider the natural history of the country through which the expedition would pass, and accordingly made a request that the government send some person who was acquainted with zoology, botany and mineralogy. For the latter position, the expedition was fortunate in having Henry R. Schoolcraft, since of wide celebrity and greatness in many respects, especially as an author, and deservedly so as the writer on ethnological researches respecting the Indians of North America. Other prominent members of the party, besides Gov. Cass, were Capt. D. B. Douglass, professor of engineering at West Point, Alexander Wolcot, M. D., Lieut. Evans Mackey, U. S. artillery, James Doty, official secretary, and Charles Trowbridge assistant topographer. There were also ten United States soldiers as escort, ten Indians to act as hunters, two interpreters and ten Canadian voyagers to manage the canoes. Forty-one in all, in four birch-bark canoes. They reached Mackinaw in fourteen days, a distance of three hundred and sixty miles from Detroit, the starting point, which they left the the 24th of May. Gen. Cass

reached this place on his return the tenth of September following, having traveled, almost entirely by canoe, over four thousand miles.

The subsequent history and career of the secretary of war, John C. Calhoun, under whose instructions the investigations were prosecuted, bring vividly to mind the different motives which actuated him and Gen. Cass in the matter. It was the military defense of the country that seemed to be uppermost in the mind of the former, while the latter seems to have had chiefly in view the settlement of the country, the development of its resources, and its ultimate permanent prosperity. In marked contrast with this government expedition is that but a few days since undertaken under the auspices of the government and known as the "Sioux Commission." The latter's field of operation is hundreds of miles further to westward than the limit reached by Gov. Cass and party; yet the distance was covered in less days by them than weeks by Gov. Cass. Besides they were transported across the country in palace cars with an air of ease and comfort equal to that of one's sitting room, while with Gov. Cass it was an exceedingly tedious journey, and a veritable hardship; simply a board for a seat and nothing but an Indian blanket to protect from the heat and storm. In the former, Mr. Schoolcraft, a scientist, an expert, received "one dollar and fifty cents per day for the time actually employed," while the Sioux Commissioners get each \$8 a day "and found." Then,

as now, the Indian entered largely into the subject; it was then sought to extinguish his title to the land—it is now sought to extinguish both him and his title. And still the "Indian question" is far from being "settled."

In early times in the West, the horse also played a prominent part in the transportation of persons and freight. The French or Indian pony was indispensable to the fur-trader and Indian in getting their furs and peltries to points where they could be transported by canoes or bateaux, and the immense load of buffalo and other skins that these small animals would carry is astonishing. They were very hardy, and have been known to travel under the saddle sixty to seventy miles a day for many successive days. It is not quite clear when the larger, modern horses were first used in the West, but they are reported to have been brought from Fort Duquesne to Detroit immediately following the defeat of Gen. Braddock, in 1755, but it is probable that they were there much earlier, as Cadillac, who founded Detroit in July, 1701, without doubt had them, and in a grant of land from him to Joseph Parent, in 1708, there was a condition that the latter was to keep Cadillac's horses shod. They were, however, not plenty, and often there was only one horse for two or three persons, in which case the "ride and tie" method was adopted in journeying—which was that one person would ride a few miles, when he would dismount, tie the horse and proceed on

foot. The next one who came along would take the horse, ride on ahead of the first and tie the horse. This rested both man and beast and fairly good progress was made. Journeys on horseback were frequently made from Detroit to New York and Washington. Major Biddle, a territorial delegate to the latter place, went on horseback, traveling upwards of nine hundred miles in that way. Later, in and about Detroit the low, two-wheeled French cart came into quite common use among the more well-to-do portion of the community. A pleasing anecdote is told of Gov. Cass borrowing a carriage of Judge Sibley. He would call his old French servant and say to him, "Pierre, go up to Judge Sibley's and tell him if he is not using his wagon to-day I would like to borrow it;" and when Pierre started off the General would sometimes call to him and say, "Come back, Pierre! Tell Judge Sibley that I am going to have a wagon made for myself, and then I will neither borrow nor lend."

From the time, 1701, that Cadillac settled at Detroit until 1760, when it fell into the hands of the English, it was in the main a military post for the section contiguous to it and was also the furthest western post. Consequently it was the centre of all western movements and large quantities of merchandise were gathered there. This necessitated better facilities and something of greater capacity for transportation than the birch-bark canoe afforded. To meet the demand, the

English government furnished vessels, and had a monopoly of trade. In fact, they compelled private traders to transport their goods by his Majesty's boats, and with the tariff at \$5 a barrel from Niagara to Detroit, and other freight in like proportion, a large revenue was the result. Thus early were English sails "whitening the western seas." But these were not the first sail vessels on these waters. As early as May, 1679, near Niagara, La Salle had built the *Griffon*, named for Count Frontenac, whose family shield was a griffin. The boat left her moorings August 7th: "She now spread her sails to the auspicious breeze, and commenced her adventurous voyage. The vast inland seas over which she was about to navigate, had never been explored, save by the canoe of the Indian, timidly coasting along their shores. Without chart to warn of hidden dangers, she boldly ploughed her way,—the humble pioneer of the vast fleets of our modern lake commerce." On August 10th she was at the mouth of Detroit river. This was certainly a remarkably quick trip, considering the many disadvantages the little boat of some fifty tons had to contend with. The first night on Lake Erie brought thick fog, and as it was believed the lake was full of shoals, great care and caution were necessary and great anxiety prevailed. La Salle was the master-spirit of this undertaking, and a little incident at this point shows his fitness and value. In the darkness of the night breakers were heard, the crew thinking it was the noise of the waves



WALK-IN-THE-WATER.

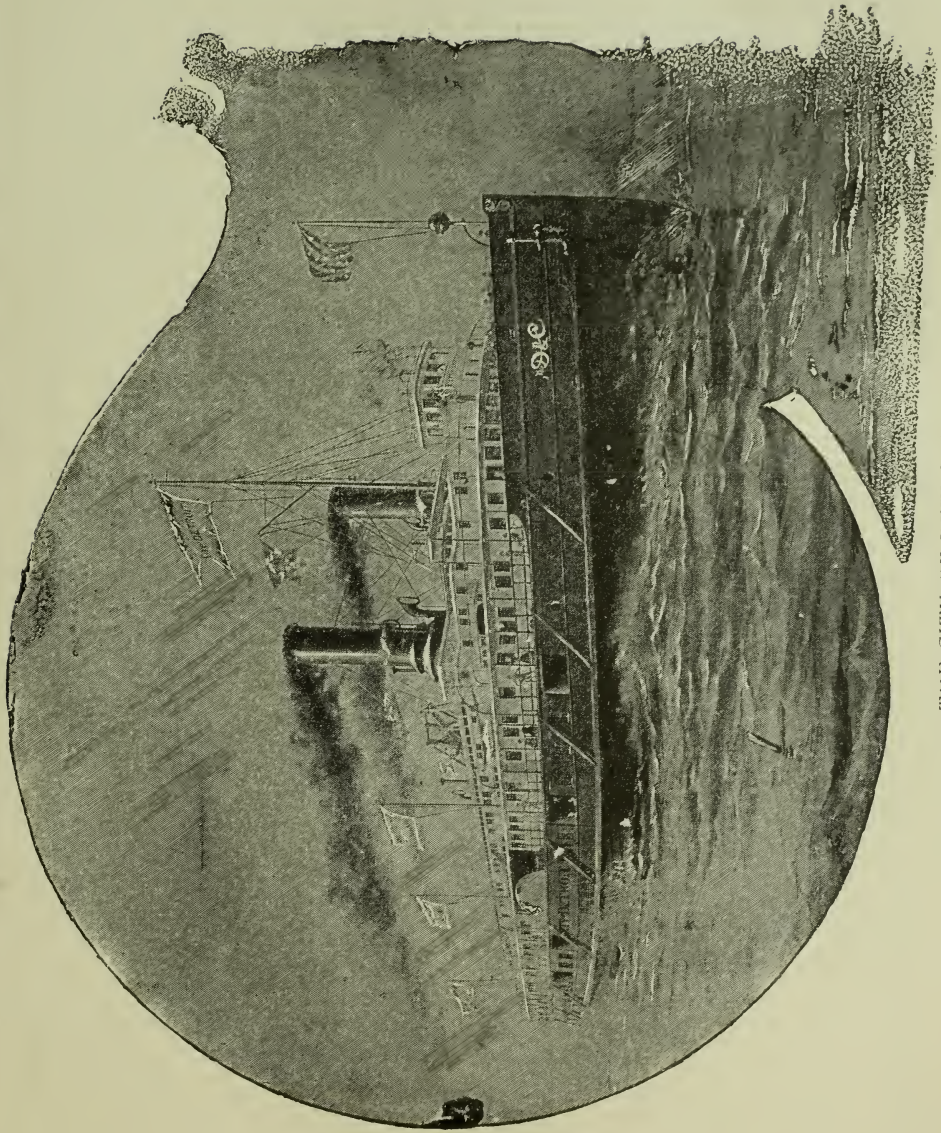
occasioned by the wind, but La Salle thought otherwise. Some ten years previous, he had just glanced at a rude chart, made by rude hands, indicating in its rough outlines the locality of Long Point. La Salle concluded it was this that lay across the pathway of the *Griffon*, and directed the pilot to change her course. Soon after, the fog lifting, it was found that La Salle's conjectures were correct, and from his memory of the tracings on that chart, and his vigilance on that occasion, their boat was saved from undoubted wreck. Among those who were members of the party were the renowned Father Louis Hennepin and the Chevalier Henry de Tonty, the father of the latter being the author of the financial project, named for him "Tontine." a few years ago so much talked about in this country. Various opinions have been advanced as to La Salle's real object in this expedition. Clearly he did not embark in the enterprise from a motive of gain, nor from a spirit of adventure purely, but as an explorer—for the purposes of discovery—the opening of a new country, new territory to the advantages and blessings of civilization and commerce—to religion, education, morality, manhood and the beautifying and adorning with the arts and industries and progress of life. He was a traveler, an explorer of an independent nature, somewhat daring, restless and uneasy. Parkman says of him: "He was always an earnest Catholic and a member of the Society of Jesus. This great organization, so complicated, yet

so harmonious, a mighty machine moved from the centre by a single hand, was an image of regulated power full of fascination for a mind like his. But if it was likely he would be drawn into it, it was no less likely he would soon wish to escape. To find himself not at the centre of power, but at the circumference, not the mover, but the moved, the passive instrument of another's will, taught to walk in prescribed paths, to renounce his individuality and become a component atom of a vast whole, would have been intolerable to him." He consequently withdrew from the order of the Jesuits. But he was frank, generous and honorable, different from Cadillac, of whom Shea says, "he was chimerical; grasping, overbearing, regarding religion only as an element to be used for purposes of government or trade."

After the *Griffon* no sail boats passed up the lakes for nearly a hundred years, and there was scarcely no commerce on the lakes, everything in that line seeming to be practically at a standstill. In 1763 two or three small schooners appeared and engaged in the carrying trade between Detroit and Niagara, taking troops, furs and provisions. Some five years later, in 1769, Detroit built its first boat, the *Enterprise*, and from this time to the first of the present century, ship-building seems to have been quite active there, for so early a period, there being some fifteen to twenty merchant vessels owned at that place, besides a number of schooners, brigs and sloops. The first

boat built at Cleveland was by Lorenzo Carter, in 1808, and was named the *Zephyr*. In 1810 Murray & Bixby built the *Ohio*, which had the honor of being one of the gunboats in Perry's fleet. In 1813 Levi Johnson built the *Pilot* concerning the launching of which a somewhat amusing incident is told. Mr. Johnson had located the place of her building with reference to getting timber, but not regarding the lake. The result was that when completed she was on Euclid avenue, a half mile from water, and the "greasing of the ways and knocking out of the blocks would not ensure a successful launch." The farmers in the towns of Euclid and Newburgh heard of his dilemma and came in with twenty-eight yoke of oxen, and the ship was hoisted on wheels, drawn through Superior street to the river and launched. These were all sail vessels. No steamer had yet broken the stillness of the lakes by the noise of paddle or whistle or left clouds of smoke in its wake. But in 1818, one hundred and thirty-nine years after La Salle's *Griffon*, the first sail boat on the lakes, in the very month that his boat was launched, the *Walk-in-the-Water*, named after the chief of the Wyandotte Indians, appeared. She left Buffalo August 23d, reached Cleveland at 11 P. M. of the 25th, and arrived at Detroit, her objective point, about 10.30 A. M. of the 27th. She was of three hundred and forty-two tons burden, and had what was then considered a powerful engine of the Fulton pattern. She made the round trip from Buffalo

to Detroit every two weeks, and although having none of the conveniences and luxuries or speed of the modern steamer, yet it was said, "A passage between Detroit and Buffalo is now, not merely tolerable, but truly pleasant." She was hailed with satisfaction and delight by the people along the lake towns, and "nothing could exceed the surprise of the sons of the forest on seeing the *Walk-in-the-Water* moving majestically and rapidly against a strong current without the assistance of sails or oars. A report had been circulated among them that a 'big canoe' would soon come from the 'noisy waters' which, by order of the great father of the 'Chemokimous' (Yankees), would be drawn through the lakes and rivers by *sturgesons*! Of the truth of the report they were now satisfied." She continued to run on the lakes until November, 1821, when she was wrecked near Buffalo. On her first trip were passengers who settled permanently at Cleveland—among them Alonzo S. Gardner, long a prominent merchant and still a respected citizen of the city. Great energy and enterprise have been shown by vessel men and shipbuilders all along the chain of the great lakes from the first, and large fortunes have been made. Fluttering sails have caught the early spring and late fall breezes. So important and remunerative has the business during some seasons been that great chances have been taken. An incident is told of a boat starting out early in the spring from Detroit, some forty years ago, amid many misgivings.



THE CITY OF DETROIT.

[The City of Detroit, the history and description of which are elsewhere given, is under command of Captain McLaughlin, who is one of the oldest, bravest, and most skilful of the captains of the American lakes. He has been in the employ of this Company for over a third of a century, and is now in command of one of the finest vessels afloat.]

as there was considerable ice in the lake. The next day after she left, Mr. Joseph Campau, one of the founders of Detroit, met on the street a man connected with the telegraph, of whom he asked if any news had been received of the boat. He was told that she floundered about in the ice, tore her paddle-wheels to pieces, but finally reached the harbor at Erie safely. Mr. Campau, in his French accent, replied: "Well, I t'ot so. Now when ze Englishmon he want to go anywhere, he set down and t'ink how he get dar, and ze Frenchmon he want to go, and he stop and t'ink how he get dar; but ze American, de Yankee, he want to go, and, be gar, he go. He go heaven, he go hell, he gon anyhow!" What a contrast between early transportation and navigation and that of the present time! The Indian pony has given place to the railroad. The birch-bark canoe and La Salle's *Griffon* to immense sail leviathans. The *Walk-in-the-Water*, to such magnificent floating palaces as the new *City of Detroit*, launched two hundred and ten years after the *Griffon*, and seventy after the *Walk-in-the-Water*.

She was built by the Detroit and Cleveland Steam Navigation Company, at a cost of \$350,000. She is a steel steamer, three hundred feet over all; molded beam, forty-one feet, over all seventy-two feet; molded depth, sixteen feet; draft, light, nine feet two inches; loaded, eleven feet. She has nine water-tight compartments, one of which is the dynamo room, in which are two sets of dynamos, engines and switch-

boards, by means of which the engineer can control the four hundred and fifty electric lamps by which she is lighted. Her engine is of 2,700 horse power,—2,000 tons burden, grand saloon two hundred and forty feet long, and her dining room will seat one hundred and fifty persons. Probably the *Walk-in-the-Water* was fortunate in having its grand saloon lighted with whale-oil lamps, and its cabins with tallow candles. The new *City of Detroit* is said to be the largest, "fastest, most comfortable and in every way the best vessel of its class and kind that ever sailed the fresh waters of America." The Detroit and Cleveland Steam Navigation Company is the oldest organization of the kind on the lakes. The line was established in 1850 and incorporated in 1868 with a capital of \$300,000, and now has invested in boats something like \$1,500,000. At first their boats ran only between Detroit and Cleveland, but now, in addition to the two on Lake Erie, they have two on Lake Huron and one on Lake Michigan which will carry each 1,500 to 2,000 passengers. Appropriate indeed would the title of Cobbett's book now be, as he would surely think, could he see those Western boats,— "The pride of Britannia Humbled: or the Queen of the Ocean Unqueened by the American Cock Boats, and the Fir Built Things with Bits of Striped Bunting at their Mast Heads." What advancement, what progress—what a revolution in transporting "men and things." Some of our American express companies have

European departments which receive and forward all classes of business by each steamer arriving at, or departing from, New York, and a resident of Detroit or Cleveland, for instance, contemplating a trip to foreign countries can send to himself or anybody else an order for any sum of money, payable at any one of the 15,000 places at home or abroad. He can ship baggage ahead to any point and ship it home again when ready to start back. After arrival in Europe he can send home articles he may purchase, and they will be held here in bond until his return. Shipments of presents or merchandise can be made from Europe direct by these companies to all inland ports of entry in the United States, Canada and Mexico with or without payment of duty at New York.

And more surprising and startling than all, it is said that a feasible scheme is about to be introduced between New York and Boston, whereby packages of mail and even larger matter can be transmitted from one place to the other a distance of two hundred and thirty miles inside of an hour. This is equal to a speed of four miles a minute. See, too, with what remarkable accuracy the government, hundreds of miles distant from the place where he may be "laying" "signals" the sailor when he had better remain in, or when he may, with safety, leave port. But some will doubtless feel that notwithstanding these improvements, these increased conveniences and facilities, that the good old times when they made journeys through

the country by the old-fashioned stage-coach or rockaway, were far more to their liking and enjoyment. A distinguished citizen of the state of New York who became of national prominence, and who lived to see many of our modern improvements in travel, often spoke with pleasurable recollection of the days when he travelled through his native state by canal boat, and considered such mode of conveyance a positive luxury. But there is, somehow, an air of innocence and ingenuousness, wholeness, completeness associated with these old times, manners and customs. We really like to see the farmer, to-day, driving into the city with his comfortable old wagon, in the back of which is his crock of fresh butter, or basket of eggs, covered with newly mown fresh grass, with which to feed the old family horse. It reminds one of healthful, country breezes, and speaks of frugality, thrift, the wise and prudent laying up for a "rainy day." And some of these same farmer boys and men have become a power in the land, and molded and shaped the destinies of state and nation. Probably the young men in a New England village, as they stood on the street a few years since, on a day when an honest old farmer came driving through the streets and spoke out to his horse "git up, old mare," and of whom they made sport, little thought he had one of the best farms in Northern Connecticut, with a snug bank account besides, and that he had been honored with many important and responsible positions in his town and had repre-

sented the state in its legislature, and had taken a prominent part in making the laws that governed and blessed it. But the present with its certainties and

realities is ours, and the future with its possibilities is before us.

D. W. MANCHESTER.

EXTRACTS FROM A PIONEER'S NOTE-BOOK.*

THE Steamboat Association resolved at once to build another steamboat to supply the place of the *Walk-in-the-Water*. On this, a citizen of Buffalo, Judge Samuel Wilkeson—a man of uncommon natural gifts and ability, of great energy of character and of large business talents, born and brought up from boyhood amidst the Whiskey Rebellion people of Western Pennsylvania, in the period of Washington's administration—looking at the question in all its bearings, and as it especially related to the future prosperity of Buffalo, came to the conclusion that by the concurrence and aid of his neighbors, he could so control the freshets and the breaking up of Buffalo creek in the spring, as to sweep out the obstructions at its mouth and open a passage to debouche the new boat to be built, in case the contractor would consent to build the same in said creek. This the contractor consented to do in case Wilkeson would furnish him proper and adequate security for its accomplishment in the shape of a bond of fifty thousand dollars in case of failure. This was agreed to and the security pledged, and in the spring of the year when the freshet occurred and the ice in said creek began to move, Wilke-

son with his appliances was soon on hand; and so adroitly managed as to sweep out of said creek the obstructions, and successfully floated the new steamer,—named the *Superior*—into the open lake, and delivered the same uninjured to the contractors, and, if I am not mistaken, a channel has been kept open ever since, and was for a long period held as a fair sample of what might be accomplished in respect to all the rivers which entered the lake.

At the period of my entrance into Buffalo, although its population was insignificant in numbers, yet no one doubted but in due time a large and flourishing city must be built on or near its site, and become the commercial emporium of the great West. Whether this site would be fixed at the village of Buffalo or Black Rock was, at that period, in many intelligent minds a matter of some doubt. Both villages had claims and able advocates. Black Rock had at that date the only reliable harbor for vessels, but with the drawback of so rapid a current as to make the Niagara river in front of its dockage

*Concluding selections from the note-book of the late William Williams, described in the issue of June, 1889, page 177.

impracticable for navigation, while Buffalo had no harbor of ingress or egress for any kind of shipping, but both had the advantage of the Erie canal. The advocate for the site of the city at Black Rock was one of the most able and popular men in the state of New York, Gen. Peter B. Porter, while Judge Wilkeson of Buffalo, advocated and labored untiringly for the selection of Buffalo as the site of the great emporium. The discussion was not only vehement, but often bitter and acrimonious; but quietly ceased on the assurance that Buffalo creek was to be formed into a safe and practicable harbor for the shipping of the lake. Let me here say that in my own mind I never doubted but this question would be finally settled in favor of Buffalo. After its settlement, the large forwarding houses which were located to some extent at Black Rock, slowly and from time to time moved their quarters to Buffalo Creek, and from that time forward Buffalo rapidly increased in wealth and population without any drawbacks. From this period the commerce of the lakes had increased to such an extent as to induce Congress to adopt active measures to improve the harbors of the lakes, so as to make their navigation measureably safe and secure.

The new steamboat, named the *Superior*, was the second steamer built for lake traffic and navigation. It hailed from Buffalo Creek, and run the lake for many years, successfully; was a very popular and successful steamer,

and was, after many years of service, converted into a sail vessel, for the carrying of freight, in which service it ended its history and usefulness.

On my reaching Buffalo in January, 1825, I well remember there was much speculation among all classes as to the strange and sudden disappearance of a sailor by the name of Love, who for several years had been in the habit of spending his winters, after the close of navigation, among his friends and acquaintances in and around Buffalo, until the spring of the year again called him to his profession. He was a man who by diligence and prudent industry, had accumulated and laid by considerable property. He was not married, and had but few associates, yet was regarded by his acquaintances as an acceptable and welcome guest. This winter he was lodging and boarding in the family of one of the Thayers, in the town of Hamburg, near Buffalo. These Thayers consisted of father and two sons. They were ordinary farmers, and were all married and had separate homes, and were of the ordinary, well-to-do class, and not suspected of crime. Love made his home with the oldest brother. They all knew he had considerable means, for a man in his situation, and that he was in the habit of using it for increase by loaning it or by the purchase of property. He was, I think, without any relatives of any kind. Considering the lone character of Love, the ready means and amount of property so held by him, they laid their plans for his destruction and to secure and

appropriate his property to their own use. It was accomplished on this wise: On the occasion of hog killing time, the father and youngest son met by appointment at the house of the oldest son where the hog killing was to take place, to aid him in the slaughter and packing of the pork, they having previously contrived to send away on a visit for the evening all the female members of the three families, so that they might not be disturbed, and their designs frustrated. It was evening, and they proceeded with their work. But the confiding Love, having no suspicion of their intention, sat in a common chair near by the oldest brother of the Thayers, talking and watching him in cutting up the pork, with his chair a little tipped back and his stocking feet resting easily against the jamb of the fireplace. In this position he was when the younger brother of the Thayers, who was an excellent shot, took his rifle and went outside and deliberately shot Love, through the window. He fell over, but it did not appear to be fatal, and so the other Thayer struck him the death blow with the axe he was using to cut up the pork. After they had murdered him, they proceeded to hide his remains as well as they could in the woods near by. All three, the father and two sons, were engaged in this attempt to secrete the body of Love; greatly disconcerted, no doubt, that the winter snows did not come to their aid as they might have expected, and in their fear of exposure they were led to remove him as they thought to a more secure retreat. Not

long after the murder of Love, the Thayers proceeded to take possession of his property, representing that Love had gone away and had left the care of his property with them in his absence, and had given to them a full power of attorney to this effect, which they exhibited to convince his creditors [debtors, probably meant] that it was really so; but these acts, and some other suspicious proceedings of the Thayers, aroused a strong feeling among the neighbors that all was not right, and people considered it prudent and proper to make thorough examination of the facts, which resulted in the discovery of his body, the arrest and imprisonment of the Thayers, their trial and conviction, and final execution, in the spring or early part of the summer of 1825. The testimony on which the conviction of the Thayers rested, was wholly circumstantial but very conclusive, and every point fully and perfectly sustained and corroborated by the full confession of the culprits from the scaffold before their execution, which took place some time in or about the month of June, 1825. It occurred at a time when the general public were admitted to witness exhibitions of this nature, unrestricted by age or otherwise. From all parts of the state, multitudes, old and young, flocked to the city on the day appointed, to witness the scene. It took place in a public square of the city,—then village,—and it was estimated that not less than twenty to fifty thousand spectators were present. Among this vast

assemblage I was also present, it being not only the first but the last time of witnessing an occurrence of this nature. It was usual at this period, and on such occasions, to hold religious services. Preaching and prayer from the scaffold were the usual exercises. On this occasion the Rev. Mr. Fillmore, a noted Methodist clergyman, delivered the dis-

course and conducted the services; all of which was delivered from the scaffold, and the voice of Mr. Fillmore was loud and strong enough to make him audible to the fullest limits of the crowd. This man Fillmore was the father of Millard Fillmore, who was subsequently President of the United States.

WILLIAM WILLIAMS.

WHAT IS THE VALUE OF A MOUNTAIN?

GENERAL SHERMAN'S ESTIMATE.—RECEPTION AND REMARKS AT DENVER,

JULY 4, 1889, OF THE HERO OF ATLANTA.

GENERAL SHERMAN'S characteristic speech, delivered in Denver on the 4th of July last, contained this passage: "To me the great plains of Kansas and Nebraska are commonplace, though they produce such untold quantities of corn, wheat, etc. There is nothing there to excite the imagination or fancy. Look at your mountains, those glorious mountains, which stretch seemingly endlessly from North to South. A man here where we stand might sit at his own doorstep and drink in beauties to satisfy his soul. Now, if you could take up Long's Peak and remove it to Lawrence, Kansas, you could get \$1,000,000 for it. [Great Laughter.] There is an idea for you. Yes, if you could get it to Lawrence or Omaha you would easily get a million. They would think it cheap."

Long's Peak, upon which Gen. Sherman places this estimate as a thing of beauty and grandeur, was first dis-

covered by Col. Stephen Harriman Long of the United States Army about July 4, 1820. The official account of his explorations, published in 1823, says:

JULY 4, 1820.

"We had hoped to celebrate our great national festival on the Rocky Mountains, but the day had arrived and they were still at a distance. It was not, however, forgotten to celebrate the anniversary of our National Independence, according to our circumstances. An extra pint of maize was issued to each mess, and a small portion of whiskey distributed. The party remained encamped during the afternoon, when the extra allowance of corn was cooked and eaten, and the whiskey drank in honor of the day."

This was the first celebration of the 4th of July that ever occurred in the territory now constituting the state of Colorado, and this exploring party,

historically contrasted with the two hundred thousand people who took part in the last occasion of this kind in Denver, consisted of twenty persons, viz: Col. S. H. Long, Commander; J. R. Bell, Captain of the artillery, to act as journalist; W. H. Swift, assistant topographical engineer; Thomas Say, zoologist; Edwin James, botanist, geologist and surgeon; J. R. Peall, naturalist; Samuel Seymour, landscape painter; Stephen Julian, interpreter; H. Dougherty, hunter; D. Adams, Spanish interpreter; Z. Wilson, baggage master; Oakley and Duncan, engagees; Corporal Parish and six privates of the United States Army.

Col. Long, accompanied by Edwin James and others, ascended the mountain, reaching its summit, 14,271 feet high, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon of July 15, 1820. This pioneer-soldier was a native of Hopkinton, N. H.; was born December 30, 1784, and died at Alton, Illinois, September 4, 1864. From 1818 to 1823 he had charge of Government explorations between the Mississippi river and the Rocky Mountains. In 1861 he was chief of topographical engineers of the United States Army. He was therefore one of those to whom Gen. Sherman alluded in the same speech when he said the United States soldiers were the real pioneers of the West, and that the soldiers at Forts Riley, Leavenworth, Dodge, Laramie and other posts, "have done as much for civilization and to make Colorado what it is to-day as any other body of men on the globe, not except-

ing the tillers of the soil or the miners who bring forth from yonder mountains \$60,000,000 or \$70,000,000 a year."

A portion of these national exercises, which lasted three days and to which extraordinary interest and historical significance were added by the presence of Gen. Sherman, consisted of a memorial camp-fire given by the old soldiers of Denver and Colorado. Reference to the names of the speakers upon this occasion will show that not only was the United States soldier upon these plains and in these mountains—Pike in 1806, Long in 1820, Booneville in 1832, Fremont in 1842-3, Sherman, Grant, Logan, Dodge in the fifties—but that the veteran survivors of the war of 1861 are still at the front, upon these plains and in these mountains, as bankers, merchants, lawyers, miners, ministers, judges and governors. The camp-fire thus given in honor of Gen. Sherman—fifty years a soldier—was rendered memorable by the observance of the following programme:

- Address of Welcome to "Uncle Billy," by
 Gov. Job A. Cooper
- Our other Guests..... Mayor Wolfe Londoner
- The G. A. R. welcome..... Gen. T. M. Fisher
- True Metal in Men..... Hon. N. P. Hill
- Then, and Now..... Dr. David H. Moore
- Gentlemen of the Jury.. Hon. T. M. Patterson
- Mr. Speaker; I have the floor
 Hon. G. G. Symes
- The Opinion of the Court is
 Judge W. S. Decker
- Swords and Spears vs. Plow Shares and Pruning
 Hooks..... Rev. Myron Reed
- The Law and the Soldier... Judge T. B. Stuart
- The Surplus; What to do with it
 Gen. R. W. Woodbury

Fighting and Farming. . . . Gov. John L. Routt
Patriotism; What is it? . . . Judge O. B. Liddell
Boys, I am glad to meet you again

Gen. W. T. Sherman

General Sherman gracefully alluded to his distinguished, though departed comrades, to Denver, and to the flag, by saying: "I was over these plains in '67. And now there is a thing that I do not think any of the speakers have touched upon. Grant and Logan and myself rode all over here and through the valley which lies before us. We went up on the stage to Black Hawk. Denver had then 1,200 or perhaps 1,500 people, and nothing like a brick

house. What's that? Ah, the governor had one. Yes, now, I believe he did, but it was so small that he had to go outside to pull on his pantaloons. [Great laughter.] To-day Denver will compare favorably with any city in the land in regard to the comforts and refinements of life. You have magnificent public buildings and schools and churches, the latter being large enough, I am told, to contain the whole population. Be content. Do as your fathers did. Love, cherish and adore the flag."

HENRY DUDLEY TEETOR.

THE AMERICAN RAILROAD: ITS INCEPTION, EVOLUTION AND RESULTS.

XVIII.

THE BALTIMORE AND OHIO IN 1842—ITEMS OF GENERAL INTEREST IN 1842 AND 1843.

THE Baltimore & Ohio is still the headquarters of railroad information and suggestion in the decade now under review, and its sixteenth annual report, issued by President Louis McLane under date of October 1st, 1842, is burdened with knowledge of an illustrative character. The president is pleased to inform the stockholders that since the year 1837 the expense of transportation upon the main line, or "main stem," as he calls it, had been reduced more than one half, and that the cost at the time of making the report, including the expenses of all kind, except interest upon capital, was less than

upon any other road in the United States or in Europe. He had also the pleasure of stating that the road throughout the entire line, was as sound and in as efficient shape, as at the date of the last annual report; that the machinery of all kinds is more extensive and more efficient than at any previous period, and that certain named repairs and improvements of a minor character had been made. The net revenue, including the company's share of the dividend from the Washington branch, amounted to \$204,896.45; being more than five per cent. upon the original expenditure of four millions of dollars,

and nearly three per cent. upon the estimated cost of the entire work from Baltimore to Cumberland, including the machinery of all kinds necessary for the efficient operations of the road.

While the Baltimore & Ohio had been largely aided by state and municipal subscriptions, it had come to the discovery that the blessing was not without its drawbacks. The city of Baltimore had failed in payments of the money guaranteed, which fact taken in connection with the needed extension and improvements, prevented a distribution of profits, as the president and directors would have desired. "It would have been a source of gratification to the board," they say, "if, consistent with its duty in the peculiar and trying crisis in which it was placed during the past year, it had been able to reserve these profits for distribution among the stockholders. This, however, could not be done without, as it appeared to the board, leading to losses and embarrassments far more injurious than a temporary suspension of the annual dividend. Urged by every consideration of public interest, and of duty to the stockholders, to press forward the work to Cumberland, it seemed imperative upon the board to regard that as a paramount object; nor was it apprehended, until sometime in the last winter, that this object would prove incompatible with the annual dividend of the profits. It would not have been, if the resources on which the board was warranted in relying for the prosecution of its work, had not

unexpectedly, and from causes beyond its control, proved unavailing for that purpose. In the course of the winter, however, and after more than \$2,465,000 of the city and state funds had been actually expended upon the work, the city of Baltimore, from a combination of causes, became unable to continue adequate payments on account of her subscription. In this crisis, unless the board had applied the revenue in aid of the city subscription, the work must have stopped, and, as far as the board could discern, for an indefinite period. In that event the road could not have been opened even to Hancock; the debts which had already been contracted and remaining unpaid, would have been promptly demanded, and for these, the revenue, according to the provisions of the charter, not less than any other of the company's resources, was liable."

The board felt warranted in promising that between the 1st and 10th of the month following, the road would be finished and put into operation as far as Cumberland, adding that "this extension of the road west of Harper's Ferry has been accomplished in a style of construction of greater prominence, and of superior appearance, even than at first designed, and at a cost less than the original estimate. . . . The board have every reason to believe that upon this plan of construction, and with the present improved freight engines, general merchandise may be transported from Baltimore to Cumberland, at a rate not exceeding fifty cents

per hundred pounds, and that with the facilities furnished by the extension of the road to Cumberland, passengers may be transported from either Pittsburgh or Wheeling to Philadelphia in thirty-six hours, and at an expense not exceeding fifteen dollars. Between Baltimore and Cumberland passengers may be transported in ten and freight in fifteen hours."

The board feel that, upon the whole, they have made a pretty fair showing, and looking back upon all their difficulties it would be hard to declare that they are in the wrong: "That the observations which the board will feel it a duty to submit in another place may be justly appreciated, it ought now to be remarked that these ends have been accomplished, and the road carried ninety-seven miles during a period of unparalleled disaster in the monetary affairs of the country. That during the same period there has existed not only a great scarcity of money but a general derangement in all branches of business; all public securities have been greatly depressed, and most other works of public improvement have been suspended or altogether abandoned."

Glancing at the railroad map of America to-day, and seeing the many lines that carry from ocean to ocean, it seems strange that less than half a century ago, argument and effort were needed to urge the stockholders of a pioneer line to extend it forward so that the seaboard should have steam communication with that far western point—the Ohio river! Yet the direc-

tors of the Baltimore & Ohio and President McLane met the necessity of extended argument to persuade the public that they were not going beyond sober commercial sense in urging an extension of their line. "It is not to be supposed," they declare, "that so much capital would have been risked and so many sacrifices encountered merely for the construction of a work which should terminate at Cumberland, or be there arrested, without proper exertions to extend it further. The obvious and declared purpose of the men by whom the enterprise was projected, and of the states under the authority of which it has been perseveringly pushed forward, in defiance of the most formidable obstacles, was to open an easy and certain communication with the western waters, and furnish to the intermediate country the advantages of a cheap transportation. It was especially the object of the state of Maryland and of the city of Baltimore to open the shortest and cheapest route to the West, and thereby secure to the city the benefit of the valuable trade with the great valley of the Mississippi; and in prescribing the Ohio river as the indispensable limit of the enterprise, it was clearly foreseen that the object could not be fully attained, if the work should stop short of that point.

"The charters granted by Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia, each contemplate the same limit; in each is contained the same express provision that the work shall be extended to the

Ohio river. It would therefore appear to be the duty of the company faithfully to exert all its energies to extend the road in conformity with these grants. To rest content with a shorter limit, or to falter in the undertaking, when by proper exertion it might be carried onward, would not only disappoint the objects of the charters but most probably lead to the projections of other works by which the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, in its incomplete state, might be rendered of little comparative value."

The promise of the directors that the extension to Cumberland should be opened before the 10th of the month following, was made good. From the *Baltimore American* of November 6 we learn of the formal opening, by an expedition over the line by the president and directors, and a few invited guests. "The route from this city (Baltimore) to Hancock has been for some time open to travel. From the latter point to Cumberland, a distance of fifty-five miles, the road is just finished, and for the first time on Thursday, the inhabitants of the wild regions of the Alleghany beheld a train of cars drawn by a smoking locomotive among their hills. The rails are heavily laid, of the best iron, and after the most improved style of construction; and so well graded is the road, and so firmly settled, that its cars rolled smoothly onward, at a velocity unusual even in railroad traveling. The entire distance from Baltimore to Cumberland, one hundred and seventy-eight miles,

was performed, including stoppage, in ten hours; and upon the new portions of the road the rate of speed was considerably beyond the average of the rate on that part of the road between the city and Harper's Ferry, which is constructed with a different rail."

STILL SUPPLANTING STEAM.

The ambitious delvers into the secrets of nature, who are determined to find some motive power more efficient and economic than steam, are still at work; as we pass along into the closing days of 1842. The *Edinburg Witness* has discovered an experimenter who proposes to accomplish the desired result by use of the electro-magnet. Under the patronage of the Edinburg & Glasgow railway company, a Mr. Davidson, a "philosophical instrument maker," was employed in a series of experiments "as to the practicability of applying electro-magnetism for propelling trains along the line of a railway. A machine containing six powerful batteries, large magnetic coils, and three large magnets fastened on each of two revolving cylinders, through which pass the axles of the driving wheels, had been constructed, and tested in the presence of the directors." "The ponderous machine, weighing between five and six tons, was instantly set in motion, on the immersion of the metallic plates into the troughs containing a solution of sulphuric acid. One curious phenomenon connected with the motion of this new and ingenious instrument, was the extent and brilliancy of the repeated electric flashes which accom-

panied the action of the machinery. The motion produced, though not rapid, was such as clearly to establish the principle that this agent is adapted to the purpose of locomotion, as a substitute for the steam." At about this time two inventors, Messrs Clogg and Samunda, were exhibiting in Worwood Shrubs, West London, England, the model of an atmospheric railway that was to accomplish the same purpose as claimed for electricity in the above,—supplant steam. An article prepared by the treasurer of the Kingston & Dublin railway, favoring the idea, and addressed to the board of trade, was referred to two eminent engineers, who made a report thereon, declaring that they considered "the principle of atmospheric propulsion as established."

A little later,—in the summer of 1843,—these hopeful inventors were permitted a demonstration of the soundness of their claim, by a test upon the Dalkey line. The statements that follow, are made upon the authority of the *London Mechanics' Magazine*: At five o'clock the leviathan air pump was put in operation, and in sixty strokes an altitude of twenty inches was indicated by the barometer, which shortly afterwards reached twenty-two inches and one-tenth. This was the realization of the most sanguine expectations, and left, it was thought, no room for doubt as to the completeness and power of the machinery, and its capability of producing sufficient vacuum. Each inch of altitude in the barometer-gauge indicated a propelling power equal to

nine tons on a level road, at a velocity dependent on the speed of the air pump piston. "The Dalkey engine working twenty-four double strokes per minute, trains may be moved at upwards of fifty miles per hour." The description of the experiment continues:

"The passenger carriages being attached to the piston, with the engine working at half power and the height of the mercury in the barometer varying from eleven to fourteen inches, the train moved at the rate of a mile in three minutes, and accomplished the distance of a mile and a quarter in four minutes, although retarded at starting and at the terminus by the brakes on the wheels. The result of the experiment was regarded as a triumph. . . . The engine is one hundred horse-power, with an air-pump, double stroke, diameter sixty-seven inches; the diameter of the open pipe is fifteen inches. The open pipe will be nine thousand two hundred feet in length, and the close pipe upwards of twelve hundred. The station at Dalkey is seventy-six feet higher than at Kingston—one in fifty-seven, or ninety-two feet per mile, being the greatest angle of elevation; the main ascent is one in a hundred and fifteen feet, or forty-six feet per mile. It is computed that a train will descend from Dalkey by its own gravity, at the rate of from thirty to thirty-five miles per hour."

It was reserved for a Dublin editor to foresee all the wonderful changes that would immediately follow in the wake of this great invention. "The

success of the trip," he declares, "is not only gratifying, as rewarding the spirited enterprise of the directors, but it is of vast importance in a national point of view. Its success will create a complete revolution in railway mechanics. Railways will be constructed at an infinitely cheaper rate than at present, and maintained in perfect working order at a proportionably less expense. The unsightly embankments and costly excavations which now add so considerably to the expenditure in laying down a line, will not be required to the same extent as at present. Henceforth there will be none of these frightful accidents now of such frequent occurrence, arising from the bursting of boilers and the collision of trains. The same, if not a greater velocity can be obtained by atmospheric pressure; while the economy of construction and working will be infinitely greater; and thus in a country like Ireland, where the want of capital is felt, and where some persons imagine that railways constructed and conducted on the old principle would not prove remunerative, must be productive of the most advantageous results."

Not only was steam to be supplanted by electricity and air, but the chemists were also at work in the preparation of material that should forever do away with the iron rail. One French inventor announced that he had produced a composition that would reduce the cost of rails to a mere trifle: He would replace the iron by a combination of Kaolin clay (that used for mak-

ing pottery and china) with a certain metallic substance, which gives a body so hard as to wear out iron, without being injured by it in turn; 100 kilograms of this substance would cost less than fifteen francs and would furnish two and one-half metres of rail. Another substitute was that described under a patent process discovered by a Mr. Payne, an Englishman, "for preventing dry-rot and decay in timber." This process he proposed to make subservient to railway economy, enabling the roads of the future to be constructed at one-third former cost, "and causing a saving in wear and tear of locomotive engines, carriages, etc., which, in the present embryo state of the invention, it is impossible to appreciate. A line of rails about one-hundred and seventy-six yards long is laid down near the Vauxhall Bridge road, of Scotch fir, with the fibre in horizontal position, on which a locomotive carriage has been running continually for a fortnight—equal to a train running twelve times a day for months on a railway—yet of such metallic firmness has the texture of the wood become, from the operation of Payne's preservation process, that, although a lead colored mark shows plainly the track of the wheels, it remains as perfect as the outside, and not even a saw mark is yet obliterated. The process alluded to above consists in exhausting the wood by the air-pump, and then saturating it with iron and wine in solution, until it becomes petrified and insoluble, increasing in

weight from fifteen to twenty per cent., and becoming impervious to the action of the atmosphere, and entirely incapable of suffering by abrasion."

Despite all these promises, the steam locomotive and the iron rail have as yet bravely held their own.

GENERAL ITEMS.

Tracing the line of information once more chronologically, and gleaming minor information of a railway nature here and there, we pass on into the early days of 1843. One of the first indications of that future close union which should be welded between the railroad and the magnetic telegraph, then in the days of its earliest and most unpromising infancy, is found in the permission just granted to Prof. Morse, by the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company, to make use of the railroad right of way from Baltimore to Washington for the stringing of his lines; a grant that eventually developed into greater things than even Morse dreamed of.

At a meeting of the Civil Engineer's Institution in London, England, it was admitted that the superiority of American locomotives was incontestable; and the statement made that in a trial on an inclined plane, an American "Bogie" engine, with a cylinder of twelve and one-half inches in diameter, driving wheels four feet diameter, weighing fourteen tons, had conveyed a gross load of fifty-four tons up the incline at the rate of twelve miles an hour, while the best of the English engines, with a thirteen inch cylinder, and weighing twelve tons, drew thirty-eight

tons up the incline at the rate of six miles an hour. It was also stated that the American machines consumed a greater amount of fuel than the English.

The return given by the English roads for June, through the board of trade, showed that the average of speed then attained by the English roads exclusive of stoppage, was as follows: London & Birmingham, twenty-seven miles per hour; Great Western, thirty-three; Northern & Eastern, thirty-six; North Midland, twenty-nine; Midland Counties, twenty-eight; Manchester & Birmingham, twenty-five; New Castle & North Shields, thirty; Chester & Birkenhead, twenty-eight; Birmingham & Derby, twenty-nine. "The foregoing return of speed on the English railway," comments the *New York Journal of Commerce*, "shows an average rate exceeding the rates in this country,—say nineteen to twenty miles an hour. On some of our best roads, with the heavy edge rails, we have accomplished as high rates of speed, to wit, a mile in a minute, as was once performed in England. Our engines have drawn greater loads up higher grades, in comparison to their weight. The great difficulty with most of our roads is that they are too slightly built, from the deficiency of capital in this country." In a report to the London board of trade, in connection with the above, it was shown by several facts "that railways are the safest of all modes of conveyance, and more particularly safe than steamboat travelling." From January 1st to July 1st, 1841, it was shown, only three

people had lost their lives upon railroads from causes beyond their control. The number of passengers travelling was 9,122,000; the distance travelled 182,440,000 miles. The number killed from causes beyond control was one to 3,040,666; while only one passenger lost his life for each 60,813,333 miles travelled.

The line between Detroit and Pontiac, Michigan, was completed in July, 1843, and opened for travel. It was twenty-five miles in length. "On the 4th," says the Detroit *Free Press* of that month, "Gov. Barry, accompanied by several state officers and by his staff, took a ride to Pontiac by invitation of the proprietors, and was handsomely received throughout the route. The journey across the Peninsula, from Detroit to St. Joseph or Michigan City, is performed by this route with great ease and expedition, and the journey to Chicago made in little more than forty-nine hours."

In December, 1843, announcement was made that the unique line of railroad connecting Milan, Italy, and the sea city of Venice would be completed by 1845. Its length was one hundred and sixty-eight and one-third miles, and cost of construction \$10,315,000; or \$61,000 per mile. The waters lying between Venice and the mainland were to be traversed by a bridge over two miles long, constructed with two hundred and twenty-two arches, two strong abutments, and five earth platforms distributed throughout its length. The bridge was then half completed, and

was estimated would cost \$945,000 when finished. "The boldness and good taste of this great work has added much to the reputation of Milani, the chief engineer, who is also engaged in supervising the construction of the road. Locomotives, of English and Austrian workmanship, have for some time traversed about twenty miles of the road in the Venetian territory. The Lombardy section will be finished as far as Treaviglio, in 1844." A treaty was in the same year completed between Genoa and Switzerland, for the construction of a railway from Chambery and Genoa, at the expense of the two governments.

From a published statement made in January, 1844, it is learned that railroad stocks remain a good financial investment, and that the capitalists had little hesitation as to future values. From that statement we glean the following: The New England railroads are managed with great efficiency and strict economy, and the happy fruits of the system are seen in the un-failing profitableness of the works themselves. The dividends for the past six months, just declared by these companies, are as follows:

Roads.	Capital.	Divd.	Amt.	Cur. prcs.
Lowell.....	\$1,800,000	4 p. ct.	72,000	130
Worcester.....	2,700,000	3 "	81,000	117
Eastern.....	2,200,000	3 "	66,000	108
Providence.....	1,800,000	3 "	54,000	108
Boston and Maine.....	1,200,000	3 "	36,000	107
Nashua.....	400,000	4 "	16,000	130
New Bedford.....	408,000	3 "	12,000	107
Taunton Branch.....	250,000	5 "	12,500	120
Charlestown Branch.....	250,000	0 "	7,500	68
Totals.....	\$11,000,000		\$357,000	

The statement continues: The Utica & Schenectady railroad has paid a regular dividend of ten per cent. since its completion in 1835. The amount of money received for passengers is over \$3,000,000; the amount of dividends paid more than \$4,500,000 besides leaving a surplus. Capital, \$2,000,000. The Utica & Syracuse railroad, which has been in operation three years, cost \$800,000, and has paid dividends to the amount of \$200,000, or about seven and one half per cent. The receipts for freight, passage, etc., on the Vicksburg & Jackson road for the three quarters of the year ending 1st of July last, amount to \$113,117.66; and the expenses during the same time to \$80,839.82; showing a net profit of \$32,179.84. Buffalo & Attica road: From the 1st of April to the 1st of December, 1843, the number of passengers on this road was 62,484; amount of receipts, \$40,973. The running expenses during the same period were \$12,000; making the net earnings of the road \$28,973,—a little over nine per cent. on \$320,000; its cost of construction. The ten years seven per cent. loan of \$200,000 advertised by the Hartford & New Haven railroad company, was all taken, at different rates of premium, up to three and one half.

A difficulty occurring in the same month of January, led to a declaration by the courts as to the legal status of a railway, that may be worth preserving. One Clement Rochell, of Southampton, Virginia, held large claims against the

Portsmouth & Roanoke railroad company, and not being able to effect a satisfactory arrangement with the corporation, assigned the same to Francis E. Rives, who was supposed to have bought as a speculation. The latter made demands with which the company could not, or would not, comply, whereupon he assembled forty men and proceeded to tear up that portion of the road upon which he held a lien. Several miles were gone before the community learned of his violent proceedings. Volunteers immediately started forth to arrest his further havoc, while others proceeded to repair the injury already done. Rives declared his determination to proceed, whereupon he was arrested, and held to answer for the damage he had already done.

As Rives had already enforced his lien by a regular purchase at a sheriff's sale, he made the defense upon trial that the property was his and he could do as he pleased with it. The case was heard before Judge Pearson, at Northampton, North Carolina, who decided that a railroad was a public highway, and could not be legally destroyed, even by the act of the company itself. The Court held:

“The right of the legislature to condemn private property for the road, as the land over which it runs, the wood, stone, gravel and earth required for its construction and repair, can only be derived from the fact that the road is for a public benefit and is to be used as a public highway. To consider the

road as mere private property is to suppose the legislature has taken the property of certain citizens without their consent, and vested that property in certain other citizens for their individual benefit; whereas, to consider it as a public highway, with certain *incidental private interests*, fully sustains the authority of the legislature to make the condemnation. It is a principle of the common law, which expands and adapts itself to new cases as they arise, that whenever the public has a right and that right is invaded, the offender is liable to indictment; and in the case of a railroad constructed like the one under consideration, by a joint stock company, although the company has a private interest, that interest is *incidental*—is secondary—and must be enjoyed so as not to defeat the paramount object, and one which is essential to the creation and existence of the road—the *public right*. If, therefore, the company should take up the whole or any part of the road, not with a view to repairs or to replace it with better materials, but with a view to obstruct and hinder the public in the use of it, it would fall within the principle, and the individuals offending would be liable to indictment. This broad proposition is decisive of the question.”

In regard to the title which passed by the sale of the sheriff, the Court decided:

“Waving all objections to the mode in which the sale was made, the Court is of the opinion that no title passed, because the superstructure therein

used and constituting the road was not subject to execution sale. It is clear that nothing can be sold under execution, which the debtor himself cannot sell. The company may sell the materials before they are laid down, but as soon as they become a part of the road, the *public right attaches*, and neither a company nor a purchaser can tear up and remove that part of a public highway without violating the law. Admitting that the president and directors, if they see proper to violate their charter and subject themselves to indictment, have the power to tear up the road and can then pass title to the materials, it by no means follows that the title can pass upon the severance; still less that the law will lend its aid, and pass title by a judicial sale to property which the debtor cannot sell without being liable to indictment, and which in this instance the company cannot sell without violating its duty to its creditor, and thereby forfeiting its existence.

“It is said that the company, having incurred debts, will not by the principles of our law be permitted to hold property which creditors cannot reach. The company, at the time of its creation, agreed to perform certain services to the *public* after its creation; it incurred liabilities to individuals; as both cannot be discharged, the right of the public must be preferred, because it is first in time and first in importance, and because the individuals who gave credit did so with a full knowledge that the company had this public duty to

perform, and one claiming under a creditor has no right to complain because he is not permitted to do that which would prevent the performance of public duty. The Court, therefore, upon the first count, also decides against the defendant. The defendant is fined the sum of twenty-five dollars, and will be in custody until the fine and costs are paid."

The fine was fixed at this low sum, because the Court was satisfied that Mr. Rives acted under the advice of counsel, and there was no reason to apprehend that he would repeat the offense.

RAILROAD PROGRESS THE WORLD OVER.

A brief review of the progress of railroad building up to that date the world over, appears in the *New York Courier and Enquirer* in September, 1844. In the German states twenty-five lines were already completed, twelve nearly finished, and seventeen projected; with 152 completed for every million of her inhabitants, while France had but 16 to each million, Belgium 50, Great Britain 85, and the United States 277. Great Britain had 49 lines completed, of 1,716 miles in length, at a cost of \$300,000,000; built entirely by private enterprise, with the exception of \$670 per mile, per annum, paid by the government on the principal lines for the transmission of mails. Ten per cent. dividend was the return upon the main lines, the most profitable being then the Stockton & Darlington, used mainly for the carrying of coal "at one penny per ton, per mile," netting

fifteen per cent. per annum, and shares selling at £260 for £100 paid in. The railways then projected in Great Britain and Ireland exceeded 2,500 miles. France, despite the ambitious plans we described some pages ago,—laid aside, however, in an election excitement—had realized as yet only 560 miles. "Several years," says the writer quoted, "have been spent in discussing the question and mode of aiding private enterprise, in preference to the construction and management of railways by the government. For the privilege of transmitting the troops and munitions of war on favorable terms, the French government now propose to procure from individuals the land for the right of way, and to grade the railroad ready for the superstructure, which the corporations, under the charter, are to furnish with the iron rails, engines and cars. A moderate interest is then first allowed to the corporations from the net receipts of the road, on their disbursements. The additional gain is then divided between the stockholders and the government."

Belgium had 342 completed miles, constructed by the government for commerce and for military defense, all radiating from Malines, paying five per cent., managed "very expensively," with many objections from the public as to their management and accommodations. Prussia, as has been shown, was rapidly introducing the new improvement under a liberal system, partially aided by the government. Russia, in 1837, had only one short

railroad, eighteen miles in length, connecting St. Petersburg and a neighboring watering place. "It was constructed by Chevalier de Gerstner and his associates under a liberal charter from the Emperor, as a pattern railway. It was straight, the government setting the example, to yield the grounds through a fortification and the gardens attached to the palace of the Emperor, to effect this object." That line was then paying eight per cent. "The Emperor has a road in the course of rapid construction, superintended by American engineers, extending from St. Petersburg to Moscow, four hundred miles in length. Another from the same point, upwards of one thousand miles, extending to the Caspian sea, with branches to the Black sea, and in other directions, designed for military attack and defense." From Vienna there were two routes; one by the Danube, and the other by the Trieste. "From Paris a railway is to run to Lyons, and from thence to Marseilles, on the Mediterranean. This route through France, connects London with the present route to India, via the Nile, Cairo and Suez, and the Red sea. It is designed to improve this route by the immediate construction of a railway, which has been surveyed from Cairo to Suez. The distance is only eighty-four miles. Sixty-seven miles are as straight as an air line, and what is remarkable, the engineer, M. Gallow, finds the route gravel and pebbles. It is the route supposed to have been adopted, in their flight, by the children of Israel. Des-

potic Spain and Portugal are still blanks in the railway system, both, however, are beginning to turn their attention to the subject, and thus enlighten their people."

"The United States," concludes the writer, "proportioned to her capital and her 18,000,000 population, has advanced more rapidly with their railways than the whole of Europe. She has 5,000 miles completed, and in use, paying about five per cent. We have a number of miles in the course of construction, and at least 10,000 miles of railways projected. We have expended on railways \$125,000,000."

But all this wonderful activity the world over, was not the result of any definite commercial demand; speculation was rife; and although the United States had passed through its most heated speculative stage, culminating in the panic of 1837, the Old World was entering upon a season of like character. Careful and conservative men upon both sides of the sea were alarmed at the tendency of the day, but the mass looked only upon the bright side, and believed that the day of golden returns had only come. "The last English papers," says one American writer, in May, 1845, "state that railroad projects continued to be submitted to the board of trade for their approval, preparatory to going to parliament. In many so sanguine were the parties of success, that a high premium was paid for the shares even before it was known whether they would be approved or rejected. In one case especially, that of

the London & York project, consisting of sixty thousand shares, the premium was £20 per cent., equal to about \$6,000,000, although dependent for any value wholly upon the decision to be made by parliament. In another the announcement of the board of trade produced an immediate effect on the price to the extent of four hundred thousand dollars. . . . The French chambers were engaged when the last packets left Havre, in measures for preventing, if possible, the gambling, or *South Sea* tendency of the rage for railroads. . . . The first effect of springing all these immense lines of railway upon the world, is to create so unusual a demand for iron, an expensive ingredient in their construction, so far beyond what has ever yet been supplied by all the iron works of the world, that the price of the article has rapidly advanced in both Europe and America, and iron works are being put in blast on every hand."

From an able and thoughtful article* that appeared in midsummer of 1845, we gain a clear idea of the actual phases of this commercial excitement, and of the height to which the fever had run. "Few would form any adequate idea," says the writer, "of the railroad mania now prevailing in England, without examining the public journals of that country. They are literally filled with contests for the right of constructing routes, and all the members of parliament are pannelled off into committees

of three or four, which are designated Group A, &c., until the alphabet is exhausted, and then commence with Group AA, &c., and go on until they are nearly exhausted again,—and before these respective groups a preliminary hearing of the merits of each application is had, the parties for and against the application feeing counsel, and summoning witnesses who are examined upon oath, touching the whole concern, to the feasibility of the project, and interests it will effect. Noblemen in many cases make furious defense of their parks, their pleasure grounds, and their ancient manors, which these excavations sometimes sadly disfigure. Established routes of railroads and canals, as well as localities that are to be injured by any new proposed rail route, muster and systematically concentrate all their influence to meet and defeat the application. Circulars are published calling upon all such interests to exert themselves to get those members of parliament, whom they can influence, to be sure to be in attendance by such a day, which is fixed for a hearing, and decision on report of the committee, or group, that in the meantime will have the question under examination.

"The main topic which just now agitates the greatest number of existing interests, or railroad companies, and on which they have summoned all their influence to be present on the 17th of June, on which day it was to come up for discussion on the application of the applicants for a new great western railway, on which a warm de-

* Niles' National Register, vol. 68, p. 299.

bate was anticipated, was the application of some of the new companies to use a 'wide gauge' instead of the usual gauge or width for the rail track. Numerous experiments have been and are yet being made to test the comparative advantages of the two widths. From a careful perusal of the London papers in our possession upon this point we conclude that the wide gauge decidedly has it, and that the old companies have mainly to rest their opposition to an undoubted improvement, upon the inconvenience to which it will subject them, to accommodate their cars and tracks to connect with such roads as may be allowed to adopt the improvements, or on the confusions which different gauges must produce.

"Not half satisfied with the railroads which they succeeded in getting the permission of parliament to gridiron their own island with, the capitalists of England are lending a friendly hand to their neighbors across the channel in maturing projects for paving France with iron rails. We see a number of their projects advertised in the London papers, in which the parties agree that half the capital may be furnished by British shareholders. The French chambers, as yet, have evinced more caution in granting railway privileges than the British parliament have been able to exercise. The conservative members of both governments are alarmed at the impulse which is directing such tremendous sums into a single train of speculation, and earnestly endeavored to avert a catastrophe, too

apt to be the result of such a fever. Yet they have granted railway privileges that will require a heavy outlay to complete.

"The London *Morning Herald* manfully battles for the railroad era, for railway interests and railway expenditures in preference to spending millions in foreign wars and subsidies. In the paper of the 17th ult., we find their contemporaries are combed by them: 'Our doleful contemporary, the *Morning Post*, is sadly alarmed at what it is pleased to call the wilder (than France) madness and cupidity of British speculation in railroads. Now in this alarm we cannot participate, it being our misfortune to differ from our contemporary upon the danger of railroad speculation. Of course we do not, nor, as we believe, does the *Morning Post*, speak of those who buy railroad shares to sell them again—that is essentially gambling, as much so as betting at hazard or *rouge et noir*—but of persons engaged in that kind of *bona fide* speculation which men pursue when they lay their money out upon land, labor and iron trams with an expectation of being remunerated by the profits of traffic. Now, so limiting railway speculation, we contend that scarcely any investment of capital can be more prudent for the individual, or anything like so beneficial to the public. Railroads may in many cases fail to realize very extravagant hopes, but *they will always be worth something* to the shareholder; and we need not say how beneficial they must be to the community, what-

ever the profit to the owners. We do not advise anybody to invest his whole property in a railroad, however profitable, any more than we advise anyone to risk his all upon a single cargo; but we certainly would not dissuade a friend who might be at a loss for some means of turning superfluous money to account, from adventuring it in a reasonably hopeful railroad.' "

The article above quoted * furnishes a pertinent and illustrative quotation upon the same theme from the *Boston Post*, of a few days previous: "In England, at the present time, the all-engrossing subject of speculative action, either in the stock market or the House of Commons, is to devise and carry through some new railroad scheme, or at least get into script and then sell out at a profit. So far from railway commissioners affecting any practical benefit or relieving parliament from the labor of investigation; the members were overwhelmed with an avalanche of railway bills, and on the 25th of May there were sixty-five bills pending before eighteen committees, which projects were approved by one thousand peti-

tioners, and upwards of two thousand witnesses were under examination. Thirty-six other railways stood in that day's order for reports, besides many others which were liable to be thrown out for non-compliance with standing orders. In group X there were ten bills, the London & York having the call, and a single case cannot be finished in a month. In group DD there were fourteen more bills, some of which involve the disputed question of wide and narrow gauge, and one bill alone has occupied a fortnight, two days being devoted to the examination and cross-examination of Robert Stephenson. Other committees were being appointed to twenty-four other railways, and so great was the demand for committee-men that it was seriously proposed to send the sergeant-at-arms to Ireland, and drag the recusant Irish members into the committee rooms to undergo their share of railway examination. In a committee of which the celebrated Macauley is chairman, a cross-examination of one engineer lasted three days and a half, as all the points of railway science were thoroughly gone into.'

* See Niles, Vol. 68, p. 300.

J. H. KENNEDY.

(To be continued.)



Chs. F. Mayer

THE RAILROAD MEN OF AMERICA.

CHARLES F. MAYER.

When Charles F. Mayer, in December, 1888, was selected as the official head of the great Baltimore & Ohio system, the *Baltimore American* voiced the general opinion when it said of him: "No better man could have been selected. There is no one in this city whose judgment is more thoroughly respected, whose business training is more mature, whose executive ability is more conspicuous. As a financier Mr. Mayer ranks as high in the estimation of this city as any of its citizens. He is a man of great industry, a worker who makes others work, a far-seeing, careful, conservative executive, who has proved his capacity in the management of one of the largest and most successful coal companies in this country. His personal merits as a man and as a citizen, his devotion to the interests of the city and state, are well known and need no praise. He will unquestionably make a good president."

Even the briefest review of Mr. Mayer's life and labors will establish the justice of this newspaper verdict. He comes of a family in which have been long recognized those qualities that ensure success and command respect. The first of that family to settle in America was Christian Mayer, who located in Baltimore shortly after the

Revolutionary War. He was one of the founders of the German Society in 1817, and its first president. His son, Charles F., was a distinguished lawyer and public man of Maryland, a prominent Whig, a state senator, and as chairman of a joint committee of both houses, was the means of settling the trouble between the newly organized Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company and the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal Company, that ensured that great iron highway an outlet to the West.

Lewis Mayer, the father of Charles F. Mayer, the subject of this sketch, was also the son of Christian Mayer, as was also Col. Brantz Mayer, a paymaster in the United States navy, and a *literateur* well-known in American letters. Lewis, who died in the prime of a brilliant manhood, was educated in one of the best continental universities, and was a cultured and accomplished gentleman. He was no less noted for his business talents than for his mental culture, and was among the pioneers in the development of the anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania, where he and many of his relatives were large land owners.

Charles F. Mayer was educated in Baltimore, and at an early age entered the counting-house of his uncle, Fred-

erick Konig, who was one of the large importing merchants of his day. He at once manifested a great aptitude for business, and before he was of age was sent as supercargo to the western coast of South America, on one of the last trading voyages fitted out in Baltimore for that coast. Returning to this country after an absence of near two years, he became the head of the establishment in which he had received his business training, and until 1865 continued to conduct a large and successful business. In that year he withdrew from an active partnership in the firm, and in company with a number of other prominent gentlemen of Baltimore, purchased and undertook to develop one of the valuable gas-coal basins of West Virginia, for which purpose they organized the Despard Coal Company. Mr. Mayer occupied the office of vice-president, and afterwards president, in which position he had charge of the management of the company's affairs.

In 1871 was formed the house of Mayer, Carroll & Co., miners and shippers of coal, which, under that name and later that of Davis, Mayer & Co., became one of the largest and most influential firms in the city.

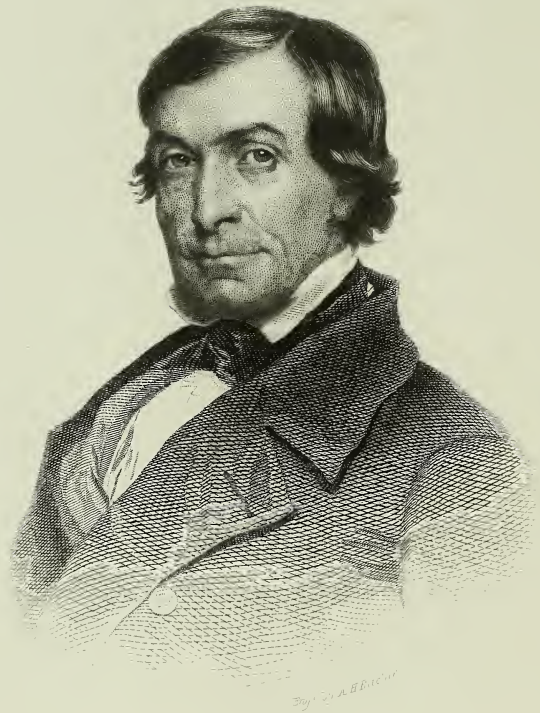
In 1877 Mr. Mayer was elected president of the Consolidation Coal company, and of the Cumberland & Newark R. R. Co.

The Consolidation Coal Company is one of the largest and most important corporations in America; mining over one million tons of coal in a year; having a capital of ten million or more;

and owning its own steam colliers and wharves at Locust Point, Hoboken and on the Chesapeake & Ohio canal at Cumberland and Georgetown. Mr. Mayer found in the management of this great enterprise a field commensurate even to his matured powers, and his work therein was such as to show him capable of meeting the requirements of even greater responsibilities should they be entrusted to his hands.

Other important interests of Baltimore and Maryland had felt the touch of his genius, and received the benefit of his great financial skill. He became president of the Cumberland & Pennsylvania Railroad Company; president of the Susquehanna & Tidewater Canal Company; a director in the Western National Bank of Baltimore; a director in the Eutaw Savings Bank of Baltimore; a director in the Baltimore Steam Packet Company; trustee of the Church Home and Infirmary; a member of the vestry of St. Paul's Episcopal church; and in other ways needless to mention here, has he made his influence felt for good upon the business and social life of Baltimore and the state.

Mr. Mayer's direct connection with the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad Company began in November, 1887, when he was elected a member of its board of directors; although he had had much to do with it and its affairs in time past, as a close connection had held between it and the Cumberland & Pennsylvania Railroad—of which he was president—for many years, the



Wm C. Bullitt

Cumberland & Pennsylvania giving the Baltimore & Ohio its main coal traffic. Mr. Garret and Mr. Mayer had been close friends for many years. As soon as Mr. Mayer became a director of the Baltimore & Ohio, he was made the chairman of its executive committee, and from thence had a voice in its financial and mechanical management. And, as was said in the beginning, the popular decision was that the best possible choice had been made, when, on December 19, 1888, he was formally made the official head of this great railroad organization. The record he has already made in that position has fully proved the wisdom of that choice, and, as one has well said, has shown him fit to "sit with the other able men who are at the head of the great trunk line systems of the country."

In all the essentials of a great railroad manager, Mr. Mayer is well supplied. Energetic and active in every movement; determined and aggressive; himself a tireless worker, who inspires all those about him to their best exertions; a man of action rather than words; with rare financial genius; quick to see an opportunity, and with the courage to make it his own; he is yet ready to receive the advice of others, and to render unto every man and every conflicting interest its proper due. In private life he is firm and unwavering in his friendship; has helped many to better themselves in many ways; while his charity is great and flows through many channels little known to the world.

WILLIAM CHRISTIAN BULLITT.

THE history of the Bullitt family has been so closely identified with that of Kentucky, and its sons have had so prominent a part in connection with some of the main episodes of its development, that the life sketch of one can hardly be given without a glance at those of his name and race who preceded him.

In that valuable publication just given to the public, "*Historic Families of Kentucky*,"* several pages are devoted to the record of the ancestors of

William Christian Bullitt, introduced by these words: "The Bullitt family has long been seated in Virginia and Maryland, tradition assigning to it a French origin. The first of whom the writer has definite knowledge were three brothers who lived in Fauquier. One of these brothers was the father of Thomas, Cuthbert, and Neville Bullitt, who came to Kentucky at a very early day. Neville was a farmer, and lived in Jefferson county. Thomas and Cuthbert were among the very first to engage in mercantile pursuits in Louisville, amassed large fortunes, and became the ancestors of Alexander C.

* "*Historic Families of Kentucky*." By Thomas Marshall Green. Published by Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, 1889; p. 150.

Bullitt, the well-known editor of the New Orleans *Picayune*; of the wife of the heroic Phil. Kearny; of the family of the late Dr. Wilson, of Louisville; of Col. William A. Bullitt; of the Weissengers, and others."

Another descendant of the family originally located at Fauquier, was Alexander Scott Bullitt, who also came to Kentucky in his early manhood, and by his own force of character, even more than by his family influence, rapidly rose into prominence. He was a member of the convention of 1788; a member of the convention of 1792, which framed the first state constitution; was president of the convention of 1799, which framed the second constitution; continuously speaker of the Senate from the establishment of the state until 1800; the office of lieutenant-governor having been created by the second constitution, in 1800 he was chosen to that position, and continued to preside over the senate until 1804—"a robust, solid, sensible, strong-willed man." His last public service was as a member of the legislature, from which he retired in 1808.

Alexander Scott Bullitt was married in the fall of 1785 to Priscilla Christian, the daughter of Col. William Christian, a gallant soldier whose tragic death at the hands of the Indians, on the North bank of the Ohio, is one of the many deeds of death recorded of the early days in that region. Of the several children born to this union, was William Christian Bullitt, whose part in the public and private life of Kentucky was one of honor and usefulness.

He was born at Ox Moor,—his father's farm in Jefferson county,—on February 14, 1793. His father died in the year 1816 and bequeathed him the family homestead, upon which he lived the greater part of his life, and which he still owned at the time of his death. Choosing the profession of law, he devoted himself to its study with that thoroughness that was one of his characteristics, and was admitted to the bar at Louisville, in December, 1812, when not yet twenty years of age. He practiced with unusual success until 1817, when, because of a challenge to a duelsent by him to Hon. Ben Hardin, he was prevented from further practice, under a state law which made the sender of a challenge ineligible to practice in the state courts. But this restriction was removed in a few months by an act of the legislature, and he returned again to a career in which he had already won success, and proved himself the possessor of those qualities sure to win even greater rewards in the future.

But the law soon proved too great a strain upon a naturally delicate constitution, and early in 1820 Mr. Bullitt retired from the bar and settled upon the home-farm where his boyhood had been so happily passed. Here he gave an oversight to the management of his farm, and at the same time kept pace with the movements of the outside world. He ever took a deep interest in politics, but carefully held himself aloof from public life, the only office ever accepted by him being that of a member of the convention of 1849,

which formed the present constitution of Kentucky. He was a great lover of books, and took a special interest in all matters relating to history. On September 1, 1819, Mr. Bullitt was married to Mildred Ann Fry, daughter of Joshua Fry, who was one of the best known of the early traders of Kentucky. At the outbreak of the Civil War Mr. Bullitt removed his home to Louisville, where he lived during the remainder of his life. On August 28, 1877, he died, in his eighty-fifth year, his wife following him on July 12, 1879. Of the children born to their union six survived them: Hon. Joshua F. Bullitt, of Louisville; John C. Bullitt, of Philadelphia; Thomas W. Bullitt, of Louisville,—all of whom are well known and successful lawyers;—Henry M. Bullitt, a farmer; and Mrs. Sue B. Dixon, wife

of Hon. Archibald Dixon, of Henderson, Kentucky; and Helen M. Chenoweth, wife of Dr. Chenoweth, of Jefferson county, Kentucky.

Mr. Bullitt was possessed of many of those qualities which made his ancestors famous in the annals of early Kentucky, and have won fame and success for his sons. Clear, strong sense, a determination of purpose that carried any desired course of conduct to the end, perfect honesty and candor in all his dealings with men, and an inherent sense of justice were among his most distinguished characteristics. While he cared little for society in the general meaning of the term, he was social in his nature, and his home was one of the most hospitable in a state where hospitality is looked upon as one of the cardinal virtues.

VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE MORE IMPORTANT VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE, BEFORE THE DISCOVERY OF PRINTING.

I.

THE nations of the world possessing anything like an organized government have ever had writings bearing upon the spiritual relations of their people. Among the more important of these writings may be named the Vedas of the Hindus, the teachings of the Confucious of China, the Koran of the Mohammedans, and what is known as the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures. These several writings have a most

suggestive history, but as the latter have a special interest for all who know their influence, in this introductory paper it is proposed to refer only to them; and at the same time nothing but a compilation will be attempted.

In the early centuries, what in our day is termed the Bible, was known as the Sacred Writings, the Holy Scriptures, and by other phrases of similar significance; nor was it until the fourth

century that this collection of writings received the name by which it is now known throughout Christendom. Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople, and one of the most illustrious fathers of the Church, was the first to give the name of Bible to the various books of the Old and New Testament.

According to Ripley the number of the books and their grouping have varied in different versions, thirty-nine appearing in our English Bible. Jerome counted the same books so as to equal the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet: Judges and Ruth; the two books of Samuel; two of the Kings; two of the Chronicles; and the twelve minor prophets making five books. The later Jews of Palestine counted these twenty-four. As to their order the Masoretic arrangement, which is that of our Hebrew Bibles, is very ancient. The Greek speaking Jews varied from those of Palestine, and their arrangement is preserved in the Septuagint, which is followed in the Vulgate and in our English Bibles, an order not according to chronological succession, but made with a view to grouping similar classes of composition together, the historical being placed first, the poetic next, and the prophetic last. The Apocalypse, or the Revelation of St. John, is the only book in the New Testament of a strictly prophetic character. It was written shortly after the death of Nero, and whatever may have been the opinion of heathen writers as to the inspiration of the books of the Bible, we have the

testimony of Papias of Sardis, Melito, Eusebius and others, that this book is inspired. Justin Martyr and Irenæus quote the Apocalypse as the work of the apostle John; and the third council of Carthage, in 397, admitted it into the list of canonical books. On the other hand Dyonisius, bishop of Alexandria, undertakes to prove that it was not the work of the apostle John who lived in Asia, and he bases his opinion upon the fact that the Apocalypse is absent from the ancient Peshito edition. Semler, De Wette, Ewald, Lucke and other exegetical writers have tried to prove that this book and the Gospel of John could not have been written by the same author, while Baur, Hilgenfeld, and others of the Tübingen school, ascribe the Apocalypse to him but not the fourth Gospel. Dana says that the Johannean origin of both the Apocalypse and the fourth Gospel was, on the other hand, vindicated against the critical schools by Hengstenberg, Godet, Hase and Niermeyer. In the opinion of the former the Apocalypse is a progressive representation of the entire history of the Church and the world, and therein may be found references to nearly every great event of the Christian era; such as the migrations of nations, the reformation, the pope, and the French revolution. Able advocates for the preterist mode of interpretation have been found in Grotius, Bossuet and Calmet, who say that the Apocalyptic visions have been fulfilled in the time which has passed since the book was written, and they refer principally

to the triumph of Christianity over Judaism and paganism.

Ewald, Bleek, Stuart, Lee and Maurice declare that the "seven heads" are the seven emperors, and as Galba was accounted as the sixth of the emperors, the fifth was Nero, who would return as the eighth. Certain English writers believe that (with the exception of the first three chapters) the book refers to events which are yet to come. For ten centuries men have been studying the authenticity and arrangement of the constituent parts of the Bible, and the text of the Old Testament has already passed through many revisions. The books, as is well known, were first written on stone and papyrus rolls, and the old Hebrew characters used are found on the coins of the Maccabees. After the return from the Babylonish exile, the ancient Hebrew was modified by Aramaic chirography until it took the square form of the Palmyrene letters. After a time the words were separated from each other, followed by a division into verses; then the necessity was felt of breaking up the text into sections. In this division the book of the law was made to consist of six hundred and sixty-nine parashes, which (in the absence of the headings) were known by the most prominent subject in each. The text thus written was most carefully guarded, and in copying nothing could be added, nothing taken away. Rules were made in regard to the manner in which the manuscripts were to be written, and those rules were absolute. In the

Masoretic period, reckoned from the sixth to the eleventh centuries, the ancient manuscripts were critically collated and the notes of the Masorites were recorded in separate books. Since this period scholars have labored to elucidate the Masoretic text, and the manuscripts of the Pentateuch have been revised. In July, 1881, the writer published in the *New York Observer*, a list of Bibles translated, copied in manuscript, and printed in early times; but it is not possible to make such a list complete.

The chronology of the period of history in which these manuscripts were written is, to a certain extent, involved in uncertainty, as dates were seldom given by the sacred writers. The scribes may have supposed that in the matter of chronology, the truth could easily be ascertained by such means as were at the disposal of those for whose immediate benefit those writings were made. The transcription of these copies scattered throughout Europe, Africa, Ethiopia, Syria, Persia and China, was chiefly the work of monks to whose laborious pens we are indebted for the preservation of the Scriptures through the darkness of the Middle Ages. The original copies, both of the Old and New Testaments, have nearly all disappeared, and the oldest manuscript known, as yet preserved, is of the fourth century after Christ. These Biblical manuscripts are usually divided into the Hebrew and Greek, of which the latter are more numerous, and include only the New Testament. The

form of the letters varies, sometimes they are all capitals, and manuscripts so written are called *uncial*. These are the oldest, while *cursive* writings, in which the letters run on, being often joined, with no capitals except as initials, belong to a later age. Greek manuscripts are in the square form, and though doubtless rolls like the Hebrew existed in very early times but few of them have been preserved. The writer has one which contains only the book of Esther, and which probably dates back to a very remote period of time. McClintock states that the most ancient manuscripts are without any separation of words. At the beginning of the fifth century, and probably earlier, a dot was used to divide sentences. The older manuscripts are generally incomplete; a few originally contained the whole Bible, some the New Testament, and others only certain portions of it. Manuscripts where the original writing has been almost or altogether obliterated, and other matter substituted, are called *Codices Palimpsesti*, or *Rescripti* (palimpsest manuscripts), that is manuscripts rewritten. When the text is accompanied by a version, the manuscripts are termed *Codices Bilingues*, or double tongued. These are usually Greek and Latin, and in a very old manuscript the Latin translation is likely to be that in use before the time of Jerome. In the British Museum are several remarkably interesting specimens of Greek manuscripts, dating from the tenth to the fourteenth century.

One of these manuscripts, the *Codex Alexandrinus*, presented to king Charles I, contains the greater portion of the Old and New Testaments, and is supposed to have been written in the fifth century. Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians was written, says Jacobson, shortly after the martyrdom of Ignatius, 115 A. D. Its genuineness, though disputed by writers of the Tubingen school, is now conceded. Its tone is hortatory, and there is great profuseness of quotation from the apostolic writings. Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, suffered martyrdom about 167 A. D., and a tall cyprus on Mount Pagus, overlooking the city of Smyrna, marks the spot where, when entreated to save his life by reviling Christ, he said "Eighty and six years have I served him, and how can I blaspheme my King, who has saved me?" One hundred and thirty-five years later, and the "*Hexapla*" made its appearance. This was the celebrated edition of the Septuagint text of the Old Testament, in six parallel columns of the original Hebrew, the Hebrew text in Greek letters, and in the four versions by Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, and Theodosian. Of this we have only fragments, edited by the Benedictine Montfaucon. Origin was the author of this great work, which he originally prepared as a *tetrapla*, giving four columns only, with the marginal notes, and marks indicating variations, additions to the texts, and retrenchments.

Further research makes it apparent that in 360 A. D., Ulphilas, or Ulfila, bishop of the Goths, translated the

Holy Scriptures into the Gothic language. He was educated in Christianity, and acquired a knowledge of both the Gothic and the Greek languages. His success was so great in converting his people to Christianity, that Athanaric became alarmed and instituted persecutions, which resulted in Ulphilas leaving the Goths, in the year 350. He was accompanied by a large number of converts, and received permission of Constantius to settle at Necropolis. Here the Gothic colony flourished for a time, until new persecutions occurred, when the colony was broken up. A century later the Visigoths and the Ostrogoths adopted Christianity, as the result of this good bishop's labors. He was the great apostle of the Goths who adopted his creed, Arianism, which consisted of a denial that the Son was co-essential and co-eternal with the Father. Happily after the reunion of the Longobardians with the Catholic Church in 662 Arianism as a sect ceased to exist. It was during the period of quiet life among the Goths (after they had received from Aurelian the province of Dacia where they settled) that they were converted to Christianity. It was also during this period that the division sprang up between the Ostrogoths living along the shores of the Black Sea, and the Visigoths, on the banks of the Danube in the Dacian provinces—a division which maintained itself through the rest of their history. In all the numerous conflicts of the Goths with the Roman emperors they drew

their spiritual nourishment from his translation of sacred writ. When Theodosius convoked the Council of Constantine (383) for the purpose of establishing a reconciliation between Arianism and the Nicene creed, then it was that Ulfila was declared a heretic. This prolific writer, whose translation of the Bible was the oldest of the Teutonic languages, died in Constantinople the same year. This translation shows that the Gothic language, although closely related to the Icelandic, Anglo-Saxon, old High German, etc., occupied an independent position. A manuscript of Ulphilas' version, written in letters of silver, has been found in the Abbey Verden, and from the style of writing it received the name of "*Codex Argenteus*." In the monasteries, which existed in the early days of the Christian Church, many of the monks were employed in the transcription of the acts and teachings of Apostolic times, and the church has been from time immemorial the vigilant guardian of the sacred Scriptures. In some cases this copying was done from memory which on account of daily repetition would not be difficult. These manuscripts give to modern Biblical scholars the text upon which they rely in their studies of the Bible.

Dr. Tischendorf discovered in the convent on Mount Sinai, and obtained for the imperial library at St. Petersburg, the remarkable *Codex Sinaiticus*, which contains the entire New Testament, and portions of the Old; it is probably a product of the fourth century.

In the Vatican library at Rome is a copy of the *Codex Vaticanus*, believed to have been written in Egypt. It contains portions of the Old and New Testaments, and this also was probably written during the fourth century. The *Codex Ephraemi* consists of portions of the Old and New Testaments, over which (the original writing having been partially erased) some works of Ephraem, the Syrian monk, were written. This was a custom not uncommon, owing to the scarcity of parchment or other material. It is assigned by Tischendorf to the fifth century. The *Codex Bezae* was procured in 1562 from the monastery of St. Irenæus at Lyons, France; and it is supposed to have been written in the fifth or sixth century. In the seventh century Aldhelm, an English divine, translated the Psalms. He is reputed to be the first Englishman who ever wrote in Latin. He led an exemplary life, and history states that during the days of barbarism in which he lived, he frequently attracted the notice of his parishioners, and secured their attention by mingling ballads with grave exhortations.

680 A. D. Anglo-Saxon. The Golden Gospels of Henry VIII, *Evangelia Latina*, folio, MS. on purple vellum, written in *gold uncials*, in double columns; bound in old English red morocco. Presented to Henry VIII of England, in 1521, as is recorded on a leaf of purple vellum inserted at the beginning, and bearing the royal arms of England. This presentation probably took place about the time that the

King received the grant of the title of "Defender of the Faith." This MS. is a noble and most precious volume and is (as Quaritch, the owner, truly says) of imperial magnificence. A large inscription in gold on the edges, written at the time of its presentation, reads thus: "*Intus ornatior quam foris.*" This manuscript is believed by Prof. Wattenbach to have been written for Archbishop Wilfred of York, between 670 and 680, and he has had confirmation of his conjecture from the great archæologist, De Rosse. There are some Biblical explorers who think that this MS. was written at the court of Charlemagne about 780, because of certain forms of punctuation supposed to belong to that time and place, but it is quite probable that the custom was merely derived by the Frankish scribes from Alcuin and the Anglo-Saxon writers. The pecuniary value placed upon this precious volume by its possessor is ten thousand dollars, but its worth cannot be estimated by money. The writer will here venture to say that if Mr. Robert Lenox were living, that Bible would not long remain in England.

In the year of our Lord, 735, Bede, a monk, surnamed "Venerable," translated the book of John. Of his writings, all of which were in Latin, the most celebrated were his commentaries on the Scriptures, and his ecclesiastical history, from the time of Julius Cæsar to his own age; the material for which he collected from the annals of convents and ancient chron-

icles. Bede quoted much from sacred writings which he had impressed upon his memory, and his translation of the book of John, is believed to be among the earliest on record. Edfried, bishop of Lindisfarne, in the year 790 translated the Gospels, and in the British Museum is a positive evidence that his translations of the Bible in the vulgar tongue were made at this early period. Nennius, the supposed author of "Historia Britonum," a Latin history of Britain from the arrival of Brutus, the Trojan, to A. D. 655, displays in his history of the Britains a wonderful knowledge of the Bible, but his quotations do not give evidence of the translations made use of by him. Afric, an Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastic in the tenth century translated a portion of the Old Testament, and the manuscript is yet preserved in one of the great libraries of Europe. Orm also compiled in verse an English harmony of the Gospels, to which he gave the name of "Ormalum." Alfred the Great, king of the Saxons in England, born in Berkshire 849 A. D., was a convert to Christianity, and after his battle with the Danes he converted the Danish king, Guthrum, held by him as a prisoner. Alfred was distinguished as a scholar as well as a patron of learning, and he translated the Psalter from memory. Freeman describes him as a saint without superstition, a scholar without ostentation, a conquerer whose hands were never stained with cruelty, a prince never cast down by adversity, never lifted up to insolence in the day of triumph.

The Jews called the first five books of the Old Testament *Torath Musheh*, or the Law of Moses. In the compilation of the Pentateuch, Vitranga, Simon, and Le Clerc, state that use had been made of documents of an earlier date. Astruc, a French writer of the past century, maintained that in Genesis and Exodus there are traces of original documents, characterized by different names of God, the one by the name of Elohim and the other by the name of Jehovah. This view, known as documentary hypothesis, was also adopted by Eichhorn. Hupfold, a German theologian, gave expression to the opinion that there is a third work, by a younger Elohist, and the three works combined by a fourth writer, called by him the "Redactor," into the present Genesis. Ewald, Knobel, Noldeke and Schrader combine both theories, and state that they find traces of more authors and of more than one general revision. Nearly all the theologians who suppose that the Pentateuch received its present form at a comparatively late period, admit that portions of the book are undoubtedly of Mosaic origin. Hengsteuberg, Havernick, Drechsler, Ranke, Nelté, Keil, Douglas and Bartlett, defend the Mosaic authorship of the entire Pentateuch, and hold that any other supposition is inconsistent with the plenary inspiration of the Bible.

As has already been stated, the apographs of originals existing at the present time are of great antiquity, and the Hebrew rolls which were used in

the synagogue worship, are written with great exactness. The skins of clean animals, specially prepared, and fastened together with strings, also taken from clean animals, represented the material upon which the chirographers labored. The one in the possession of the author of this paper is in the square Chaldee letters, without vowels or accents, and as it is of considerable length, it is rolled around a cylinder. The writing is in columns, presenting, so to speak, separate pages to the eye of the reader, as he unrolls the manuscript. The nucleus of our present Bible was what might now be called the Jewish Bible; at once the history, the code of laws, and the sacred book of the nation. It was expressly commanded by Moses before his death that it should be read aloud to the assembled Israelites once in seven years, in the Jubilee year, at the Feast of the Tabernacles; and it was preserved with the utmost care and reverence, by the side of the Ark of the Covenant in the Tabernacle. These parchment rolls vary in size, and one at the British Museum if unrolled and laid upon the ground would occupy a space seventy-six feet long and two feet two inches wide. The art of writing was known and continually practiced in Egypt prior to the time of Moses, and that great law-giver is said to have been learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. When then the stirring events of the Exodus occurred, when a nation was to be organized, laws to be made, and customs to be established;

it is a moral certainty that such a man would take care to chronicle passing events, and to have his laws a written code. The alphabet used by the Hebrews was probably of Phœnician origin, and from these ancient Phœnician characters those of many other languages would seem to have been derived. Although the Phœnician characters are of great antiquity, yet it is evident that alphabetic characters were in use before that time. Take for example the Moabite alphabet, in which appear rude likenesses of the things signified by the names, and made use of by an agricultural people from whom they must have passed to the Phœnicians. The Phœnician alphabet, so far as we can trace it upwards, comprised twenty-two letters, and the inscriptions were from right to left. There were the same number in the Hebrew, as can be seen by the alphabetic Psalms. This was the basis of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, and the monuments of Egypt are covered with paintings exhibiting warlike and domestic scenes of many animals, astronomical and geographical figures, plants, instruments, utensils, together with a great variety of imaginary forms of winged snakes, griffins, etc. Some of them yet remain perfect in color, and those seen by the writer in the temple of Aboo Simbel, above the Second Cataract of the Nile, appeared as fresh and beautiful as if they had been the work of yesterday.

This is owing to the fact that the temple was cut into the heart of the solid rock, and the hieroglyphics were not

therefore exposed to the action of the winds. The mysteries of this language were revealed by the discovery of the Rosetta stone, at Alexandria; and the

Moabite stone found at Dibon, adds most remarkable testimony to the truth of Bible record.

CHARLES W. DARLING.

(To be continued.)

A COLORADO NATIONAL PARK.

Two years ago, late in the month of September, the "soft twilight of the slow declining year," four friends, bound on a trip of hunting and pleasure, climbed the mountain immediately north of Glenwood Springs. The second day brought us to the "Flat Top" mountains, a wild, rugged, scenically grand region. The recently fallen snow had driven down the large bands of elk and deer that frequent this region in the summer, but their tracks were visible on every hand. Descending from the "Flat Tops," we entered a valley of most fascinating beauty. The land on either side, richly covered with trees, rose up in gentle slope to an elevation of over ten thousand feet. Our horses walked on a thick carpet of mountain flowers and mountain grasses. Through the valley's centre leaped in wildest glee, a rushing, laughing mountain stream, until it gladly yielded up existence by a plunge into the bosom of a placid mountain lake. Our whole day's journey led us past rushing streams and nestling lakes until, late in the afternoon, there suddenly burst upon our sight that vision of beauty known as "Trappers' Lake." I cannot describe it. About four miles in length,

one and one-half miles in width, of the coldest, purest water, the rising shores covered with the densest possible growth of spruce, pine and aspen, the great grim mountain castles beyond, their roofs whitened with snow. To me it is the finest lake that my eyes have ever beheld. The famed lakes of Italy, with their gay colored villas, their olive and vine clad hills, I should liken to the bejewelled court ladies represented in the paintings of Titian and Paul Veronese. The lakes of Switzerland, their shores dotted with inviting hotels and substantial villages, I should compare to the buxom, thrifty housewives of the Swiss republic. "Trappers' Lake" I should liken to the ideal Indian maiden, the pure, untainted, heaven-kissed child of Nature.

"With him dwelled his dark-eyed daughter,
Wayward as the Minnehaha,
With her moods of shade and sunshine,
Eyes that smiled and frowned alternate,
Feet as rapid as the river,
Tresses flowing like the water,
And as musical a laughter;
And he named her from the river,
From the waterfall he named her,
Minnehaha, Laughing Water."

The state of Colorado is rich in nearly all that nature can give, but I

had always ascribed to it poverty in one direction, poverty in its supply of water; yet every day that I spent in the vicinity of "Trappers' Lake" revealed new streams, new lakes, new sources of water supply—all beautified by the presence of towering mountains and primeval forests. This is one of Nature's great laboratories for the production of water, and I believe that this region, if properly protected, could supply water for all domestic purposes for the whole state.

After my vacation was over, and my mind again and again reverted to the singular beauties and great practical value of this region as affecting the economy of our state, the thought occurred: What if, with exception of the future natural influences, it could be forever preserved just as I saw it? Would not every consideration—practical, benevolent, æsthetic—emphatically dictate its preservation? Ought not immediate steps be taken, before it is defaced by the saw-mill and the mining shaft, to convert it into a great National Park?

I had heard that several gentlemen, prominent in the state, had visited the "Trappers' Lake" region, and with them I placed myself in communication. To my astonishment I learned that all of them had independently been thinking of the same plan, and my surprise culminated when, not many months later, the energetic, faithful, far-seeing Forest Commissioner of our state approached me to consider this very proposition of a National Park.

The immediate result of this movement was a memorial presented to Congress by the general assembly of the state of Colorado—which I shall read:

HOUSE JOINT MEMORIAL.

"To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:

"Your Memorialists, the general assembly of the state of Colorado, respectfully represent:

"That in the northwestern part of this state, to wit: in Garfield county, including small portions of Routt and Eagle counties, there lies a tract of unsettled and unoccupied plateau or table lands, commonly called the White River Plateau, described as follows: (Here follows the description.), the whole containing about 1,254,000 acres.

"That said lands are heavily timbered with spruce, pine, cedar, aspen and other evergreen and deciduous trees, interspersed with a rank growth of underbrush, vines and grasses; that there are many creeks and living streams, and some rivers, that find their source from the perpetual snows lodged in the abundant timber and upon the peaks of this plateau, which flow into the Grand, Yampa and White rivers, as also innumerable small and few large lakes, all well stocked with fish, principally brook trout. That much wild game, such as deer, elk, antelope, mountain sheep, black bear, mountain lions, etc., as well as small game, inhabit this tract the year 'round, making it the best hunting grounds in the state, if not in the Rocky Mountains; that

there are several mountain peaks and numerous canons and valleys in this section, which, together with the dense woods, the many living springs, lakes and running streams, render it an extremely beautiful and picturesque spot, especially well calculated for a National Park.

“That the lands herein described are not mineral lands, and being at an altitude of from ten to eleven thousand feet above the sea, cannot be used for agricultural purposes.

“That all of said tract is unoccupied, with the exception of very few, perhaps half a dozen, settlers near the outskirts, and is generally unsurveyed.

“That the citizens of this state are desirous of having said tract of land converted into a National Park, and the timber and game thereon preserved from wanton waste.

“That this body has been voluminously petitioned to this end from all sections of the state, and by reason thereof have likewise memorialized Congress to take some action in this behalf.

“THEREFORE, Your memorialists, the general assembly of the state of Colorado, strongly urge your honorable body to make such provisions as shall constitute and create of the lands herein described, a National Park, to be known as the Colorado National Park.”

The United States possesses, at present, two so-called National Parks; in reality, only one, because the “Yosemite” is too small to be properly called a park. It is only six miles long

by from one-half to one mile wide,—hardly as large as our own “Garden of the Gods.” The “Yellowstone National Park,” in 1872 by Congress “reserved and withdrawn from settlement, occupancy or sale under the laws of the United States, and dedicated and set apart as a public park or pleasuring ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people” is somewhat larger than our proposed “Colorado National Park.” It measures sixty-five miles from north to south and fifty-five miles from east to west, whereas our proposed park measures fifty-five miles from north to south and forty-five miles from east to west. The “Colorado National Park” would offer one great advantage over the “Yellowstone” in that it will, within a year, be close to the main line of continental travel and will hence be much more accessible. Roughly speaking, I can best indicate its position by saying that it is bounded on the south by Glenwood Springs, on the east by Egeria Park, on the west by Meeker, and on the north by Haden and Yampa.

With this introduction, let us consider the great question: Wherein would lie the value of such a National Park?

I fancy that there are few intelligent Americans living to-day who have not some faint inkling of the fact that forests, by their influence on the humidity of the air and of the soil, by the great evaporation of moisture from their countless leaves, have a direct bearing on climate and water supply. The headwaters of our great streams are

made by and in forests. Hence our necessity of forest protection. The British Association, at one of its meetings, adopted, among others, two conclusions which exactly fit our case :

I. "That in a country to which the maintenance of its water supplies is of extreme importance, the indiscriminate clearing of forests around the localities whence those supplies are derived, is greatly to be deprecated." Does not that especially apply to Colorado?

II. "That especial attention should be given to the preservation and maintenance of the forests occupying tracts unsuited for other culture, whether by reason of altitude of peculiarities of physical structure." Does not that especially apply to the conditions of this proposed National Park?

I shall not speak, because I could not do so in measured terms, of the disgraceful, sweeping destruction of the forests of our country. It has been declared "doubtful if any American state, except perhaps Oregon, has more woodland than it ought permanently to preserve." Certain it is that in our state, where the forest land is limited, and where the supply of water is of such tremendous moment, that there should be a unanimous movement in favor of protecting this great forest and this great water-laboratory by converting it, for all time, into a National Park.

Furthermore, this region is especially fitted for the perpetuation of our mountain game, affording them summer and winter ground. No one who knows how rapidly our state is filling up, who

knows with what reckless, improvident disregard of the future our game is slaughtered, but will appreciate the sad fact, that, unless we provide some such natural preserve for game as this proposed National Park, there will, before many years, exist not an elk nor a deer in Colorado. The same fate will befall the elk which befell the buffalo. To my mind, the extinction of the buffalo is a national disgrace just as the destruction of our forests is a national calamity.

As regards the buffalo, I feel that our fathers, by neglecting to preserve them for our pleasures and our sports, have deprived us of our natural birthright. It would have redounded to the glory of their memory, if the great men of our country, the Websters, Clays and Calhouns had lifted up their eloquent voices in behalf of the protection of the buffalo. Let us not make it possible for our children to cast on us the reproach which we deservedly cast on our fathers, but let us, so far as our influence extends, act energetically in behalf of the preservation of our existing species of mountain game, by affording them the protection of such a National Park. There is more than one value in hunting. Emerson says : "Any relation to the land, the habit of tilling it or mining it, or even hunting on it, generates the feeling of patriotism. He who keeps shop on it, or he who merely uses it as a support to his desk and ledger, or to his manufactory, values it less."

Another consideration : As time goes

on and our country is filled by ever-increasing millions of inhabitants, one of the rare, most highly prized sights of the future will be the sight of the forest primeval, the forest undefiled by the material struggles of man. If to the forest primeval be added the beauty flowing from rushing stream, limpid lake and lofty peak, the sight will be hallowed indeed. Such a region is, and for the pleasure of our posterity, ought always to remain, the region of our contemplated National Park. In those wilds

“ There is not lost

One of earth's charms: upon her bosom yet,
After the flight of untold centuries,
The freshness of her fair beginning lies.”

Suppose that, into-morrow morning's paper, we were to read that some wretch had entered the Royal Gallery in Dresden and had cut one of the cherub's heads out of the great “*Madonna di San Sisto*” painting by Raphael. What a cry of bitter rage would sweep throughout the civilized world. In contrast, how little would it stir our indignation if we were to read that the lumberman and the miner and the hunter for market had begun to destroy the natural beauty about lovely “*Trapers' lake*.” And yet the “*Madonna di San Sisto*” was the work of a young man, a genius it is true, but none the less a man. It is not presumptuous to suppose that coming time will yet bring us an artist even greater than Raphael. The incomparable beauties of our proposed National Park are the work of the great, eternal Artist of the universe.

It is one of his masterpieces. His servant of Nature, with all her magic cunning and her countless forces has been working at its perfection since the first day of creation. It is a work of Divine genius. Once disfigured, once destroyed, it will never exist upon this earth again. The love of the beautiful, the duty to hand down what is beautiful to the unnumbered generations to whom we shall be forgotten ancestors, should make sacred to us the task of enriching our country by the preservation of this park. The beauty of nature is not wasted even in a political sense. Burke says: “*To make us love our country, our country ought to be lovely.*”

The future will develop the need of such solitary haunts, such pathless forests far more than the past. The tendency in our country, as in almost every country, is to draw men into the cities. The cities are proving irresistible magnets to the energetic and ambitious among men. Life becomes more and more artificial. The struggle for existence grows more and more keen. The material pulse of the world beats faster and faster. It is almost impossible now and will become more and more impossible to escape from the newspaper, the railroad, the telegraph and the telephone. Such a great National Park will set a needful barrier to our intense civilization. It will provide a haven of perfect rest for the over tired worker. In the great forests, Mother Nature takes to her kind bosom her fever fretted child. One of the poets sings :

“If thou are worn and hard beset
 With sorrows, that thou wouldst forget,
 If thou wouldst read a lesson that will keep
 Thy heart from fainting, and thy soul from
 sleep,
 Go to the woods and hills. No tears
 Dim the sweet look that Nature wears.”

The American is a child of the present. He has too little respect for the past, too little regard for the future. Our history goes back but a century. The father, the grandfather, or, at best, the great-grandfather of most of us was an emigrant. We have as yet, no ancestral love for the soil. We have no historic monuments. Few of us have been rooted to any one spot for more than one generation. Our country is vast and we have been wanderers upon its face. The present, with its pressing demands, has altogether absorbed us. We have looked neither backward nor forward. We must rise above this level. We must learn to revere the past, to consecrate ourselves to the future.

“The present is enough for common souls,
 Who, never looking forward, are indeed
 Mere clay wherein the footprints of this age
 Are petrified forever.”

In our all-eager rush for material prosperity, we have need to keep in mind that there is something higher.

“And what if trade sow cities
 Like shells along the shore,
 And thatch with towns the prairie broad
 With railways ironed o'er.”

Man may be better housed, better clothed, better fed, but will he be a nobler, happy being? Must not every opportunity be given in the future to

lead our descendants back to the enjoyment of Nature, and through Nature to the reverential contemplation of the great Spirit above Nature? Will not such a National Park be a tremendous agency in this all-desirable direction?

I know the urgent, clamorous, selfish demands of those who look to their immediate personal profit. If any voice was raised in behalf of the buffalo, you may be sure that it was drowned by the impatient cry of the buffalo-hide trader. If any men are to-day ranging a herd of cattle upon the “White River Plateau,” you may be sure that they will speak in angry, loud-voiced opposition against our National Park.

Yet the higher, nobler considerations should and must win. We here to-day are speaking not in our behalf, but in behalf of our posterity. An English thinker has said: “An awful privilege and an awful responsibility, that we should help to create a world in which posterity will live.” We Americans should learn to cultivate what, for want of an appropriate word in our language, I should call posteritism. I define it as a sacred regard for the highest welfare of posterity. I heard Dr. Adams, the president of Cornell University, tell that while in England, driving with the wife of one of the great English publishers, she said: “Mr. Adams, I understand that, in the United States, you plant a great many elm trees.” “Yes,” said the Doctor, “we do. We consider the elm one of the most beautiful and most desirable trees.” “But,” said the lady, “the elm lives only two

to three hundred years. The oak will live eight hundred, a thousand years, or more. So we in England prefer the oak." Now there is what I call posteritism, the quality of looking, with beneficent regard, far into the distant future,—a quality, as yet lacking, among the Americans. Posteritism, rightly interpreted, contains a whole religion. Mankind's hope of an immortality beyond may be an illusion. On this earth every life, in a sense, is immortal. The wave of influence from every life, noble or ignoble, flows on in ever-widening, ever-weakening circles forever. The greatest woman of our century has expressed it :

“ Oh may I join the choir invisible
Of those immortal dead who live again
In lives made better by their presence. So
To live is heaven.”

Posteritism demands the creation of this National Park. In fancy the voices of millions yet unborn calling to us from the womb of time to protect this masterpiece of Nature, this vast pleasure ground intact and undefiled for their enjoyment and their benefit. We answer them by saying that unless a majority of the Senators and Representatives of the United States are dead to all considerations of posteritism, we will protect it.

I know the indifference which our memorial will meet from the average Congressman,—of how little import-

ance he will consider it as compared with some party theme, as compared with satisfying the personal demands of some influential politician among his constituents. Yet I have faith that there are representatives in the halls of our National Legislature who will grasp the far reaching beneficence of such a movement and who will support it with eager, zealous interest. I have faith that delegates to the national council from our own state will especially seize the vital importance of this matter, and that they will labor faithfully, loyally, for its successful accomplishment.

Every higher consideration urges the establishment of this park. Every good citizen of Colorado, every good citizen of the United States, ought to feel an interest in it. It is to be a benefit not to our state alone, but to the whole nation. Enthusiasm, exerted in behalf of right ends, can accomplish everything. Let us be enthusiastic in this matter. Let us with enthusiasm appeal to the better part of man, let us, under the flag of posteritism, make honest, faithful endeavor, and success will crown our efforts to secure to ourselves and to all that come after us the unnumbered blessings which will flow from this proposed Colorado National Park.

LOUIS R. EHRICH.

ROMANCE OF THE OIL REGIONS.

It was stated in a recent newspaper dispatch from Franklin, Pennsylvania, that a movement had been set on foot in that city, having for its purpose the celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of the striking of the first oil well by Col. E. L. Drake. "It will be just thirty years," the dispatch continues, "on the 20th of next August since the first oil well was completed on Oil Creek, near Titusville, and it is proposed by the producers to celebrate this event in the history of our country by a celebration commemorative of it on a most gorgeous scale, in which all the producers in the country will be asked to participate."

In case Franklin and her neighbors carry out this ambitious and patriotic programme, there will be no lack of themes upon which her orators, eulogists, and poets can display their fervor and expend their zeal. The oil country,—from Pittsburgh to Bradford, from Erie to Titusville, geographically,—and from Col. Drake to the latest prospector, historically,—is full of incidents of the most romantic character; tales the like of which no body of men could tell the world over; whether seeking or losing riches in the golden era of California, the diamond mines of South Africa, or the deep mineral dungeons of far Siberia. Said a close observer

of men and events to me at Bradford only a day ago: "You can come here and write a fairy story for every day of the year; only your fairy stories will be the truth, and the stranger they are, the more surely will they tell of that which has happened."

In the olden days of the world, cities came by centuries of growth; and by centuries of waste and wear they passed away. Here, when the modern Alladin touches his lamp and causes the light therefor to spring from the earth, houses and habitations spring up in a day; the people to fill them surge in from the four points of the compass,—a city comes as by magic. When the wild flow of the liquid wealth ceases, and the dry earth lies motionless under the sun, the people melt away as they came; all that can be carried or hauled goes to some new centre of activity; all the rest is given to fire, to the storm, or to the rot, and a city has gone into air and nothingness as completely as did the fated castle of old:

"Once the Castle of Chalus, crowned
With sullen battlements, stood and fowned
On the sullen plain around it;
But Richard of England came one day,
And the Castle of Chalus passed away
In such a rapid and sure decay
No modern yet has found it."

Where are some of the great oil cities that came up in an hour and as sud-

denly passed away? A recent writer tells us how they come into being: To-day a new resident secures a location for a house; to-morrow, the lumber is on the ground and the carpenters, with limited tools, are at work. Next day the roof is on; and usually in a week or two the family is at home. Then the paper hanger comes with muslin and paper for the walls and ceilings, which he deftly decorates. He paints the doors, the frames and windows. So, if you call in a fortnight after the house was begun, you will admire the lace curtains, the pretty pictures, and the taste displayed. From this suddenly created home you may enter those of the petroleum princes, who reside in luxurious dwellings costing from ten to fifty thousand dollars. And here is a phase of the shifting scenes in the region. The dwellers of these homes are from time to time changing houses. Slippery fortune bids the once poor producer to rest his well-oiled limbs on the cushions of the prince, who reluctantly yields, to wear the yoke of his neighbor. And as the dwellings are erected, so are the stores, hotels, churches, theatres and saloons. To all of which there is attached a certain dash of liberality and brightness not seen in towns of slower growth. The hotels are the great centres in a town at the front. They become as alive with humanity as the tenements of the Bowery. Whiskey is dispensed from bars of considerable length to drillers, contractors, teamsters, land-sharks, producers and speculators—all jammed

together. Especially is this true in the winter, when business is transacted with a freedom that would make a Yankee shudder. Lands are leased, contracts for drilling are made, machinery is sold, while a halo of tobacco smoke mingles with the laughter and general confusion. When the hour for sleep comes there is no complaint even though the occupants of the beds "turn over" at a given signal. Generally, oil men are in a good humor in a new district—perhaps because each man expects to make a big strike.

Take Pithole, for instance—a page out of the Arabian Nights, read by the light of Pennsylvania oil in the middle of the nineteenth century. Back in the wooded hills of the northwestern portion of the state, the site of that ephemeral city was, in the spring of 1865, an untrod wilderness; three months later ten thousand people were jostling each other to gain possession of a few feet of land, and eager and half-crazed in their endeavor to secure a portion of the flowing wealth. The story of this sudden creation of an oil metropolis is best told in the language of one who was an interested witness of it all: Early in January of that year, the United States Petroleum Company, which was organized in the spring of 1864 by J. Nelson Tappan of New York, Frederick W. Jones, James Faulkner and I. N. Frazier, drilled an oil well on the Thomas Holmden farm, in Cornplanter township, Venango county. A flow of oil exceeding per two hundred and fifty barrels per

day was found, and this subsequently increased to more than nine hundred barrels. This caused great surprise, as several imperfect tests of the region had been made some time before. Mr. Tappan and Mr. Frazier, in whose honor the first well was named, were confident that oil in paying quantities could be found in a fourth sand; which up to that time was thought did not exist. Leases of land were purchased upon the Thomas Holmden, the Walter Holmden, the Blackmer, the Luther Woods, the McKinny, the Hawthorth, the Van Wyck, the Tyrrell, and the Heckert farms. With the exception of a few cleared fields, this territory was almost unbroken forest. Pithole creek, a rocky, precipitous stream, ran through the centre of the purchases. New wells were at once started along the valley of the creek, and upon the flat portion of the Thomas Holmden farms. The company's office was at Plumer, a half day's hard riding distant, and for several weeks the officers and employees were compelled to sleep in a rude cabin in the forest, and carry their provisions from Oil City and Titusville. Encouraged by the success of the Frazier well, other ventures of a like character were made by other parties. On June 3, the Homestead Well No. 1, which was drilled on the Homestead farm, began to produce oil in large quantities. Speculators waited in almost breathless suspense. Two weeks later, on the Thomas Holmden farm, Well No. 1 confirmed Mr. Tappan's predictions, and began flowing at a tre-

mendous rate. On June 19, three days afterward, Well No. 2 threw oil over the top of the derrick.

Then the rush began. Thousands poured in from all directions. The place was a wilderness; of lumber there was none, and money could not buy shelter anywhere. Only three buildings stood in the vicinity—the Widow Lyons' log-cabin, a small frame building occupied by the Thomas Holmden family, and another small structure on the Walter Holmden farm. But the seekers after oil could sleep out of doors, if need be, their chief concern being the lack of lumber from which derricks could be built, and the difficulty of hauling steam engines, boilers, and ponderous drills over the mountain roads from Titusville and the Miller farm. But houses sprang up as by magic. By July 1 a long, narrow street was laid out on the Thomas Holmden farm, and a few scattered yellow pine buildings sprang up along both sides of the way. The streets that followed each other into being were full of stumps and stones and logs, but in the view of oil-dom, were regarded as quite passable roadways.

As well after well began to pour its flood of oil into the general production, the excitement increased. Men from all parts of the world—adventurers, speculators, capitalists from Wall street, miners from the Rocky mountains, oil producers, workmen, soldiers and sailors, jostled and elbowed each other in a mad search for wealth. Merchants went into business under awnings,

hotel keepers served meals in the open air and rented bunks in buildings containing little more than floors and sides. The town grew to its full size in six weeks, by which time its post-office business was second only to that of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, was the possessor of three hotels that cost two hundred thousand dollars, and had, before the end of the summer, some fifty hotels of various sizes and material. In January, 1866, the town was at the height of its prosperity. It had a municipal organization, banks, churches, daily papers, water works, theatres, two telegraph offices, pipe lines, plank roads, and a narrow gauge railroad to Oleopolis and Oil City. Another line was graded to Reno, but was never finished. All was rush, excitement, business and hope; and the future was bright with promise of a permanent city upon this oddly-found corner of the wilderness.

When the crash came, it fell with a startling suddenness. A recent visitor to the now deserted site of what was once Pithole, had the conditions of things made plain by a decrepit old man who had been left high and dry on the rocky hillside when the great wave of human interest fell away: "This rotting beam is all that is left of the Bonta house, a noble structure. Down there, where you see a woodchuck burrowing, stood the Chase house, the best hotel in northwestern Pennsylvania. The post-office occupied one of its big corners, and a noisy crowd of oil princes filled its scores of

rooms. Right across the street, where a sapling grows, a murder was done, and just above is where the first woman in Pithole shot herself through the heart, in a fit of remorse. A short distance below—there's a cow munching dry grass there now—stood the Methodist church, dedicated with great pomp by Bishop Simpson. There was Murphy's theatre over that pool of water, machine shops, pipe line offices, the railroad station, hotels, and as for the big wells—the land all around here was covered as thick as trees with them. What do you see now? Here and there the blackened end of a length of iron casing sticking a foot above ground—that is all. Everything is gone now—buildings, derricks, tanks, machines, tools, men and money. The town lasted two years, and then faded away, until to-day there is nothing left!"

And so the story might be repeated a score of times—a legend written in the sand. *Sic transit gloria Oleopolis!*

Yet between the first gush of the pioneer well, and the echo of the last torpedo exploded to force a final and unwilling drop from the exhausted earth, millions of dollars have fallen into the grasp of the fortunate few, some to lose as swiftly as they have won, others to hold as safely on, and retire to a life of assured ease and comfort.

What a series of graphic life-histories might be made, had one the time and willingness to take up and follow all these tangled threads!

Look at these few, gleamed at ran-

dom from the histories of oildom : Take E. L. Drake, by whose exertions the wonderful riches of the Pennsylvania oil region were opened—rich at one time, and living at last in poverty, and eased in his old age by the generous gratitude of the state for which he had done so much ; Capt. A. B. Funk, who turned from lumber to oil, and died rich beyond his most sanguine expectations ; Henry R. Rouse, who gave eighteen months of intense activity, with grand financial results, to the development of oil territory, and whose horrible death in a hell of burning oil, forms one of the early tragedies of the oil regions ; Lewis Emery, Jr., now of Bradford, the owner of thirteen hundred wells, and the plucky opponent of the Standard monopoly, at every possible turn of its devious career ; Dr. W. B. Roberts, by whose genius and far-seeing sagacity the torpedo was brought into the use of man, to force old earth to greater contributions for the use of man ; J. L. Grandin, the pioneer oil man of Tidioute ; Adnah Neyhalt, who paid a visit of curiosity to the oil regions in the early days, and remained there, to become one of the master-spirits in its great enterprises ; E. B. Grandin, whose early specialty was in leases, and whose “Coquet Well,” became one of the noted things of its day and neighborhood ; S. D.

Kearns, whose sudden plunge from great wealth to poverty, is an example of the changing fortunes of the times ; C. D. Angell, of whom the same might be said ; Marcus Brownson, who commenced his career as an oil producer in 1866, and has reaped golden rewards from that venture.

What romantic incidents can be gleaned from the lives of John C. Bryan, George H. Dimick, George H. Nesbit, James S. McCray, F. W. Andrews, William H. Abbott, thrown from the upper portions of the wheel of fortune, to the lowest ; of those upon whom fortune has shone with a not withdrawn face—of Asher D. Atkinson, John L. McKinney, Col. R. B. Allen, Charles Hyde, John Fertig, John W. Hammond, and hundreds of their like ; of George H. Bissel, Orange Noble, Dr. F. B. Brewer, William D. Robinson, George V. Forman, Henry Harley, O. M. Roberts ; to say nothing of the Standard oil projectors, who have reaped a golden harvest from every yield of oil, and are now adding millions upon millions in other fields of the world's work

One chapter only touches the outer edge of this great field of investigation ; it would take volumes to tell the story in full.

JAMES LANAGAN.

THE BANKS AND BANKERS OF COLORADO.

WILLIAM SHARPLESS JACKSON.

Two hundred and fifty years ago—A. D. 1646—Anthony Jackson lived at Eccleston, Lancashire, England. From this remote ancestor William Sharpless Jackson, Esq., of Colorado Springs, derives his lineage without a break in the chain.

As the intervening generations have come and gone—meanwhile migrating from one country to the heart of another—there have been four memorable family seats, Eccleston, England; Albion Cottage, County Kildare, Ireland; Harmony Grove, Chester county, Pennsylvania, and Colorado Springs.

Pictures of Albion Cottage and Harmony Grove are illustrations of a "History of the Jackson Family," published in 1878, in commemoration of the landing in this country and settlement at Harmony Grove, in 1725, of Isaac Jackson, son of Anthony, of Eccleston.

It is said that Eccleston contains a considerable number of good residences, "pleasantly nestling in trees and evergreens; that the place looks so cheery and comfortable that many a traveller's heart must have yearned toward it; and he must have thought that it was such a calm, friendly nook he would like to shelter there at the end of life's struggles." Are not these

words of Thackeray descriptive as well of Colorado Springs?—The beautiful city whose streets are avenues amidst incense and flowers, whose homes are sequestered in shrubbery that Shennstone might have envied.

"Over the hills of pain—
There lieth Italy"

is the saying of many a tourist, for pleasure or for health, as he walks beneath the skies that bend so low, so blue, with the broad, sweet sunshine all about that mantles with glory as it descends the celestial hills encircling this Florentine city in the mountains of Colorado.

Harmony Grove, says the History of the Jackson Family, is an old fashioned but comfortable structure; the western third, of stone, having been built in 1775; the remainder, of brick, a part of which occupies the site of the primitive cabin of the first settler, at a later period. To the west and north of the house, the space of an acre and a half, extending back to the foot of the more abrupt ascent of the hill, was planted by John Jackson, a grandson of Isaac, in the end of the last and the early years of the present century, as a botanical garden, wherein he collected numerous rare trees and shrubs, from our own and foreign countries, as well

as smaller plants. A very small portion of the ground is now devoted to the culture of flowers, but many noble trees still attest his care and skill.

William Jackson, the youngest son of John, and the inheritor of his botanical and horticultural tastes, planted the hill rising on the north of the garden with evergreens and deciduous trees, which now form a flourishing grove. The beautifully adorned grounds at once indicate to the beholder the careful handiwork of the early Jackson settlers, and the evidence of an early botanical taste in John Jackson, whose favorite pursuit was the cultivation of flowers.

Referring to the "Sesqui-Centennial Gathering of the descendants of Isaac and Ann Jackson, of Harmony Grove, Eight Month, Twenty-fifth, 1875," the same author says:—

Near the eastern end of the garden, about five rods north of the house, seats for a meeting had been arranged in the shade of the grand old trees, and a stand erected for speakers and appropriately decorated. At the back, in large letters, formed of evergreens on a white ground, appeared the words: "In Honor of our Ancestors." Above this hung a framed drawing representing on a shield the devices which tradition reports as having been those of the coat of arms of some remote progenitor of the clan, "two greyhounds and a dolphin" typifying "Swiftness by land and sea." There was no pretense, of course, of a representation of the actual heraldic charms, and, prob-

ably, the only importance attached to the existence of such, by any of the later descendants, is its apparent indication that the faithful performance of duty and steadfast adherence to their views of right, which, in subsequent years, marked the martyrs and persecuted Quakers of the family, were manifested in ruder times, in warlike pursuits.

Concerning these sufferings, for conscience sake, of the Jackson family in England, it is related that on "the 27th day of June, 1556, Ralph Jackson, with twelve others, suffered martyrdom at the stake, at Stratford, and thus inscribed his name on the glorious roll of those who preferred a cruel and terrible death to a renunciation of what they deemed the truth; and, a few months after, John Jackson, under the threat of a like fate, undauntedly faced his persecutors and defied their power."

"At that period of English history the doctrine of liberty of conscience was treated by the ruling authorities in church and state as a flagrant impiety, and those that maintained it were deemed worthy of every extremity of punishment. In order that men should be awakened to a sense of importance of the right of self-judgment in matters of religion, it was necessary that the principle should be upheld with a heroism ready to endure torture and death in its support. That the Jacksons should be found among the sufferers in so noble a cause, redounds to their honor and sheds lustre on the name."

Francis Jackson, of Sneyd Park,

Kent, was captain of dragoons under Cromwell, and went over into Ireland with the Parliamentary army. He was but one of many of his kindred who took up arms for civil and religious liberty. He was accorded large estates—called free baronies—in Ireland for his services. In this way Albion cottage became one of the seats of the Jacksons down to 1725, whence Isaac and Ann (Evans) Jackson emigrated to this country, as already stated. This interesting ancestral link, Isaac Jackson, connecting the American with the English family genealogy, possessed the physical characteristics of those who suffered martyrdom in the Old, and the privations of colonists in the New World—"their firmly built and full sized statures and the general cast of their features, among which were the straight, or slightly aquiline nose, clear gray eyes, small mouth and full rounded chin."

A removal of six generations from this ancestor brings us to William Sharpless Jackson, president of the El Paso County Bank of Colorado Springs, Colorado, who was born of Quaker parentage, January 16, 1836, near Kennett square, Chester county, Pennsylvania. His father, Caleb S. Jackson, while occupying no high official position, was one of the most respected men in Chester county. He exhibited all those strong traits of character which have been indicated above in the lives of the Jacksons. He had a strong sense of justice, and he was keenly alive to all the moral questions of his

day. Of that noble band of Quakers, who did so much to right the wrongs of the slaves and to awaken the conscience of the country to the injustice of slavery, he was one of the first and foremost. His house was one of the stations of the underground railway. His wife, whose maiden name was Mary Ann Gause, was of the same type of character, and is now living at her old home, at the age of eighty-five.

William Sharpless Jackson is one of a family of eight children, all of whom are living. The strong fiber of the family is shown by the fact that of the twenty-two children born to his brothers and sisters, not one has yet died of disease. After securing a good English education at Greenwood Dell and Eaton academies, Mr. Jackson spent some years learning the trade of a machinist. Subsequently, he again attended Eaton academy. At the end of the year thus spent, he was offered the position of confidential clerk and business manager by the firm with whom he learned his trade. A few years after, he was offered and accepted a partnership in a car building and lumber firm, doing business at Latrobe, Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania. There he remained six years in active and prosperous business. Requiring a change on account of his health, he sold his interest in this business and accepted the position of local treasurer of the Lake Superior & Mississippi Railroad, a road then being built from the head of Lake Superior to St. Paul, Minnesota. This was the beginning of

his career in a business in which he afterwards won distinguished success.

In the summer of 1871, he was selected as secretary and treasurer of the Denver & Rio Grande Railway, the pioneer narrow gauge road in Colorado, which has been more instrumental in the development of this wonderfully rich state than any other one single agency. He afterwards was elected vice-president, in addition to his other position, and on him devolved, in a large measure, the duties which are now given to a general manager. His active connection with this road ceased in 1876, when he resigned to give his whole time and attention to the El Paso County Bank.

He became interested in this bank in 1873, and since 1876 has owned a majority interest. This bank was the first established in this county and has steadily grown in favor and maintained its position as the leading bank. He has the reputation throughout the state as being one of the safest and most conservative bankers in the west. His business has steadily grown, because his customers always have received, and know they will receive, fair and just treatment. They knew him always in the best sense to be a liberal banker. He has the rare quality of knowing men well, and, therefore, no customer has ever been denied a favor whose circumstances gave him the right to ask it.

In 1884, the Denver & Rio Grande Railway, through a series of misfortunes, became seriously embarrassed, so that on request of the bondholders and other

creditors of the road, Judge Moses Hallet, of the United States District Court, put it in the hands of a receiver. There was considerable factional feeling about the appointment among two parties who had been interested within a year in the management of the road. The representatives of the bondholders and the large creditors almost unanimously requested the appointment of Mr. Jackson. Judge Moses Hallett, who had an intimate personal acquaintance with Mr. Jackson, saw how wise the request was and immediately appointed him. The appointment, while not what many wished, was concurred in by all as an excellent one for the road and not in the interest of any faction. When he took this position the road was not earning enough above its operating expenses to pay its fixed charges. It may be said that it was wrecked physically and financially, with a factious and unharmonious organization in the operating department. During the two years that Mr. Jackson was receiver he displayed remarkable ability as an organizer and executive officer. He immediately informed all his subordinates that their tenure of office depended entirely on their ability and will to fill the positions which they held. He brought order out of confusion and converted the line into a paying property. His first work was to pay off the employees, who were in real suffering, and then the rest of the floating debt, amounting in all to about a million dollars. To do this it was not necessary for him to issue any receiv-

er's certificates. Three banks immediately on his appointment came forward and offered him whatever money he wished. But the only loan he made was to pay the employees some three hundred thousand dollars which was due them. The other creditors felt so much confidence in Mr. Jackson that they were quite willing to wait for their pay, knowing that they would receive their money very soon. Only a few months ago, in a celebrated case where a receiver was asking a court in New York compensation for services beyond what the judge thought was right, this judge quoted the receivership of Mr. Jackson as a model one.

At the end of two years the road was delivered to the re-organized company with a greatly improved roadway, complete equipment, a million dollars in the treasury and an able and efficient management. The owners of the property recognized the conscientious devotion of Mr. Jackson, as receiver, to the interests of the property. They saw no personal or outside interest had swayed him in his work. They accordingly elected him president of the re-organized company, which office he held for one year, when he resigned to obtain relief from the constant strain incident to the cares and responsibilities of his high and arduous position

and to devote more time to his banking and private business.

Mr. Jackson now enjoys a quiet and happy life in his modest but attractive home at Colorado Springs. Quiet and unostentatious in his living, he entertains delightfully and generously. While he does not seek popularity through political or other popular channels, he commands in an eminent degree the confidence and respect of his neighbors. The above in simple words in the career of one of the men who have been foremost in building up the commonwealth of Colorado. At one time and another he has been connected with most of the large enterprises in the state, either as advisor or investor. In each instance he has had a potent influence because of his clear judgment, financial ability and independent thinking. Though sometimes slow in giving his opinion, it always carries weight. During his long residence here he has handled many millions of dollars belonging to other people, and has had the management of trust properties amounting in one instance to forty millions of dollars, and this without the betrayal of a single trust to cast a shadow on his time-honored name.

HENRY DUDLEY TEETOR.

CHARLES GIBSON.

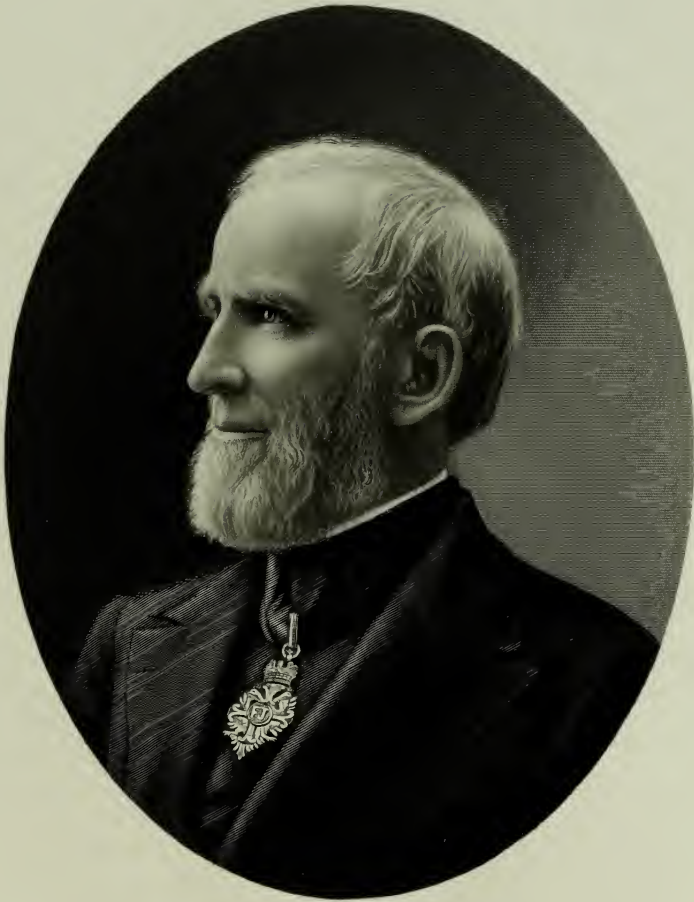
Mr. Gibson was born in Montgomery county, Virginia, in 1825, and inherited, by natural descent, the high qualities and patriotic instincts of an honored ancestry. The Gibsons were among the early settlers of that part of the state, while his mother was descended from the famous Rutledge family of South Carolina; and his grandfathers upon both sides received wounds in the service of their country in the Revolution. When the boy was but ten years of age, in 1836, his father, Capt. Hugh Gibson, removed to Missouri, which was then a far-western state. The country was primitive frontier, and most of the advantages of the old civil life were left behind, as even the schoolhouse of the East had as yet made no appearance in its western borders. From his tenth to his seventeenth year—the period that we of this generation demand in morals, and often in legislation, as a rightful time for the fundamental education of the youth—*young Gibson lived amid these rude surroundings, isolated even from youthful playmates, for, like schools and churches, there were none in his vicinity; his associates grown men and women; but much of this social lack was made good by the companionship, refining influences, and instruction of a refined*

mother and an educated and gentle sister.

But environment cannot quench the fire of natural genius, and the boy made rare use of such advantages as fell in his way; reading and studying with avidity such books as he could obtain; and, as in many a like case, the dearth of outward instruction developed and nurtured the powers within—he was led to think and deduce for himself where there were few to lead.

For a brief period, at a later date, he attended the University of Missouri, where he made an excellent use of his time. In 1843, when but eighteen years of age, he proceeded to St. Louis, where he had no acquaintance, and supplied only by a determination to succeed and those mental qualities by which success is usually won. His first acquaintance made in the strange city was with the Hon. Edward Bates, and a friendship sprang up between them which continued until Mr. Bates' death.

Mr. Gibson commenced the study of law under the direction of Josiah Spaulding, and continued the same for three years; serving also as the first librarian of the law library. While reading law he applied himself to the study of French and German, and acquired sufficient proficiency in both to be able to transact legal business in either tongue.



*Yours Sincerely
Gibson*

Commencing the practice of law in St. Louis Mr. Gibson entered upon a legal career that was from the beginning a success, and that has been crowned by some of the most remarkable achievements and results recorded in the history of the American bar; a career that was interrupted for a time by the assumption of high public duties, of which more anon. From the outset of his legal labors he was especially successful in matters pertaining to land titles; and he drew up the act creating the St. Louis Land Court, and when that tribunal was established he became one of the leading practitioners before it. Without aiming at oratorical effects, and yet endowed with the gifts of natural oratory, he soon became known as a brilliant speaker, especially in the trial of cases in which he became deeply interested, and which were of a nature to draw out his powers.

Among the varied and unique experiences which Mr. Gibson has met in his service at the bar, was one that came in the early years of his career. In 1849 he served as junior counsel for the defense in the celebrated case against Counts Gonzalve and Raymond de Montesquiou, indicted for the murder of Kirby Barnum and Albert Jones, in the City Hotel of St. Louis. After two mistrials, Mr. Gibson alone procured the pardon of Gonzalve, who was insane, and the "exoneration" of Raymond by the Governor. He refused to accept a pardon. The incidents surrounding the whole case were romantic and of most absorbing

interest to the public at the time of their occurrence. The defendants were from the oldest and highest of the nobility of France, and were cousins of Napoleon III. No case in Missouri ever attracted as much attention as this one;* and in the opinion of all Mr. Gibson exhibited the highest legal qualities in his management thereof. The counts and their kinsman, Viscount de Cessac, expressed their regard and gratitude to Mr. Gibson by presenting him with a curious and valuable watch chain and an elegant diamond ring, which are still in his possession.

In 1858, Mr. Gibson was retained as sole counsel in yet another case of a foreign nature, and destined to excite a wide interest. It was one brought by the King of Prussia, and involving the power of that potentate, and the extent of his power. He obtained from the supreme court of Missouri a decision declaring the autocracy of that foreign government; a result that was so pleasing to the prince regent,—afterwards the Emperor William I,—that he ordered two large and elegant porcelain vases made at the royal porcelain manufactory in Berlin, embellished with enameled pictures of Sans Souci, the new palace at Potsdam, the old royal palace, and the monument to Frederick the Great in Berlin; and covered, also, with the richest gilding and other devices; which elegant articles were pre-

*A few years since Mr. Gibson read a history of this case before the Missouri Historical Society which was widely published both in this country and France.

sented to Mr. Gibson with the royal thanks. Each vase bears the following inscription: "The Prince Regent of Prussia to the Counsellor Charles Gibson, the unselfish advocate of justice,"—an inscription furnished by no less a personage than the Baron Alexander Von Humboldt. In 1882, this same sovereign,—who had become King of Prussia and Emperor of the German Empire he had founded,—tendered to Mr. Gibson, through the imperial consul at St. Louis, the appointment of his son Preston as a cadet officer in the imperial army, and offered to waive, by a special imperial order, anything that might debar his entrance into the service. The young man,—we record it with pleasure,—decided to remain in the high birthright of an American citizen; but the incident is suggestive of the high estimation in which Mr. Gibson is held in Berlin. In 1884, twenty-five years after the presentation of these vases—the same Emperor, at the special request of Prince Bismarck, by a patent under his own hand with the royal seal affixed, appointed Mr. Gibson a Knight Commander of the Royal Prussian Crown Order.

And yet another instance of a like character may be recorded. In 1881 Mr. Gibson was engaged as counsel to represent the Austrian government in the prosecution of Baron von Bechtolsheim, formerly the Austro-Hungarian consul at St. Louis, who was charged with embezzlement. The Baron had abandoned his title and office, fled to the States and changed his name, but

was arrested, brought back to St. Louis and lodged in jail. He finally escaped, however, by pleading consular immunity as a technical defense, although it was waived by his government. Although Mr. Gibson lost his case, he displayed such learning, ability and fidelity that he received from the Austrian emperor the imperial thanks, as a warm expression of approval, and was subsequently decorated as Knight Commander of the Sovereign Francis Joseph Order of Austria. Mr. Gibson is perhaps the only member of the American bar, who has been honored by the official thanks of two of the great powers of Europe on account of his personal conduct at the bar. These appointments entitle him to rank and precedence in the courts of Berlin and Vienna,—where he has never been; given as special marks of esteem by monarchs he has never seen.

Beside the cases mentioned above, Mr. Gibson has appeared in a great many others of great importance, needless to enumerate here; and even as late as the last term of the Supreme Court of the United States, he argued as the leading counsel, the oldest and one of the most important land cases on the docket, and won it. Very recently all the gas companies of St. Louis, representing a capital of twenty million dollars, were consolidated, under his advice as the leading counsel.

It was almost a foregone conclusion that one of Mr. Gibson's genius and

temperament should be drawn toward the arena of politics, and we find him a stirring and effective actor therein upon the very threshold of his career. In 1844 he was upon the public rostrum, devoting his young enthusiasm and effective eloquence, to the service of Henry Clay. In 1848 he advocated in a like manner the claims of Taylor; while in 1852 he was nominated as an elector of Missouri upon the Scott ticket. In 1856 he supported the old line Whig ticket, and strove earnestly to secure the Presidential nomination for his old friend, Edward Bates. In 1860, when the Whig party as such had ended its varied and honorable career, Mr. Gibson, although not a member of the Republican party, originated a movement* to make Mr. Bates that nominee; believing that the election of a Southerner who was opposed to slavery, but who was conservative in all respects, would avert the political crisis, which otherwise seemed inevitable. But this movement, although supported by Horace Greeley, the Blairs, and other men of power and influence, was not crowned by success; and Mr. Gibson supported Bell and Everett on the Constitutional Union ticket,—which party was founded upon the principles advanced in the Whig platforms.

In 1861, when elected President, Mr. Lincoln made Edward Bates his at-

torney general, and the latter urged Mr. Gibson as a patriotic duty to relinquish his law practice, and give his service to his country in a position where his legal knowledge and training could be made effectual to the nation's good. He accordingly went to Washington, where he accepted the office of solicitor of the court of claims—now solicitor general. At President Lincoln's request, he wrote an opinion favoring the elevation of the court of claims from a mere commission to a regular court of justice, and Mr. Lincoln embodied the paper in one of his messages, with the alteration of but a single word. Mr. Gibson then wrote the bill which was passed by Congress, reorganizing the court. Mr. Gibson was thrown into friendly and even intimate relations with Mr. Lincoln and most of the great men of that period. Among those who specially confided in him was Mr. Stanton, "the great war secretary." Mr. Gibson strenuously exerted himself against many of the harsh and repressive measures of the war, especially those pertaining to Missouri; for he was the official agent of the state of Missouri at the national capital during all the war, and performed efficient service in regulating the affair of the state with the Federal government. Mr. Bates and himself were the only representative of four million "border state" people in the administration, when Mr. Gibson found that the Lincoln administration was hopelessly given over to a radical policy, he resigned the office of

* In the Republican national convention of 1860, Mr. Bates received 48 votes on the first ballot; 35 on the second; and 22 on the third.

solicitor general and declared himself a Democrat. In 1864 he supported Gen. McClellan for the Presidency, and in 1866-67 sustained President Johnson in his contest with Congress. In 1868 he advocated Gov. Seymour's election to the Presidency; in 1870 he favored the Liberal Republican and Democratic coalition in Missouri, which elected B. Gratz Brown Governor, and prepared the way for the revision of the ironclad Drake Constitution; and in 1872 he warmly supported Mr. Greeley's election, although he doubted the policy of his nomination by the Democratic National Convention, of which body he was a delegate-at-large from Missouri. He supported Gov. Tilden for the Presidency in 1876, and during the exciting controversy which arose in the following winter as to the result of the election, he was selected by the Democratic National Committee to visit Louisiana, in connection with other eminent gentlemen, to insure a fair count in behalf of Mr. Tilden. While there he was commissioned to go to Florida on a similar service, and took an important part in the proceedings which afterwards became so familiar to the country in connection with the Florida electoral case, creating a most favorable impression as a learned and modest gentleman. He was an old and personal friend of Gen. Hancock, whom he supported in 1880 for the Presidency, and at his request delivered several speeches and performed other important services in Indiana in his interest. After the loss

to the Democrats of Indiana in October, he took a very active and effective part in the election of Hon. Thomas Allen to Congress from the city of St. Louis.

Mr. Gibson was earnest and eloquent in his support of the Democratic party and candidates in 1884, and by his services upon the stump and in other avenues of usefulness, was one of the means by which success was assured, and Cleveland and Hendericks were elected. While he gave this service because of his belief in the principles of Democracy, it was thought by his friends the country over, that some recognition of his long and faithful services should be had. It was accordingly urged upon President Cleveland that he should be appointed to the German mission. A strong claim was certainly made in his favor. The Missouri congressional delegation supported him by formal vote, and as a unit; the Democratic press of Missouri was outspoken in his behalf; strong influences from Indiana, Minnesota and Louisiana were brought to bear in his favor. Such great journals as the Indianapolis *Sentinel*, and New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, supported him; Gen. W. S. Hancock used his influence; his long and honorable political record was quoted in his behalf: He had resigned one of the best offices under the government, when the Republican party was at the zenith of power, to become a Democrat, in obedience to conviction; he had, for a score of years and more, served the party in all possible ways; he was the only one of the "visiting

statesmen" of 1876 who had received no reward, although one of the most conspicuous of their number; while he had taken a brilliant and enthusiastic part in the campaign just closed. Added to all this was the earnest personal strength of Hon. Joseph Pulitzer, editor of the *New York World*. Mr. Gibson had been Pulitzer's one friend above all others, in his early and violent struggles in St. Louis, and it was but natural and right that he should wish to see that friend honored. The great editor asked President Cleveland, —as his only request of the administration—to give the mission to Mr. Gibson, and vouched fully as to his fitness to fill it with credit to his government and himself. The request was not granted, and the appointment went elsewhere. Mr. Pulitzer was too good a Democrat to hold his party responsible for the President's ungrateful course, but he exercised his unquestioned right of allowing Mr. Cleveland to carry the burden of his own action. That the *World* had much to do with Cleveland's election by the pivotal vote of New York, there can be no doubt; and nothing in the history of journalism is more brilliant and effective than was the work of the *World* in that campaign —while Mr. Pulitzer himself appeared upon the platform speaking both in English and German, with marked effect.

When the President thus ignored the true friends who had done so much for him, and gave this appointment to Mr. Pendleton, of Ohio, as an oblation to

the civil service philosophers and the Mugwumps, Mr. Pulitzer bided his time, and made good returns in the end. The *World* opened its guns, and before long Mr. Cleveland ceased to be a Presidential possibility, although the national convention of 1888 did not recognize that fact in time. While the *World* made no criticisms upon Cleveland that were unjust, it did not, upon the other hand, underestimate his faults, condone his offenses, or cover up his mistakes. When Cleveland again came before the people, one of the bravest blades of past battles was not drawn in his defense; the *World* was replete with able articles in support of Democracy, while the name of the Democratic candidate was seldom mentioned. Beyond doubt, this was one of the causes of defeat; and although Mr. Cleveland is, in the opinion of many, a candidate for the nomination of 1892, he may have the same powerful opposition to confront. So much for a bit of inside political history, and as an illustration of how one event, especially in politics, intertwines with others.

Yet this ignoring of claims, made doubly strong by the magnificent character of his support at home and elsewhere, had no effect upon the personal course of Mr. Gibson. He loyally supported the Democratic ticket in 1888; and during the four years that this incident,—and his name in connection with it—has been kept before the public, he has preserved the even tenor of his way, with a silent dignity that has won the respect of all men.

Through various lines of duty and trust other than those outlined in the foregoing, has Mr. Gibson made his genius and great executive ability felt for the good of St. Louis, Missouri, and the West. He has been very successful in various ventures, and has well earned the abundant fruits thereof which he now enjoys. Some of the finest enterprises in St. Louis have been organized and perfected by him, and often these have been attended by protracted and delicate negotiations, in which his tact and ingenuity were exerted to the utmost to bring about a successful issue. Of this character were the circumstances preceding the erection of the old Southern Hotel (since burned) and of its successor, the present fine structure. The importance and effectiveness of his labors in the building and rebuilding of this hotel are universally acknowledged; and all was done by him without compensation, and after large and liberal contributions of his own money. In fact the bargain concluded between Col. Robert Cambell and the Hon. Thomas Allen was brought about by him, and without him the building would not have been erected. Space forbids more than a reference to other public works in which he has taken a leading part. Mr. Gibson has always manifested a deep interest in matters tending to promote the welfare and happiness of the community, and has always been zealous in aiding the purchase and improvement of parks and other grounds for public resort. He aided very materially in the establish-

ment and improvement of Lafayette Park, and, without injustice to others, might be called the originator of the beautiful resort. He drew up the first act establishing Forest Park, and when it was declared unconstitutional, he was foremost in procuring the passage of another act which was declared valid; and it is not too much to say that St. Louis owes this fine park to his legal ability, clear business sense, and untiring persistence. He is a man of large views, and some of his ideas have been far in advance of the people. Of these may be mentioned his proposition advanced in 1853, to open Jefferson avenue two hundred feet wide, from St. Louis Place to the "Wild Hunter," and Grand avenue three hundred feet wide from the river on the north to the river on the south; and also, in 1868, his plan for a park of one thousand acres just east of the Forest Park. Some years ago Mr. Gibson organized the Laclède Gas Company. Its right to do business and supply the public with gas was contested by the old company, which claimed a monopoly of the city; but on Mr. Gibson's advice the new company proceeded to expend one million five hundred thousand dollars, in its works in the northern part of the city, and the result was a complete vindication of the soundness of his advice.

Mr. Gibson was, in 1886, appointed a member of the Yellowstone Park commission, and was made president thereof. That grand and wonderful domain was then in a state of wild disorder,

through which men could travel only when accompanied by armed guides; now ladies can pass all through it in safety, and order and security have, by well directed efforts, been brought out of danger and chaos. For his very efficient services in this direction, Mr. Gibson received no compensation whatever.

In 1851 Mr. Gibson was married to Miss Virginia Gamble, daughter of Archibald Gamble, one of the oldest and most widely known of the early settlers of Missouri. A large family was the result of this union. In 1881, Mr. Gibson met with the great misfortune of his life. His son Archie was a cadet at West Point, and while on parade a spider crawled into his ear. By the rules of the Military Academy, and still more by the spirit of the corps of cadets, it was a high offense to move in the ranks, and the boy remained unmoved for over an hour with the venomous insect working in and poisoning his very life's blood. When the parade was over the ear was found full of blood, and the spider was not gotten out for two days. Archie remained at the academy, was graduated with high honors, and appointed lieutenant of the Seventh Cavalry, Custer's regiment. After remaining several months at home under medical treatment, he joined his regiment and went to the field, where he remained campaigning until his captain and surgeon both ordered him to apply for a sick-leave. Utterly broken down, he then returned home and died of brain fever. The

singular circumstances of his death, taken in connection with his endurance and fortitude, his purity of character and great learning for one so young, caused great sorrow in the city where he was born, raised, and died, and called forth letters of praise and sympathy from Gens. Sherman and Hancock, and many other distinguished men throughout the country. His funeral was attended by the chancellor and professors of Washington University, where he had been a student, all the army officers of the city or at the barracks, a company of regulars from the barracks, and a very large concourse of citizens.

Public respect when worthily won, is one of the best rewards which any life can earn. The position held by Charles Gibson in the regard of the community in which he has lived and labored so long, speaks volumes in his praise. His influence upon the material, legal, political and social life of St. Louis has been great, and always for the good. In many respects his life has been remarkable, even in this remarkable age. Thrown upon his own resources in early life, he has steadily won his way into the front ranks. He has never belonged to any church or society or organization of any character, and in none of his undertakings has he received organized support of that kind. An hereditary slaveholder, a Virginian of one of the best families, a frontiersman, a Whig before the war, an important Union leader through that memorable struggle,

a Democratic leader from the close of that war to the present time ; a leader in the society of his home city, and at the western bar ; with a reputation as a lawyer that is not only coextensive with the limits of the republic, but has been carried to the main capitals of the Old World ; the recipient of especial marks of honor from two emperors ; possessing a patent for a high national

office signed by Abraham Lincoln, the apostle of liberty, and a patent of knighthood signed by the hand of the first emperor of Germany ;—in these facts we find evidences of not only a natural greatness, but of a steadfastness of purpose to do well, and deserve well, at the hands of men.

EDWARD L. EAMES.

JAMES D. HUSTED.

YET another of the active business men who have made the name of Kansas City famous for energy and commercial activity the world over, is James D. Husted ; young yet in years, but experienced in all that is required to achieve a rapid and permanent success. Like so many of his associates in the West, Mr. Husted is by birth an "Ohio man," but in all else is a patriotic believer in the destiny of Kansas City and the middle West, and an earnest advocate of all the interests, commercial and moral, that pertain thereto.

Mr. Husted was born in Clarksfield, Huron county, Ohio, on September 26, 1857, the son of O. J. and Mary Husted, his father being a well-to-do farmer, who possessed the confidence and respect of the community in which he dwelt. His mother was an exemplary Christian woman, the result of whose training is manifest in the bent of Mr. Husted's mind, and in the admirable personal qualities that have won friendship and respect for him wherever he is known.

Like the majority of the farmer boys of his day and environment, young Husted was compelled to content himself with such education as the common schools of the day afforded, and at the time for taking the labors of life upon his own responsibility, he chose the occupation of telegrapher. He learned the science of practical operation, and was employed in the telegraphic department of several railroad companies, for some years, earning and receiving rapid promotion. He was finally placed in charge of the supply department of the Kansas Pacific division of the Union Pacific Railroad, with headquarters at Armstrong, now a part of Kansas City, Kansas, which latter place has been his continuous home since 1878. In 1881 he became engaged in the real estate business in a small way, opening an office in the basement of his residence. He was personally so popular and his methods and the results of his transactions so satisfactory, to both buyers and sellers, that his business increased

rapidly and steadily, necessitating his removal, in 1882, to No. 422 Minnesota avenue, where he established himself in a larger and more accessible office; and by 1885 his transactions had assumed such magnitude that still more room and better facilities were demanded, and he removed his office to No. 505½ Minnesota avenue. From this time on his business expanded so rapidly that its present importance began to be foreshadowed, and in 1886 and 1887 he organized a syndicate which built the First National Bank building, which is one of the most expensive and commodious business structures in Kansas City, substantially constructed and of striking appearance. The offices in this building of Mr. Husted and the Husted Investment Company, of which he is president, are the largest, most convenient and most elegantly appointed in the city.

Besides his connection with the Husted Investment Company, one of the strongest concerns of the kind in the West, doing an immense business which extends to all parts of the country, Mr. Husted is identified officially and as a stockholder with many land corporations of importance, of quite a number of which he is president. He is also president of the Fidelity Savings Bank and vice-president of the First National Bank, all of Kansas City, Kansas.

The results that have come in response to the intelligent and industrious application of rare natural abilities, are wonderful, even in this section where

such remarkable things are achieved. As one writer has said: "The success of Mr. Husted has been remarkable and would do credit to any man of twice his years and thrice his experience. Beginning absolutely without capital, and in the humblest way as a real estate commission broker, he has developed into one of the leading real estate dealers and investors in the West, the honored head of several large corporations which have done no small work in hastening settlement and general development throughout a wide territory, and one of the most extensive owners of landed property in his city and its vicinity, notably along the line of the Interstate Consolidated Rapid Transit Railway, where he owns considerable tracts, which in a few years, as the Kansas Citys grow, will be filled with factories, business houses and dwellings."

While Mr. Husted has been in charge of commercial and financial transactions of great magnitude, he has not neglected the higher responsibilities of a Christian manhood, nor lost any opportunity of aiding his fellow man. He is a member of the Presbyterian church, where he has served as elder, and as a member of the board of trustees, and to all the financial and charitable interests of which he is a ready and liberal contributor. In early life he identified himself with the Young Men's Christian Association, the practical work of which throughout Kansas has had an added impetus, and resulted in added good, from his efforts in its

behalf as Chairman of the State Executive Committee, in which capacity he serves that body, and as a earnest personal worker in dissemination of the truths of Christianity.

Mr. Husted is perhaps more widely known than any other man in his city; and those who know him best speak most enthusiastically of his many good qualities, his business capacity, and his

conspicuous success in the career he has chosen. No one doubts his integrity, and his word is literally as good as his bond, which, on account of his high commercial standing would be accepted anywhere in the country. He was married in September, 1881, to Miss Jennie L. Thorpe, of Kansas City.

HON. PHILETUS SAWYER.

IN the first half of the nineteenth century the conditions of life among the people of the Northern states of this country were very different from those now existing. Daily toil, bread earned by the sweat of the brow, by unflinching application of the physical or mental faculties, or both, from youth to age has always been the lot of the great majority. But the toilers in shops, on farms, in mills or factories, of to-day, live in the daily enjoyment of comforts, which were unattainable luxuries, or entirely unknown to their predecessors of half a century ago. Yet, to them, in their generation, the conditions which would seem to us so hard, caused no more discontent, than attends the lot of men anywhere, who can see a hope, or prospective opportunities, for bettering their condition, and are spurred on, by such discontent as they do feel, to make the best they may of the opportunities they have.

Everywhere, in our own land, are found men, who have worked their own way, from lowly and humble beginnings, to places of leadership in the commerce, the great productive industries, and management of the veins and arteries of the traffic and exchanges of the country. Not unfrequently they are found among the trusted leaders

and representatives in the councils of the state and the nation.

It is one of the glories of our country that this is so. It should be the strongest incentive and encouragement to the youth of the country that it is so.

Prominent, and, in some respects exceptional, among this class of men is the subject of this sketch—a man honored, respected and esteemed wherever known, and most of all, where he is best known. The biography of such a man, however briefly told, should, at least, trace the causes of what has been, in some respects, a phenomenally successful career.

Philetus Sawyer was one of a family of five brothers and four sisters, of whom he and one sister are now the only survivors. He was born in Rutland county, Vermont, September 22, 1816. When he was about a year old, his father moved with his family to Essex county in the state of New York, and located at Crown Point. He was a farmer and blacksmith, who became embarrassed and impoverished by signing notes with others, and was a man of scanty means and humble ambition.

The sons of men in his station, in that day, were not a burthen to be borne and toiled for, until they should go out into the world for themselves,

A family of boys on a farm was to the father a source of prosperity, which gave him great advantages over his poor neighbor whose operations were limited to the capacity of his own labor or carried on with hired help.

So the young Philetus, at an early age, began to take his share in the "chores" around the farm and house and shop, and as his years and stature increased and his muscles grew stronger, it was in the natural course of events that while yet a mere youth, he should take upon himself the work of a man. The summer that he was fourteen, he worked out for the munificent wages of six dollars per month.

On the west shore of Lake Champlain, where the rocks and ravines of the Adirondack mountains leave but a narrow margin, and at some points none, of arable land, hard, continuous toil, was a condition precedent to a supply of the necessaries and most common comforts of existence. Under such conditions the wants of the body necessarily take precedence of those of the intellect. The educational advantages of the boys were therefore limited to the annual three months' winter term of the common schools during the brief period between early childhood and stalwart youth. Among the pines of the Adirondack region, at that time, the business of lumbering was carried on in a primitive fashion, and in the woods and at a neighboring sawmill, Mr. Sawyer, at an early age, became initiated in the business in which, afterward, he laid the foundation and

reared the superstructure of a fortune which, in his most hopeful dreams, in those days would have appeared impossible.

It was a wild, and with exceptional small areas of land here and there, a barren and sterile region in which he grew up to manhood. But Nature, which yielded subsistence only to persistent toil, was in another respect more bountiful.

The salubrious atmosphere of a mountainous region was conducive to health. In the forests roamed then wild deer, wolves and bears, and an occasional panther. The mountain streams abounded with speckled trout. These furnished sport enough for the scanty time that could be given to sport. The eternal hills reared their rocky crests, a perpetual background to the westward landscape; and across the limpid waters of Lake Champlain was spread the verdant panorama of the hills and mountains of Vermont.

The character of men is affected by the natural aspects of the country in which they are reared. The mention of his native land will bring a light to the eye of the hardy Switzer or Scotch Highlander, which it will not bring to that of the emigrant from the sterile plains of Pomerania or the dyke-protected fields of Holland.

So the region in which Mr. Sawyer's youth was spent produced robust men and women—robust both physically and intellectually.

The legal proposition that the father is entitled to the services of his minor

children was one of constant practical application in those days. When Mr. Sawyer reached the age of seventeen he was a strong, vigorous youth; ambitious, self-reliant, and eager to commence the work of making his own way in the world. His father wanted money; he wanted to be master of his own time; and a bargain was easily made. He borrowed one hundred dollars from an older brother and paid it to his father for his own services for the next four years. Before the time expired his debt to his brother was paid, and he had given himself two more winter terms in the district school, from his savings as a saw-mill hand.

The education which could be acquired in a few winter terms in the district schools of that time was of the most elementary kind. The written law required that the teacher should be able to read, write, and cipher to the rule of three. The unwritten law required that he should not spoil the children by sparing the rod.

The ambition of young Sawyer was of that practical kind, which an intelligent energetic youth would be almost certain to have, under such circumstances—the ambition to rise above the hard conditions which surrounded his youth, and to acquire a competency as soon as energy, prudence and industry would enable him to do so. Great wealth and high position were not included in his expectations.

But he was not one to rely entirely upon the labor of his own hands for the achievement of even such limited re-

sults as he aspired to. Being gifted with both brains and muscle, he used both, and was soon operating the mill, at which he worked, under contract, sawing “by the thousand.”

It was one of those water power saw-mills of primitive construction, of the kind in which the saws were stramed in a frame, which are facetiously spoken of by more modern lumbermen as “going up to-day and coming down to-morrow.”

Operating a mill with a capacity for sawing two or three thousand feet of lumber per day, was a slow method of acquiring wealth, under the most favorable circumstances.

Before Mr. Sawyer was twenty-five years of age, in 1841 he was married to Melvina M. Hadley, a young lady of an adjoining town eminently qualified for a help-meet to such a man, in every situation and station of his career. December 4, 1842, his son and present partner, Edgar P. Sawyer, was born.

Fourteen years after he had purchased the remainder of his minority from his father, in the fall of 1847, Mr. Sawyer, then thirty-one years old, with his family, consisting of his wife and two sons, joined the tide of emigration then flowing from the east to the great west.

By industry, economy and good management he had succeeded in accumulating a capital of about two thousand dollars, with which to try his fortune in a new country—the slow but steady accumulation of ten years. Ten years of hard work they had been; but they

were also years of training—of *education*, by observation and experience—which fitted him to see and take advantage of the opportunities which the new country was to offer.

It is not unusual to speak of the early lives of men who have risen to eminence from the ranks of the poor, as a struggle with poverty.

In the case of Mr. Sawyer, although he commenced at seventeen with only his hands and brain, and a good physical constitution, his life to this period was not in the proper sense a *struggle*. The great lesson of his career, for the young and ambitious, is not that he *struggled* and succeeded against adverse conditions.

It is that he succeeded, as any young man with health, common sense and will, may succeed, by industry, sufficient will and self-denial to keep his expenditures below his earnings, and the use of such opportunities as he had. These are what constitute thrift, and lead to a success which will be measured largely, in its extent, by the natural endowments of the individual.

He did not attempt to discount the future, nor waste time waiting for better opportunities. He did not scorn the opportunity to accumulate two hundred dollars a year in the hope of finding a more brilliant opportunity to accumulate more rapidly.

Doubtless, it was hard work and a slow advance, but it was not a *struggle*. The result was as certain as the result of human plans can be. The contingency of sickness, or of disaster from

the elements, were the only contingencies.

It is step by step, and not by great strides or bounds, that men who rise in the world begin to rise—a truism which young men who will not deny themselves at present for the hope of ease and comfort in the future, are apt to forget or ignore. Such young men might profit by studying and imitating the early part of Mr. Sawyer's life.

A pleasant anecdote connected with his removal to the west illustrates somewhat one trait of his character which will be referred to hereafter.

When he was starting upon his westward journey, an older brother who lived and died a farmer on the Ticonderoga flats, asked him how much money he had. He answered that he had two thousand dollars secured in his belt, but the amount in his pockets he did not know. Upon counting, it was found to be one hundred and ninety-nine dollars. His brother handed him a dollar with the remark, "Now, remember, that when you started for the west, you had just twenty-two hundred dollars."

Years afterward, when the brother had become an old man, and Mr. Sawyer had become wealthy and held an honored position in the Senate of the United States, he was at one time visiting his old home and his brother. Seeing, or imagining that he saw some indications of depression or uneasiness in his brother's manner, Mr. Sawyer inquired if he was in debt. The brother, rather reluctantly, admitted an

indebtedness of about twelve hundred dollars, which, from a falling off in the profits of his farm and his increasing age, began to worry him. Mr. Sawyer ascertained the names of the creditors, and, on the next day, went out and bought up all of his brother's outstanding paper, took it to his home and delivered it to him. "I am not giving you this," said he; "I am paying my debt to you." His brother looked somewhat mystified. "What debt?" he inquired.

"Do you remember," said Mr. Sawyer, "giving me a dollar when I started for the West? This is that dollar with the accumulations. I have made about that amount with it."

"Ah!" said the brother, seeing the merry twinkle in the Senator's blue eyes: "I wish I had given you ten or fifteen dollars more."

Mr. Sawyer removed to Wisconsin, and settled upon a farm which he purchased in Fond Du Lac county. Many ambitious men emigrated to the West in those days hoping and expecting to become leaders among the people of the new country, and to reap the honors of political preferment. Mr. Sawyer had no such expectation. The profits of a saw mill as he had known them were not very great. Farming on the rich soil of his new home promised, at least, equal reward for his labor and time, and his ambition, then, was only to own a good farm, well improved and well stocked, which in his declining years should secure the comforts of life, and freedom

from the necessity for constant toil, when hard work might become irksome, or beyond his strength.

This was the humble ambition with which he, like many others, sought and found a new home in the great north-west. Some realized it, many did not. A brief experience satisfied Mr. Sawyer that he had not selected the best field for the exercise of his energy and industry.

What his future history would have been, if he had remained upon that farm, it is not easy to conjecture. But, judging from the character of the man, and the causes which have led to his present position, it is not probable that he would have remained in obscurity, if he had remained there. That he would shortly have been chairman of the town board, and an active and influential member of the county board of supervisors, and a member of the state legislature, those who know his history could hardly doubt. But he would never accept public office, to the serious detriment of his private business. Speculation on the subject is useless, for he did not remain on the farm.

It happened—fortunately perhaps—that there were two seasons of short crops, following his settlement there. This was discouraging. Two years of toil without some remuneration was a new experience to him. Only a short distance away the great pineries of the Wolf river held out tempting inducements to lumbermen. The work of the farmer was monotonous; if to continue unremunerative, unendurable.

His decision was soon made. The farm was disposed of, and in December, 1849, he removed to the village of Algoma—now in the city of Oshkosh. The previous winter he had worked for small wages in the pineries. There were no railroads in Wisconsin at that early day, and the market for the Wolf river lumber was only the local market. The country was rapidly filling up with the emigration from the East. The new comers and the old settlers, whose residence had acquired the antiquity of two or three or half a dozen years, were alike anxious to make all the improvements they could. Houses and barns were needed everywhere, with a constantly increasing need. Thirty, forty, even fifty miles came teams hauling pork, hams, flour and other necessities, and hauling back loads of lumber. But there was no money excepting what immigrants brought in their pockets, and many of the lumbermen of those days being men of limited means, failed to make their business profitable. Rates of interest were enormous, and those who undertook to make credit do the work of capital, generally succumbed under their rapidly growing burthens.

There was a saw mill in the village of Algoma, which had nearly or quite ruined its owners. This mill Mr. Sawyer operated successfully in the season of 1850 upon a contract by the thousand feet. Then he rented the mill and operated it on his own account, until 1853, with reasonable success.

Fond Du Lac, seventeen miles south

of Oshkosh at the foot of Lake Winnebago, was then the most thriving town in Northern Wisconsin; to it centered the trade of a large area of fertile country, and as a point for the distribution of lumber by wagon and sleigh loads, it had great advantages. In 1853 Mr. Sawyer formed a partnership with Messrs. Brand & Olcott, lumber manufacturers and dealers of Fond Du Lac, and purchased the mill which he had been operating. The mill was improved, and soon rebuilt, and the production increased, and thereafter, until railroads opened an outlet to more distant markets, a large part of the production of the mill was shipped upon sailing vessels to Fond Du Lac, where it was sorted, piled and marketed. Mr. Olcott retired from the firm in 1856, and the firm of Brand & Sawyer continued the business until 1862.

Marked success in the lumbering business during that period was rather exceptional. The history of Oshkosh and Fond Du Lac was dotted with the wrecks of lumbering enterprises. The best illustration of the sagacity and success with which the business of Brand & Sawyer had been continued, is the fact that in 1862 Mr. Sawyer purchased the interest of his partner, Mr. Brand, at an advance of over seventy thousand dollars above his original capital in the business. The following year his only surviving son, Mr. Edgar P. Sawyer, was taken as a partner in his general business, and since that time the firm has been P. Sawyer & Son, a firm whose word has

always been as good as their bond, and their bond as good as gold.

So much of the details of Mr. Sawyer's life before he became conspicuous in public life it is necessary to know to understand truly the character of the man, and the reasons that made possible his exceptionally long and prominent career in public life. The details and statistics of his subsequent business operations through which he has become a man of great wealth might be interesting for the gratification of curiosity. But the purpose in view is not to write a full biography, but to portray, as well as the writer can, a character which is in many ways a worthy example for imitation, and an honorable career.

It was, of course, that when such a man began to have any surplus capital, beyond the requirements of his regular business, he would seek for it profitable investments, and it was natural that his investments should be largely such as the business itself suggested—in pine timber lands. It was natural, too, that in the hands of a man of his shrewdness and sagacity, accumulated capital should continue to accumulate with accelerating rapidity, and be distributed in a diversity of investments. In this respect his history is not very different from that of many sagacious financiers. From the foundation of the National Bank of Oshkosh—one of the most solid financial institutions in Wisconsin—he has been one of its directors and officers, and is connected as a stockholder and director with several others.

As a stockholder in extensive mills on the Menominee river and elsewhere, and extensive lumber yards in Chicago, he retains a connection with the business of his earlier life. The difference between his mill at Menominee turning out a hundred and fifty thousand feet of lumber in a day, and the old water-power mill at Crown Point, sawing two thousand feet, illustrates fairly the results of the industry, prudence and sound judgment which have characterized his life.

His sagacity, though more far-reaching than that of other men, was never over reaching. No man questioned his integrity. No man claimed to have been defrauded by him.

A strong illustration of the character of Mr. Sawyer as a business man may be found in one simple fact. From the beginning of the logging and lumbering business in connection with the Wolf river pineries, contracts relating to the business—logging contracts as they are termed—and sawing contracts, have been prolific sources of litigation. The calendars of the courts have teemed with such causes; courts and jurors have puzzled their brains over them; and lawyers have pocketed fees out of them.

Mr. Sawyer has made scores of such contracts—contracts to furnish supplies to the loggers and purchase the logs when run down; contracts with parties to put in and run logs by the thousand; contracts for sawing; contracts of every conceivable kind connected with or growing out of the lum-

bering business of that region—and he was never individually a party to a lawsuit.

His judgment of men was so accurate that those with whom he contracted seldom, if ever, tried to defraud him. His sense of justice or generosity frequently led him, when the result of a contract had been favorable to him, to add a gratuity after the settlement was completed.

So, exacting honest and fair dealing, and dealing honestly, fairly and generously himself, he has built up a large fortune and preserved the confidence, respect and esteem of those with whom he had dealings, and of all in his employment.

His habit always was never to exact more nor accept less than a fair day's work for a fair day's pay from those employed by him. His employees were usually glad to remain with him, and instances of generous rewards for long and faithful service, may be mentioned.

When he ceased to operate his old saw-mill at Oshkosh about 1874, there was a man who had been employed in it over a quarter of a century. He had commenced a youth, and worked faithfully until he was nearly fifty. His accumulations in that time were in a house and lot, and home comforts—including a family. He desired, when the mill closed, to get on to a farm. With Mr. Sawyer's assistance, he exchanged his little homestead for a farm upon which Mr. Sawyer paid twenty-five hundred dollars and took a mort-

gage from him. The mortgage was held by Sawyer & Son, and they advanced a few hundred dollars more to enable the man to procure horses, machinery and tools for farming. But the profits of his agriculture did not enable the debtor to reduce the debt or meet the interest. The man was approaching old age with a burthen which he could not drop and which was too heavy to carry. Realizing the situation and necessary anxiety of the man and his wife, Mr. Sawyer concluded to relieve it, and one day he presented them the note and mortgage with a full release and a receipted bill of P. Sawyer & Son for the account, with the remark, "Now you do not owe a cent to P. Sawyer or to P. Sawyer & Son." It was unexpected to them. It was not strange that their gratitude and happiness could find no better expression than tears. Probably there were three persons happy at that brief interview, and as Mr. Sawyer turned hastily away, perhaps it was as much to conceal his emotion as to avoid theirs.

A girl who had served faithfully in his family for many years became engaged to, and married a worthy industrious man; Mrs. Sawyer's wedding gift was the fee simple of a comfortable house and lot, for a home, which Mr. Sawyer afterward purchased from them for three thousand dollars. There were many other similar instances.

These incidents are mentioned as illustrating a character. Instances in which he furnished capital to aid the energy of others in business enterprises,

to their mutual advantage might be mentioned. And he seldom, if ever, suffered loss therefrom.

A brief account of his operations about the head waters of the Wolf river will fairly illustrate his character and sagacity as a business man. The method of supplying the mills at Oshkosh with logs, has always been to cut and haul the logs to the Wolf river and its tributaries, in the winter, and float them down the river in the spring. On the small tributaries dams were built at intervals, in which a head could be raised, and then the dams opened to create a flood, on which the logs below could be run.

Many years ago there were large tracts of very valuable pine timber around the head waters of the Wolf river, which were not accessible, because it was impossible to drive out the logs upon the streams, which were full of rocks and rapids and too small to float them out.

In 1868 Mr. Sawyer resolved to investigate this timber, and the chances for getting it out. He quietly spent several weeks tramping and camping in the woods;—took experts with him to examine the river and tributaries, estimate the chances and expense of making such improvements, as would make it possible to get the timber out; and after such investigation quietly purchased large tracts of the best timbers at prices which, a few years later, would have been merely nominal.

A charter was procured for the Keshena Improvement Company, which

was authorized to make the necessary improvements, and collect tolls upon logs run out through them. Its capital was \$100,000, of which a large part was taken by him, as others could not be induced to take it. With about sixty men and several teams he went himself to start the work. Old woodsmen and rivermen doubted, or jeered at it. But the work went on and was successful, and untold millions of the best timber in Wisconsin was made accessible. The earnings have extended the improvements as fast as required, and paid handsome dividends.

After the first improvements were made Mr. Sawyer sold a section of his pine for \$50,000. The purchaser wanted him to make lower figures, which he declined to do, but offered to put in with the land \$5,000 of the stock of the company, on which thirty per cent. had been paid. The purchaser took the land, but declined to take the stock, because he feared there would be assessments on the stockholders.

“Well,” said Mr. Sawyer, “I will keep the stock for you. You can call for it when you want it.” Two or three years afterward, when its value was assured, he called for it, and it was transferred to him.

This illustrates his method of engaging in large enterprises. He took no blind chances. He investigated all the facts; calculated as closely as possible the cost and the results, and usually,—as in this case—the profits exceeded his expectations.

A sparse and scattered population,

among whom means of communication were slow and exchanges, mostly, merely local, and all, or nearly all, engaged in agricultural pursuits, required little of legislation or government. Theories drawn from books or evolved from closet meditations, could be elaborated, discussed, and take form in legislation, and the ultimate effect upon a slow, patient constituency, might be long deferred. The logic of brilliant oratory might, for a long time, withstand the slower logic of events.

Now, when the introduction of a proposed measure of legislation may be felt instantly in commercial and financial centres, thrill along the nerves of traffic and effect the most remote industries and the interests of the most humble laborer; it is not so much genius and rhetoric as practical common sense of the highest order that is needed, to grapple with the problems of government.

There is abundant room and use for the scholar, the profound thinker, the logician; but the sagacious man of affairs is, after all, needed to deal with complex practical affairs.

Such a man Mr. Sawyer is, and it was quite within the natural course of events that he should be called to some extent into the public service, when he reached a position in which he could respond to the call, without a serious sacrifice of his private interests.

Gifted, above most men, with a wonderful memory, and capacity for storing away in his mind a multiplicity of affairs—pigeon-holed, as it were, so

that anyone of them can be taken up when the occasion arises, and then give place to another without confusion of thought, he was able—as many men are not—to give time and attention to public affairs without impairing his grasp and control of his own. His accurate judgment of the qualities and capacity of men also enabled him to have the right man in the right place, among his agents and assistants.

So when the little village to which he removed in 1849 became a part of a thriving young city, almost by the common consent of his neighbors of the ward in which he lived, he was repeatedly chosen to represent them as alderman in the City Council. He was magnanimous (which will be illustrated hereafter), sagacious, conciliatory, but never cringing—a born leader of men.

It is not probable that Mr. Sawyer had, at this time, any ambition for great public honors or preferment. Neither his early training, nor his course of life to this period, were likely to suggest to his mind any probability that such ambition could be realized. His first ambition was to secure a competency. When that was acquired his next ambition, doubtless, was to acquire a respectable fortune. A national reputation as the honored representative of a state, was not in his thoughts.

Mr. Sawyer had formerly been politically a Democrat of free-soil proclivities, but he acted and voted with the Republican party soon after its organization. In the fall of 1856 he was nominated

by that party in his assembly district for representative in the legislature of 1857, and was easily elected. He had by this time so acquired the confidence of the people among whom he lived that office began to seek him. The term "office seeker," never had any proper application to him. His ability to grasp and understand in detail, and in their relations to other questions, all questions of local or general interest, and his integrity, could not fail to draw attention to him as a fit representative of an energetic and intellegent constituency. His uniform suavity to all with whom he came in contact, and uniformly fair and generous methods of dealing, tended to make him a popular man. So it was natural that in casting about for a candidate who was both fit and available, a convention of his party should select him.

In the Wisconsin assembly of 1857 he applied to the business of legislation, the same careful scrutiny of details, and the same sound judgment, which made his private business so successful, and returned to his constituents more firmly established in their confidence than ever.

But Mr. Sawyer's private business was not yet in condition to dispense with his nearly constant personal supervision. His partner, at that time Mr. Brand, resided at Fond Du Lac, and his son (his partner since 1863) was yet too young and inexperienced to take charge of affairs in his absence. He therefore declined further political honors until the fall of 1860, when he

again accepted a nomination for the legislature of 1861. The unsettled condition of the country; the threats of secession on the part of a number of the states in the contingency of the election of Abraham Lincoln to the Presidency—then considered almost certain—indicated that the session might be a stirring and important one, and it was deemed important that everywhere the best men should be selected for the state legislature. Public opinion in his district pointed surely and steadily to Philetus Sawyer as the right man, and he yielded to it.

There was also a special reason for his willingness to accept the position. The Republican party of Wisconsin had got into a false, and, under the impending circumstances, embarrassing position. To the people of the state generally the compromises of 1850—and especially that part known as the Fugitive Slave Law—had been very distasteful. But the state was off the line of the escape of fugitive slaves, and their dislike took no practical form of expression.

In March, 1854, the capture of Samuel Glover, a fugitive slave, in the city of Milwaukee, and his forcible rescue by a mob, created an excitement throughout the state. The leader in the rescue was arrested and committed for trial, by a United States Court Commissioner, and was released upon *habeas corpus* before one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the State in June, 1854. He, with another, was indicted by a grand jury, and com-

mitted by the judge of the United States District Court. They applied to the Supreme Court for a writ of *habeas corpus* which was refused in July, 1854.

In the heat of the excitement caused by these proceedings, the Republican party of the state was organized at a mass convention held at the state capitol July 4th.

The men were tried and convicted of a violation of the Fugitive Slave Law, sentenced and committed to the jail in Milwaukee. In January, 1855, they again applied to the Supreme Court of the state and in February were released on *habeas corpus*, the court holding the law unconstitutional and void. A writ of error from the Supreme Court of the United States was disregarded, and that court proceeded to hear the case on a certified transcript of the proceedings procured by an attorney. The decision of the state court was reversed.

Through the excitement caused by these proceedings, rash, impetuous spirits were enabled to commit the party to the most extreme doctrine of nullification. In its conventions and through its newspapers the theory of state sovereignty was invoked against the obnoxious law. The attorney of the rescuers of Glover was elevated to the bench of the Supreme Court, where it is but just to say he proved an able jurist and upright judge, whence he afterwards was removed by death, respected and mourned by his colleagues and the entire bar of the state. The Hon. Carl Shurz, then a resident of

Wisconsin, advocated the doctrine in a public speech in Milwaukee (which was widely circulated), in a strain of eloquence and with a force of logic which would have done honor to its great apostle, Calhoun.

Demagogues (there are some in all parties) fell in and swam with the current. Timid men kept silence, and only here and there a voice was raised against the political heresy. Prominent among them and the recognized leader was the Hon. Timothy O. Howe, of Green Bay, an able lawyer, and fearless in defense of his opinions. He wrote against the heresy and spoke against it at every opportunity, and secured a following which, if not noisy, grew in numbers, as the clouds of secession and war became more dense along the Southern horizon.

A series of letters from his pen were published in a newspaper at Oshkosh, for a time almost the only Republican newspaper in the state which openly defended and advocated his views.

In 1857, Judge Howe had been the most prominent candidate for the United States Senate, but the extreme State Rights theorists controlled the Republican party in the legislature, and he was defeated in caucus.

In 1859 the Legislature had adopted resolutions modelled largely upon the celebrated Kentucky resolutions of 1798 and 1799.

A senator was to be chosen in 1861, and it was well understood that Judge Howe would be again a candidate.

Mr. Sawyer was friendly to Judge

Howe. His clear-headed common sense did not need legal learning to show him that the party had got upon untenable ground from which it could get off better by the election of Judge Howe as Senator than in any other way. He, at least, could stand up consistently in the Senate against the heresies of nullification and secession.

But Judge Howe was not to be elected, even in 1861, when the war cloud was about to break, without a struggle. It is hard for men who have been following leaders to break away from them, and it is difficult to induce men to admit, even indirectly that they have been fanatically wrong-headed.

Judge Howe was elected, and represented the state ably and faithfully eighteen years, being re-elected twice without even the formality of a caucus nomination.

That he was elected the first time was conceded to be due more to the efforts and influence of Mr. Sawyer than those of any other member of that legislature.

Aside from the election of a Senator, the session was an exciting one. The state was to be placed in an attitude to render prompt aid to the Federal government, in case of need, and the discussions and debates upon the measures adopted for that purpose were long and sharp. Mr. Sawyer is not a speech maker, and took no part in the debates. But as what is sometimes (in the West) called a "single-handed talker," there are few men so

successful in convincing the judgment, and influencing the action of other men, and in the work of the session he bore his full part to the satisfaction of his constituents, and with the effect of greatly extending his own reputation. He became known throughout the state as a man qualified by his indomitable energy, untiring industry, quick perception, candor and personal bearing, to wield a large influence as a representative of the people.

That men should begin to think and talk of his qualifications for a more exalted position, was as inevitable as the course of Nature, and in 1862 he was strongly solicited to become a candidate for the Republican nomination for representative in Congress. But by the purchase of the interest of his partner, Mr. Brand, in their business, he assumed obligations which, in his judgment, required his close personal attention to his private business, and he declined to permit such use of his name. The Congressional district was, at the best, a close and doubtful one, and the Democratic party elected its candidate by about a thousand majority.

In 1863 and 1864 he was elected and served as Mayor of the city of Oshkosh. In 1864 he was given, by the unanimous vote of the common council of the city, full power and unlimited discretion, to compromise and settle a bonded indebtedness of the city of \$150,000, upon bonds issued years before for railroad purposes. He succeeded in compromising nearly the

whole amount upon terms so favorable as to give general satisfaction.

His service as Mayor was in the most trying period of the Civil War. The repeated calls for troops, and the conscription acts led everywhere to the most strenuous exertions to fill the local quota with volunteers. In the hurry and confusion caused by the simultaneous enlistment everywhere, and enrollment of men induced by large bounties, for places where they did not reside, the strictest care and diligence were required to secure the proper credits. Much confusion arose at one time, from the fact that there was a town of Oshkosh as well as a city of that name, each having a quota to fill. In this work Mr. Sawyer was active, diligent and successful.

The private reasons which in 1862 had induced Mr. Sawyer to refuse to be considered a candidate for Congressional honors were less imperative in 1864. His business had prospered, and he stood financially among the solid men of the state. His son—trained in the father's business and business methods, older in ideas and habits than in years, and in every way worthy of the confidence which was placed in him—had become his partner in business. Mr. Sawyer could now spare time for public affairs without serious detriment to his own. Senator Howe, especially, desired the presence of Mr. Sawyer in the House of Representatives. Of course, no man is ever nominated the first time for such a position without opposition. But before the nominating convention

met, it was apparent that he would be its choice.

The candidate of the Democratic party was a man of ability and conceded integrity, and of personal popularity. Two years previously that party had carried the district by about a thousand majority. Probably the increased confidence in the ultimate suppression of the rebellion after the success of the national forces at Gettysburg, Vicksburg and other points, in that district, as elsewhere, strengthened the Republican cause, but the majority of about three thousand by which Mr. Sawyer was elected would, under the circumstances, have been impossible with a candidate who had not the full confidence and respect of the people.

On the first Monday of December, 1865, Mr. Sawyer took his seat as a member of the Thirty-ninth Congress.

The period between his election in November, 1864, and the opening of that session had been prolific of important events. Armed rebellion had been crushed out. The President whose unwearied patience, untiring zeal and care, and unswerving confidence in the ultimate triumph of the right, had steadied the helm of the nation, through four years of storm and peril, had gone down by the bullet of the assassin, and left a name and fame to rank forever with, or next to, that of the Father of his Country.

Vice-President Johnson had entered upon the office of President, apparently in "the spirit of Saul of Tarsus, "breathing out threatenings and slaugh-

ter." But at the head of the Cabinet was the most magnanimous statesman of the country, free from all passionate emotions himself, and full of confidence in the aggregate common sense and right motives of men. Mr. Seward evidently believed that the leaders of a whole people, whose political life for a generation had been governed by passion, imprudence and ingratitude, would suddenly, under the smart of humiliating defeat, become dispassionate, prudent and grateful, if relieved from the fear of the penalties of treason.

The rebellious states were not out of the Union. The war had determined that. There were territory and people, constituting states of the Union, in which there was not, and for years had not been, any state or local government, which could be recognized, nor any civil officers qualified to act.

The United States was bound to guarantee to each of these disorganized states, a republican form of government. If the executive department alone could fulfil this guaranty, and when the time for the meeting of Congress, seven months later, should arrive, the representatives of a whole united people and senators from every state, should assemble fraternally, to legislate for the common interest of a united nation and people, the name and fame of Andrew Johnson might pass into history, with that of Abraham Lincoln, as the great pacificator who had completed and rounded out the great work of his predecessor.

Mr. Seward believed it possible by

mere clemency and magnanimity to accomplish all this, and by his persuasive eloquence so calmed and assuaged the vindictive spirit of President Johnson, that, when Congress assembled they found the promised Moses of an oppressed race, filling the role of Pharaoh, leading the oppressors in a way whereby to establish a new servitude more galling and oppressive than the old.

So the Congress in which Mr. Sawyer appeared for the first time, was confronted on the threshold with the great problems of reconstruction, with the evidence full and complete, that justice towards millions of a race who were emphatically the wards of the nation, whom it was bound by every moral and political consideration to protect, could be secured only, if at all, by the exercise of the highest wisdom and all the constitutional power of the government.

Other problems of vast importance were in the near future. The National finances and currency, the great changes in the industries of the country consequent upon the close of the war, the conditions in our neighbor Mexico, the debt of gratitude to the soldiers of the war, to be at least recognized in the pension laws—there was work enough not only for the loftiest statesmanship, but for men of clear-headed business qualifications and financial skill and sagacity.

This is not the place to write the history of legislation during the ten years that Mr. Sawyer sat in the House of

Representatives. The history of his connection with it would be, if fully written out, but a dry and tedious detail of constant work in committee rooms, and personal work among his fellows and the departments of the government.

Hon. James G. Blaine, who first met Mr. Sawyer at this time, speaking of the new members of the Thirty-ninth Congress, in his "Twenty Years of Congress," says of him: "It is easy to supply superlatives in eulogy of popular favorites; but in modest phrases Mr. Sawyer deserves to be ranked among the best of men—honest, industrious, generous, true to every tie, and to every obligation of life. He remained ten years in the House with constantly increasing influence, and was afterwards promoted to the Senate."

Mr. Blaine's estimate of his character, true as it is, does not explain the whole reason for the "constantly increasing influence" which he mentions,—the reason why Mr. Sawyer became, as he did, the trusted counsellor and adviser of men, who filled a large place in the public estimation as leaders and statesman, and why, at the same time, he increased in influence and in the confidence of his constituents and the people of his state.

It has never been the habit of the people of the northern states to continue their representative for long periods in the House of Representatives. The patriotic men of equal ability and willingness to serve are too numerous. Here and there one of exceptional talents and

brilliance (like Mr. Blaine) may be returned term after term for a long period. But the rule is, and always has been, one of rotation, and the case of Mr. Sawyer stands as the one almost, or quite, unique exception to the rule.

His service in the House was during a period when exciting questions,—questions in which moral as well as economic ideas were involved, were most prominent. During the sessions, the great newspapers spread daily before their readers the speeches of the recognized leaders of opinion. Debates upon the important and exciting subjects for legislative action, were sought for and read with earnest avidity.

In these Mr. Sawyer's name did not appear. Now and then appeared brief mention that Mr. Sawyer reported a bill from some committee,—perchance that he asked, and was granted, a suspension of the rules, for the passage of a bill from the committee on commerce, or some other; that was all. It was known that he never made speeches. But if any measure reported by him was questioned and needed defence beyond a simple explanation (which was not often) there were always those ready and fluent and able to assist him. And all the time his influence in the House and at home was "a constantly increasing influence."

During his third term in 1869, he intended, and announced his intention, to retire at its close. The announcement gave pleasure only to a few aspirants for the place, and the Democratic party in his district. He was

induced by the earnest protest of influential friends to consent to further service in the House. At the end of his fifth term, after ten years of continuous service, he retired, steadily refusing to stand as a candidate for another term.

A parallel to such a ten years' career in the House of Representatives is not easy to find. To account for it, we must add to the qualities mentioned by Mr. Blaine that uncommon degree of common sense which amounted in reality to profound sagacity, not alone in matters of business and finance, but in political management; a genial manner which made personal friends even of political enemies, and a remarkable faculty of persuading and convincing others of the correctness of his conclusions.

When Mr. Sawyer entered Congress his district was an extensive and populous one, with a large water front on Lake Michigan and Green Bay, and was intersected by the navigable Fox and Wolf rivers.

The improvement of the harbors and water-ways in the district was important for its agricultural and rapidly growing manufacturing interests which depended upon water communication much more than at the present time.

In the Fortieth Congress (his second term) he secured a place on the Committee on Commerce which was deemed one of the most important committees. During his first term he had secured fairly liberal appropriations for the rivers and harbors of his district, and a

place on this committee was especially desired by him for the interests of his constituents. His services on the committee had been such, and the changes in the House were such, that when the Forty-first Congress assembled Mr. Sawyer might have aspired to the chairmanship of that committee, but the Speaker (Mr. Blaine), after consultation with Mr. Sawyer and with his ready consent, appointed Mr. Dixon of Rhode Island, chairman, and Mr. Sawyer second on the committee. Mr. Dixon was soon taken sick and was absent most of the time, and left Mr. Sawyer the acting chairman during the term.

When the Forty-second Congress met on the 4th of March, 1871, the right of Mr. Sawyer to the first place on the committee was conceded. Without his consent the speaker would not consider any other man for the place. Mr. Shellabarger, of Ohio, who had been an able and influential member several terms, had not been a member of the Forty-first Congress, but was returned to the House in 1871. He had taken a very able and distinguished part in the debates of the Thirty-ninth Congress on the President's reconstruction policy, and had a national reputation as one of the leaders of the Republican party. It was insisted by his friends that he should be given a prominent place. Mr. Sawyer's magnanimity came to the rescue of the speaker. He advised the appointment of Mr. Shellabarger as chairman of the Committee on Commerce and took the second

place. Mr. Shellabarger was in poor health and physically unable to do committee work, and, again, during nearly the whole term Mr. Sawyer was the acting chairman of the committee, of which another man figured as chairman in the Record. Mr. Shellabarger sent his resignation to the committee, but, on Mr. Sawyer's motion, it was not accepted. If it had been, it would have left Mr. Sawyer chairman.

While so acting at every session, it became his duty to report and take charge, in the House, of the river and harbor appropriation bills. These bills had usually been the subject of much criticism and discussion in Committee of the Whole, and the chairman of the committee usually had many questions and objections to answer. Sometimes the bills had to be laid over and their passage imperilled by the pressure of other matters.

Mr. Sawyer's bills were prepared with great care and labor. The items were scrutinized closely by his committee before they were admitted, and when reported, he desired to see them through. In 1871 he adopted an experiment which had never been tried with such a bill. He knew that he had the confidence of the House, not only in his integrity, but in his industry and judgment. With his printed bill and report he made his explanations in advance to such members as he deemed it necessary, and upon a favorable opportunity he arose and moved that the rules be suspended and the River and Harbor bill taken from the general file and passed.

"What does that gray-headed old fool think he can do? He can't get twenty-five votes for his motion," said Mr. Beck of Kentucky, to a Wisconsin Democratic member.

Upon the call of the roll, however, the motion was carried by a vote of nearly three-fourths of the House.

A new departure like this upon a bill appropriating six or seven millions of dollars, and consisting of a great number of items, is conclusive evidence of his influence among his fellow-members, and their confidence in him.

When the Forty-third Congress assembled in 1873, the magnanimity of Mr. Sawyer was subjected to a test more severe than ever before. He had served six years on the Committee on Commerce. For four he had performed successfully and satisfactorily the duties of chairman of that committee. It was one of the honorable positions in the House which was coveted by able and aspiring men. By right of his services and the usage which was almost unbroken, he was entitled to be named as chairman. He had resolved to leave the House at the close of that term, and desired and expected the honor as well as labor of the position for that last term. To retire without it might seem almost a slur upon his standing as an old member.

In making up the list of committees to be announced, the Speaker (Mr. Blaine) placed his name first on the Committee on Commerce without solicitation and as a matter of course and of right. Before the list was completed an exigency arose which for the time

threatened seriously to embarrass the Speaker and endanger the harmony of the Republican party in the House. The friends of Hon. Wm. A. Wheeler of New York (afterward Vice-President), demanded for him a prominent position. Twenty-three Republican representatives from New York, united in demanding the chairmanship which by right and usage belonged to Mr. Sawyer. Such a demand from the greatest commercial state was ominous. Mr. Blaine would not yield to it without Mr. Sawyer's consent. The situation was critical—friction and ill-feeling was likely to result—and Mr. Sawyer saw in it the danger that not only the Speaker's influence but his own, might be impaired by the feeling that would follow. Magnanimity had added to his influence before. After full reflection he went to the Speaker and consented to take his old place as second on the committee, and that Mr. Wheeler should be appointed as chairman.

Meeting Mr. Wheeler soon after, Mr. Sawyer told him that he would be so appointed.

"Mr. Sawyer, I will not accept it," said he, "it belongs to you."

"But it is with my consent," he replied.

The men clasped hands and Mr. Wheeler and his friends were thereafter fast friends of Mr. Sawyer. Mr. Blaine was relieved from a painful and embarrassing position.

It is not strange, therefore, that Mr. Blaine should think that he deserved "to be ranked among the best of

men." In a letter to Mr. Sawyer (which was published at the time), he supplied fully the "superlatives" which his book omits in eulogy and praise of Mr. Sawyer's character and magnanimous conduct. Many wondered how Mr. Sawyer, who made no speeches acquired so much influence in Congress. To those who have known him intimately the reasons were obvious.

Mr. Sawyer held his former position and was placed at the head of the Committee on Pacific Railroads.

With the work of those two committees on his hands and the numerous wants of his constituents to look after he was a busy man.

With every new administration the army of office seekers, which never needs a draft to replenish it, advanced upon the national capital and he could no more escape the pressure than others. His heavy correspondence was always examined, and every letter was answered that required it.

Faithful and attentive as he was to his duties as a legislator, he found or made time to look after the interests of the humblest of his constituents, who needed his aid. His district had furnished its full quota of men for the army, and the claims for back pay, bounty and pensions were numerous. When such claims became entangled in the red tape of some bureau, or suspended for want of some required affidavit, impossible to obtain, it was only necessary to satisfy him that the claim was just to secure his energetic

assistance. He became a familiar personage in the departments, where he inspired the same confidence, as among his colleagues in the house. Thus he was enabled to assist many a disabled soldier, many a poor widow and many an orphan child successfully.

So he voluntarily retired from Congress after ten years of hard work, honored, respected and esteemed by those whom he had served, and those who had been in the public service with him, and with a reputation, unassailed by any breath of calumny, which might be fairly termed a national reputation.

A frank and generous demeanor toward his fellow members of all parties, which was a part of his nature, doubtless had much influence upon his popularity among them. On three occasions when he had drawn seats among the best in the house, he had voluntarily exchanged with members who had been less fortunate. Once he had done this with Gen. Halbert E. Paine, of Milwaukee, who had lost a leg at Port Hudson. Once he had done so with Gen. Garfield, who, as one of the leading debaters, needed a seat near the Speaker's chair. Such acts of courtesy and kindness are not forgotten by such men.

With the members of the other party he was genial and friendly and his measures received no opposition from them because of political differences.

Beck, of Kentucky, and he had a jolly laugh together over his first success in passing a River and Harbor bill under a suspension of the rules.

Mr. Blaine truly classed him as a popular favorite.

On the 4th of March, 1875, Mr. Sawyer voluntarily assumed the role of private citizen, with a feeling of relief. He had been emphatically a *working* member of Congress for ten years, and his share of the work being so largely of a kind which required constant investigation of facts and study of details, was perhaps growing irksome in some degree. Whatever of honor and distinction it could confer, he had attained. He could count many friends among the highest and most honored in the land. His private affairs had continued prosperous, and his age—then fifty-nine—would have justified him in retiring from active pursuits, had he desired it. But activity was a part of his nature.

In 1876 the West Wisconsin railroad running from Tomah to Hudson, Wisconsin, was financially embarrassed and mortgages on it were foreclosed.

Mr. Sawyer, with some New York and Chicago capitalists formed a syndicate and purchased it. The old bond holders were fairly treated. They were offered the option of fifty per cent. of their bonds in cash, or their face in new bonds, one half secured by mortgage on the road and one half by mortgage on a land grant which had been made to it years before; some took the cash, more came in and took the new bonds, which subsequently became worth a premium. Some refused to do either, and after a full report and contested accounting in open court, re-

ceived what the accounting confirmed by the court gave—about twenty-six per cent. of the par value of their bonds.

The reorganized corporation purchased the North Wisconsin Railway, of which he was made president. They afterwards acquired the St. Paul and Sioux City lines and connected four weak and struggling corporations into one strong one, known as the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis & Omaha Railroad Company.

Of this company Mr. Sawyer was vice-president and a director and member of the executive committee until 1880, when he severed his connection with it and prepared to make a trip to Europe with his family.

An incident connected with the purchase of the North Wisconsin railway by Mr. Sawyer and his associates, illustrates the same generosity of character which marked his dealings in his private business. The new organization, of which he was president, had purchased the bonds of the old corporation with five years unpaid interest coupons attached, for fifty per cent. of the principal. Of course the stock of the old company was valueless.

The town of New Richmond, St. Croix county, Wisconsin, had issued its bonds for \$12,500 to aid in the construction of the railroad, and exchanged them for stock in the company. Two other towns had taken \$6,500 each of the stock in exchange for their town bonds. The three towns thus held \$25,000 of worthless stock and were in-

debted to that amount on their bonds.

Mr. Sawyer, who owned one-fourth of the stock in the new corporation, submitted to the board of directors the proposition to purchase the bonds of those towns and surrender them in exchange for the stock in the old company held by the towns.

Through his influence the directors authorized him to make the purchase and exchange. The towns were solvent and, at nearly their par value, he purchased the town bonds and surrendered them to the towns, thus relieving them from an indebtedness which was, at the best, a heavy burthen for those sparsely settled towns, in a backwoods region, to carry.

In the construction or reorganization of railroads, such an instance stands unique and alone. No legal obligations existed—no moral obligation, as moral obligations are usually understood. But Mr. Sawyer believed that with proper management the railroad could be made a good investment (as it proved to be), and with a magnanimity which few would have shown under the circumstances, resolved to relieve the people of those towns from this burthen.

When Mr. Sawyer retired from the House of Representatives he did not expect to re-enter public life—certainly not in the capacity of a legislator.

The term of Hon. Angus Cameron as United States Senator, was to expire March 4, 1881. It was understood that Mr. Cameron would not be a candidate for re-election. Early in 1880 many of

Mr. Sawyer's friends and leading Republicans in the state began to solicit him to become a candidate for the place. As spring advanced into summer, the solicitations became stronger, and he began to be generally talked of as a candidate. He had done nothing, excepting urge objections privately to his friends. He had resolved in his own mind that he did not desire to be Senator. The time for departure for Europe was approaching, even passage engaged from New York for himself and family. His intention was to write a letter from New York declining to be a candidate, and then sail away, beyond the reach of further solicitations. In this frame of mind he was at Milwaukee one day, and learned that somebody—some candidate or friend of some candidate—had publicly made some derogatory remarks—uttered some boast, that, if a candidate, he was already beaten;—intimated that his influence among the people of the state was on the wane. Then leading influential men of his party beset him again, when, perhaps, the report he had heard was rankling in his mind. There is no man, who has for a long time filled a large place in the public confidence, who is not sensitive if its continuance, is openly questioned by those with whom the wish is father to the thought. He yielded, and, instead of returning home as he intended, went to Chicago to see his son-in-law, Mr. Wm. O. Goodman.

"Will," said he, "the family are going to Europe in a few days. Your

wife is going. You or I must go with them; and I am not going."

The law provides for the election of United States Senators by the state legislature. The custom has long ago become a part of the unwritten law, that members of a state legislature, of a predominant party, are nominated in local conventions, largely upon the issues between rival candidates for the Senate, when a Senator is to be chosen.

When the Wisconsin legislature of 1881 met, and the Republican members assembled in caucus to agree upon a candidate, Mr. Sawyer was found to be the choice of a large majority, and, in January, he was elected Senator for six years from March 4, 1881.

In January, 1887, he was re-elected without opposition in his own party, for the term he is now serving.

Mr. Sawyer took his seat as Senator in the Forty-seventh Congress. He had been six years in private life, but he met, in both Senate and House of Representatives, many of his former friends and colleagues. In that Congress he was chairman of a select committee to examine the several branches of the civil service.

In the Forty-eighth and Forty-ninth Congresses he was chairman of the committee on railroads of the Senate. He was offered a place on the committee on commerce in the Forty-eighth Congress, but the Senators from the Pacific coast desiring a representative on that committee he gave way for Senator Dolph, of Oregon.

The rapid extension of railroads in

the northern part of Wisconsin, and the opening of mines on the Gogebic range, caused new towns and settlements to spring up rapidly in what had been very recently an unbroken wilderness. The establishment of post-offices and mail routes to meet the wants of the rapidly increasing population and business of that part of his state, was important, and in the Forty-ninth Congress he desired to be at the head of the committee on postoffices and post roads, on which he had served four years. The same needs in the northern peninsula of Michigan induced Senator Conger to desire the same position. To Mr. Sawyer,—as he had often demonstrated before,—harmony and cordial good will among his party friends, was more important than any mere personal consideration, and he yielded again.

In the Fiftieth Congress he was appointed chairman of the committee on postoffices and post roads, which position he now holds in the Fifty-first Congress.

Of the committee on pensions he has been an active member since March, 1886, when he was appointed on it in place of Senator Mitchell, the chairman, who was sick, and did not return to do any work in that Congress. Senator Blair, of New Hampshire, acted as chairman during that time.

Ever since the war, the policy of the government towards those who were in any degree disabled in the military service, and their widows and orphan children has been a liberal one, and the

pension list has required large appropriations. Doubtless, through fraudulent and careless testimony, pensions were sometimes granted that were not deserved, and as time passed and the means of procuring evidence strictly within all the rules of the pension laws became more difficult, some defects were overlooked in what upon the whole appeared to be deserving cases. That the government was sometimes defrauded is doubtless true. It is also doubtless true that in many deserving cases it was impossible to procure evidence upon which the examining officers could allow any pension. Therefore private pension bills have often been passed by Congress.

Under the administration of President Cleveland it was said that much more strict proof was required at the pension office. It was not very strange that it should be so, if true. It was not strange if officers and examining surgeons were sometimes appointed whose sympathies were not active in favor of the war, or of the men who suffered in it. Without questioning the motives or integrity of either those men, or their predecessors, it is not difficult to understand why the proportion of rejected claims to those allowed was considerably increased, and the private pension bills in Congress correspondingly increased.

Mr. Sawyer had been always disposed to a liberal policy in the matter of pensions. He had spent much time while a member of the House of Representatives in assisting the claimants

from his state whose claims he believed to be meritorious, to get consideration for their claims and to get them disentangled from technical embarrassments. It was known that if the proofs could not be made complete under the rules of the pension office, and some doubt might exist, yet, if the claim appeared to be honest, and free from suspicion of fraud, he was usually inclined to give the claimant the benefit of the doubt.

In the Forty-ninth Congress as a member of the committee on pensions he examined a large number of claims for pension bills and reported them in the Senate. Readers of the newspapers at that time will perhaps recollect a semi-facetious article in relation to Senator Sawyer's pension bureau. A reporter one day walked into his committee room, and seeing Senator Sawyer and others with three or four clerks, engaged with a large pile of documents, making abstracts or briefs of their contents inquired what was being done. The Senator jocularly replied that they were running a pension bureau, and the bright reporter caught at a topic for an article which was widely copied and read.

It was not mere formal or routine work however, nor was it left to the judgment of clerks. Senator Sawyer examined the abstract of every case he reported. Many cases in which the judgment of an experienced physician and surgeon was required (and there were many of them) were taken to his residence. Dr. Walter Kempster, a scientific and learned physician, was attend-

ing upon Mrs. Sawyer, who was then an invalid, and together they went through and examined scores of such cases in the hours which are usually devoted to social life in Washington.

Of course many cases were examined and rejected, but Mr. Sawyer reported over a thousand such bills, which passed the Senate in that Congress. Some of them failed in the House of Representatives for want of time. Several were vetoed by the President upon information, it was said, that was furnished from the Pension office—some of them in messages couched in language not in harmony with the usual calm and dignified style of President Cleveland's state papers. It would not be surprising if there were—it would be surprising if there were not—some mistakes made in such a mass of such work.

It was stated (from actual computation, it was said) that Mr. Sawyer reported from his committees a greater number of bills in the Forty-ninth Congress than were ever reported by any other Senator of the United States in his whole senatorial career, however long. And the bills reported by him were not often questioned. A colloquy one day with Senator Beck, of Kentucky (who had served with him in the lower House) illustrates the confidence which his character inspired.

In the first session of the Forty-ninth Congress (*Congressional Record*, Vol. 17, p. 4,773, May 21, 1886), when a large number of private pension bills were being acted upon, some question

was raised as to one of them. Senator Blair, of New Hampshire, who was the acting chairman of the pension committee, had the floor; Senator Beck was seeking information in regard to the bill, and Senator Blair's replies indicated that he was not well prepared to give it. The reading of the report of the committee was suggested, and the following colloquy occurred :

Mr. Beck.—“Will the senator advise me who knows anything about it?”

Mr. Blair.—“The senator who has reported the bill.”

Mr. Beck.—“By what senator was the bill reported?”

Mr. Blair.—“The senator from Wisconsin.”—Mr. Sawyer.

Mr. Sawyer.—“I reported the bill. I think it is a just bill. I could not give details without calling for the reading of the report.”

Mr. Beck.—“I am entirely content with any statement the senator from Wisconsin will make.”

Mr. Sawyer.—“I have not reported a single case to the Senate that I do not believe is a just case.”

Mr. Beck.—“There is no man in the Senate whose word I would sooner take.”

Mr. Sawyer.—“I have examined, personally, every one I have reported.”

Mr. Beck.—“This is the first moment I ever heard that the senator from Wisconsin knew anything about it. The chairman of the committee knew nothing of it.”

Mr. Blair.—“The senator is quite mistaken.”

Mr. Beck.—“I do not call for the reading of the report, when the senator from Wisconsin advises me that he has examined the case and it is all right.”

That kind of confidence is not given to members of Congress by political opponents without good reason.

The private and domestic life of Senator Sawyer was a singularly happy life until disease laid its hand upon the faithful partner of his days of humble effort and of eminent success. On the 21st day of May, 1888—forty-seven years after their marriage—Mrs. Sawyer died after a lingering and progressive illness of several years, and this sketch would be incomplete without a passing tribute to the memory of a woman who lives in the hearts and grateful memory of the humble poor, as well as the more prosperous rich. A nature always kind and benevolent, made her from their early days the willing almoner of her husband's bounties. With sympathetic and unostentatious charity she gave with a liberal and generous hand, to ameliorate the sufferings, and relieve the necessities of the unfortunate, and always without any air of patronizing condescension to blunt their sense of gratitude, or display to call attention to their wants or her own benevolence; and always with the knowledge that her own good judgment and wise discretion were the only measure and limitation of her charities which he would require. And when she was stricken with disease there were many sorrowing hearts; and when she

died there were many sincere mourners beside those of her own kindred and household, and among many who had never needed her charity also—for of both her and her husband it should be said the friends of their younger days who were less fortunate, continued the friends of their days of prosperity; and the genial hospitality of their house was as unostentatious as her charities, and as cordial and unaffected when surrounded with the elegancies and luxuries of life as when dispensed amid more humble surroundings. When Mrs. Sawyer died, a good woman—a lady in the best sense, by every impulse of her nature—passed from earth.

They buried an infant son soon after they removed to Wisconsin, and a few years later an infant daughter. Besides his son and partner, Mr. Edgar P. Sawyer, Senator Sawyer has two daughters living—Mrs. Howard G. White of Syracuse, New York, and Mrs. W. O. Goodman of Chicago, Illinois. For the benefit of each of these children he made investments some years ago which would secure to each a comfortable and ample income beyond contingencies.

Mr. Sawyer's liberality as a citizen has been conspicuous in many ways. As Mayor of the city of Oshkosh during two years of the Civil War, his expenditure of both money and time in the effort to fill the quota of the city to avoid the conscription was large, and no claim was made for any reimbursement. Churches innumerable, and educational institutions in his state, have often been the recipients of liberal con-

tributions to their necessities or improvements. The Y. M. C. A. of Oshkosh, was indebted to his bounty for their ability to secure a large and commodious business block in the heart of the city. Generosity to deserving objects has marked his career from the beginning.

Mr. Sawyer is of medium stature, with broad shoulders and an inclination to corpulancy, checked somewhat in later years by a judicious diet;—a man of vigorous frame and usually healthy physical condition, capable of actively supporting and carrying out the plans and ideas of an active brain, and both body and brain under such control that he can usually summon both to perfect rest almost at will. Now in his seventy-third year, his searching, intelligent eyes and his keen and incisive manner, when matters of business, public or private, are presented to him, still indicate the practical sense and judgment and resolute energy which have carried him to a place in the front rank among men.

Here and there, in the course of generations, a man is found who does his life-work so loftily and with such far-reaching effect upon the history of his own and of future times; who rises so far above his fellows by the force of a great genius and the inspiration of a great occasion or opportunity, that he finds and fills a niche in the temple of fame. Many, through some special brilliancy, or eccentricity, or daring, climb or leap upon the unstable pedestals of notoriety and pose briefly for the admira-

tion and applause—or hatred—of men, and soon give place to the next, like the occupants of a barber's chair.

But the solid work of the world—the work which leaves its impress on the future, which shapes institutions, embodies the ideas of great thinkers in concrete forms, gives life and energy and growth to nations, and binds the good of the past to the future, trimming and scarfing off the obsolete and the temporary with conservative but steady hands;—this work is not done with a shout and a flourish of trumpets. It is done by the industrious sagacious men—the men of common sense. And as the material interests of society become more complex, the work for such men increases. While the thinker and philosopher is mostly framing new expressions for old ideas, now and again, perchance, throwing out a new idea or suggestion, like bread cast on the waters, which, if it is bread, will return, and if it is not, is but a bubble on the surface, the workers are carrying along the interests from which come the supplies for the human wants of human beings.

Mr. Sawyer's place has always been among the workers; but by reason of those rare qualities, which give influence and leadership to a few, it has proved a conspicuous one; and along the way by which he has attained to it, no calumny born of malice, nor any investigation in the interest of public morality, has left any blot or smirch upon his name.

Along the lines of public life, or private enterprise, the meed of fame is

almost or quite unattainable in our day, unless some especially great opportunity gives scope for the display of great talent or genius; but the way to an honored and honorable place among men is always open to self-denying industry, determination and endurance, guided by intelligence. Such pre-eminent success in that way as has been achieved by him, is doubtless beyond the reach of most men, and was far beyond his most sanguine ambition in early life. But the rule, "To him that hath, shall be given," in mundane affairs, is subject to the condition that what a man has, of brain and intelligence, shall be used to the best advantage that he may use them. That Mr. Sawyer did this from the beginning, and that nature had so largely endowed him, are the causes of his success.

The education of books and schools may be—often is—a help; and it may be—and sometimes is—an incumbrance. Such education as a means is often very useful. Preserved as an end, or as a cross-road to success which cannot be reached by any cross-roads, it is useless.

The education of experience in the practical affairs of life, and of clear and keen observation of men and events, is the kind of education that has assisted Mr. Sawyer;—a progressive one that has aided him step by step in every stage of his career to a position of such influence as few men achieve, and a place in the respect and esteem of his contemporaries which entitled his name to be recorded among the honorable ones of his generation.

• GEORGE GARY.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

THE series of papers from the pen of Hon. John Hutchins, now appearing in these columns, —to be published by Mr. Hutchins in book form when completed—give to this generation a view of the actual attitude of the North and South that no retrospect of a general character could supply. Mr. Hutchins, in this preliminary portion of his proposed history of the two War Congresses, does not attempt to speak for the leading actors in those dramatic days. He wisely allows them to speak for themselves, taking a paragraph here and there from the most important speeches, and lighting up the scene with all the power of the original flashes of wit, of temper, of sectional animosity and political fear. The events of those days made a deep impression upon the mind of Mr. Hutchins, who was a member of the House from the famous Giddings-Garfield district of Ohio, and he can be relied upon to select the wheat from the chaff in his winnowings from the great verbal mass of the *Congressional Record*. His impartiality can be relied upon, for, like Pryor, Lamar and others who had a part therein, he has won discretion and fairness with gray hairs. Later in the series, Mr. Hutchins will speak less in quotation marks, and show some of the inner work of a time of which much can be written without telling all that is as yet untold.

THE historic town of Phelps, New York, celebrated her centennial anniversary on June 19, in an appropriate manner. The exercises were to be held at Redfield Park, but, owing to a severe rainstorm, they were held in the Presbyterian church. The Rev. A. Titus, of Towanda, Pennsylvania, gave the historical address. Lieut.-Gov. Jones unveiled the \$1,500 monument recently erected, of fine Quincy granite, twenty-five feet high. Hon. Hanford Strubble of Penn Yan, Hon. Wm. Marvin of

Skaneateles, Hon. Richard Marvin of Jamestown, Judge James C. Smith of Canandaigua, Hon. Buren R. Sherman, ex-Governor of Iowa, and formerly a Phelps boy, and J. J. Robison of Ohio, each made short speeches. There was a fine parade in the afternoon, composed of visiting and home fire companies, old residents in carriages, with an industrial display, etc. Among the old residents was Mrs. Cowder of Rochester, 102 years old. A fine display of fireworks closed the festivities of the day. The settlement of the town was made May 14, 1789, by John Decker Robison, but the celebration was deferred until the 19th of June, to give more time to complete all necessary arrangements.

A PRESS dispatch from Philadelphia, under date of July 4, contains interesting information of a purpose that many will wish success. It declares that the Governors of the thirteen original states, who were in Philadelphia in September, 1887, during the time of the Constitutional centennial celebration; have held several conferences for the purpose of devising some plan to commemorate in a fitting manner the great events in the history of the United States in the first one hundred years of American Independence. It was agreed that the best method would be to secure from Congress a return of the sum of \$1,500,000 loaned by the Government to the Centennial Commission in 1876 and afterward returned by that body to the Treasury, the money to be used for the erection of a memorial in Fairmount Park, in that city. A meeting presided over by Gov. Beaver was held in Independence Hall, where Congress first assembled; at which representatives of the thirteen original states were present. A committee was instructed to prepare a bill, to be presented to Congress at its next session, asking that the \$1,500,000 be given

back, to be used for the purpose indicated above.

THE American Ambassadors, Benjamin Franklin and Silas Deane, were received by King Louis XVI., of France, and his Queen, one hundred and eleven years ago, on March 22: and on the following day the Russian Count Tschernscheff, found on the top step of the entrance to the royal palace in Versailles, a letter addressed to M. de Sartines and signed by Mme. de Lamballe. Tschernscheff took the letter home with him, read it, and sent a copy of it to his sovereign, Katherine II., of Russia. A late number of the *Revue Nouvelle* contains the letter. Mme de Lamballe wrote thus: "This morning I was at the Queen's levee, which, on account of the presence of the American Ambassadors, was frightfully long. I have such a headache that I would not write did I not know how anxious you are to know how we liked the gentlemen from America. Well, so, so, la, la. You have the Countess Jule and me to thank for even this much. It cost us no little trouble to get the Queen into the mood to hear them. Unfortunately Mme. Bertin had been with her, and you know how unfavorable to the interests of the modistes the war with England is. Mme. Bertin had poked so much fun at the American Ambassadors that, when they entered, she could hardly preserve her dignity and a straight face. And I do not wonder much at it. They were, in fact, wretchedly dressed. There was nothing distinguished about them. We described to the Queen in vain the simplicity of the costumes of these people and their prejudice against all forms. 'Say what you will,' answered the Queen, 'they do look somewhat like *canaille*.' We laughed at this and she regained her good humor, which she had lost on account of these barbarians. But, I beg of you, spare our decorum, and send us your clown when they come again, so that we may not break down entirely. The Countess Jule and I promise you to do our best to cure the Queen of her prejudice." After copying Mme. de Lamballe's letter Tschernscheff returned it anonymously to

M. de Sartines, who was so provoked by its loss and by the mysteriousness of its reappearance that he offered the police a reward of 10,000 francs for the discovery of the finder. His curiosity was never satisfied. Tschernscheff's sovereign was so pleased with his cleverness in handling the letter that she sent him her picture and a \$2,000 snuff box. In her next letter to him she intimated that Marie Antoinette seemed to be doing a great deal of laughing, and that "she laughed best who laughed last." These statements are given on the authority of the *Revue Nouvelle*.

THE monument to Capt. John Mason, called the "Defender of New England," was unveiled on June 26, at Mystic, on Pequot Hill, the site of the old Pequot fort. The statute is of bronze. It was erected through an appropriation by the State Legislature, and was turned over to the New London County Historical Society, and the design and site were selected by ex-Mayor Simmons, of New London, and R. A. Wheeler, of Stonington. The pedestal is eight feet high, and the statute represents a fighting Puritan of heroic size. It is very imposing, and from it can be seen three states and four counties, twenty islands, and seven light-houses. Capt. Mason's claim to this honor is due to the fact that when the population of the Connecticut colony was only two hundred and fifty, and the hostile Pequot Indians, after reducing the number, were resolved upon murdering them all, Mason and his seventy men, aided by Uncas and a small band of Mohegans, marched on the Pequot fort, containing over seven hundred Indians—nearly the whole tribe—burned it and slaughtered all but seven, and virtually put an end to Indian barbarity, and opened the way to forty years of peace in New England.

THE village on the occasion of the unveiling, was gayly decorated and the people vied with each other to entertain the visitors. At 11 o'clock a special train arrived with Gov. Bulkley and staff, who were escorted by the Governor's foot guards to Pequot Hill, where the

formal exercises took place. Charles E. Dyer, chairman of the Commission, called upon the Rev. Gharles J. Hill, of Stonington, to offer prayer. Mr. Dyer then turned the statue over to the state authorities in a brief speech. The Governor in his speech of acceptance said: "Memorials hastily erected to commemorate patriotic deeds or distinguished services are not always the best evidence of gratitude of a nation or of a state. The records of services which are intended to recall the history of a nation, transmitted from one generation to another, recounting the unselfish devotion, the self-sacrificing, patriotic zeal of her children, constitute a broader and higher ground from which to form a judgment of the men and scenes of the times in which they were participants. We have met here to-day, after a lapse of two centuries, to recall to our minds a man so prominently identified with the history of the little colony which has developed into the broad state of Connecticut that his acts and deeds have survived these centuries, and have become a part of the history of the state. A grateful people directed this memorial statue to be erected here amid scenes where Major John Mason was the leader. The skillful hand of the designer has well displayed in silent bronze the brilliant, daring Indian fighter. Mr. President, on behalf of the state, I accept the charge of this monument, and extend hearty thanks for the fidelity with which the Commission has discharged its trust."

ISAAC H. BROMLEY then delivered the oration. He reviewed the life and character of the "Defender," and gave a brief insight to the troublous times in which he lived, closing with this tribute to his memory: "There is no manlier or more heroic figure than this in all our colonial history. As pioneer, soldier, statesman, we cannot too greatly honor his memory. So here to-day, on the spot where, in the crisis of New England's fate, his unshrinking courage and decisive action determined the destiny of our unborn nation, we raise the figure that perpetuates in lasting bronze the deliverer of New England. But, could the dead eyes be en-

dowed with life and the mute lips clothed with language, looking out upon the peopled continent and reading that wide tribute to his fame, he might well say: Let this be my monument! *Exegi monumentum are perennius.*" A poem by Thomas S. Collier followed, and the exercises closed with the benediction.

In his article upon the Chicago Republican National Convention of 1860, published elsewhere in this issue, Mr. Errett speaks of the influence of the "rail-splitting" episode in Lincoln's life, upon the convention. On July 1, 1889, "Old John Hanks," as he was called in his home neighborhood, and as he will be remembered in history, ended a career that had already extended over eighty-eight years. It was Hanks who furnished the rails that made so dramatic an entrance to the Decatur convention hall; rails that Lincoln had once split upon his farm, and arousing the enthusiasm of Lincoln's friends to fever heat. In the campaign that followed, Hanks, who had been a Democrat all his years, spent a large amount of money and the greater share of his time, in electioneering for his ex-employee; giving one barbecue upon his farm, at which he fed over three thousand guests. He died at his farm, near Decatur, Illinois.

In the death of Mrs. Lucy Ware Webb Hayes, wife of ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes, which occurred at her home in Fremont, Ohio, on the morning of June 25, the country loses a woman whose life has brightened and adorned every station of life she has been called to fill, from that of centre and light of a modest young lawyer's home, to the highest social station of the land, as mistress of the White House for four years. She was born in Chillicothe, Ohio, the daughter of Dr. James Webb, a well-known physician of his day and environment. She became the wife of Gen. Hayes in 1852. Her life from the beginning of the war, during which she labored incessantly for the good of the soldiers in the field, until her death, has been passed in the public view, and although there were many who criticised

some of the social reforms she attempted to introduce in Washington, there were none who withheld praise for her noble womanhood, and high Christian character.

THE death of Mrs. Hayes and that of Mrs. Tyler leaves but six ladies who have occupied the high position of mistress of the White House,—Mrs. James K. Polk, Mrs. Johnson (Harriett Lane), Mrs. U. S. Grant, Mrs. J. A. Garfield, Mrs. Grover Cleveland, and the widow of Col. Robert Tyler,—a son of President Tyler,—who presided at the White House before the President's marriage to Miss Gardiner.

THE address of Louis R. Ehrich, of Colorado Springs, upon "A Colorado National Park," which appears in this number was delivered Tuesday, the 12th of July last, at the Glen Park Assembly, the "Chautauqua of the Rocky Mountains," held near Palmer Lake. It was "Forestry Day." There were other interesting speakers; Col. Edgar T. Ensign, Forestry Commissioner of Colorado; Mr. G. H. Parsons, of Colorado Springs; Mr. A. E. Gipson, of Greeley; Hon. J. Sterling Morton, Ex-Gov. of Nebraska, originator of Arbor Day in America. We bespeak for Mr. Ehrich's communication a careful reading, as a literary production, a rare piece of word-painting, and in behalf of the subject of which it treats it is a matter of great importance, especially to succeeding generations—"Posteritism"—to use Mr. Ehrich's happy phrase. It is to be hoped that Congress will act promptly, not only in the instance specially commended by Mr. Ehrich, but generally in all matters affecting the conservation of our national forests. Colorado, as the Parkland of the nation, has in Mr. Ehrich a gentleman whose observation in other lands, æsthetic tastes and literary abilities, render him her special representative and champion in the matters which his pen so graphically places before our readers.

FOLLOWING close upon the death of Mrs. Hayes, comes that of Mrs. Julia Gardiner Tyler, second wife of John Tyler, who passed

from this life at the Exchange Hotel, in Richmond, Virginia, from the effects of a congestive chill, on July 10, 1889. She had been at the hotel since the preceding Sunday evening, having come from a visit to her son, Lyon G. Tyler, at Williamsburgh, and was to have left Richmond Monday on a visit to another son, on the James River. Tuesday at 11 o'clock she was taken with a chill. Dr. Edward McGuire was sent for, and he was joined by Dr. Hunter McGuire, but medical skill proved of no avail, and she died at 5:15 o'clock in the afternoon. Mrs. Tyler leaves four children, Lyon G. Tyler, president of William and Mary College, Virginia; Gardiner G. Tyler, who lives in Charles City county, Virginia; Dr. Lacklan Tyler, of Washington City, and Mrs. William Ellis, of Montgomery county, Virginia.

MRS. TYLER was born on Gardiner's Island, near East Hampton, New York, in 1820. She was educated at the Chegary Institute, this city, and after a short time spent in travel through Europe, she went to Washington with her father, David Gardiner, in 1844. A few weeks after their arrival they accepted an invitation from President Tyler to attend a pleasure excursion down the river, which took place Feb. 28, on the war steamer *Princeton*. The festivities on that occasion were sadly marred by the explosion of a gun on the vessel, causing loss of life. Among those killed was Miss Gardiner's father. His body was taken to the White House, and Miss Gardiner was thrown a great deal into the society of the President owing to the peculiar circumstances attending her father's death. President Tyler's first wife had died shortly after he entered the White House, and the President paid Miss Gardiner marked attention, which resulted in their marriage in New York city, June, 26, 1844. For the succeeding eight months of President Tyler's term she presided over the White House with tact, grace and dignity. After the 4th of March, 1845, Mrs. Tyler retired with her husband to the seclusion of their country place, "Sherwood Forest," on the banks of the James River, Virginia. She remained in Virginia until after the civil war, her husband having died in the second year of the strife, and then went to reside at her mother's residence on Castleton Hill, Staten Island. After several year's residence there she removed to Richmond, Virginia, where she died.

AMONG THE BOOKS.

"A MANUAL OF HISTORICAL LITERATURE: comprising Brief Descriptions of the Most Important Histories in English, French and German; together with Practical Suggestions as to Methods and Courses of Historical Study. For the use of Students, General Readers, and Collectors of Books." By Charles Kendall Adams, LL.D., Professor of History and President of Cornell University. Published by Harper & Brothers, New York.

This, the third edition, revised and enlarged, of President Adams' admirable work, brings the subject down to the present date, embracing all the main historical works of recent years. It has filled already an important place in historical literature, and that field of usefulness will be now widened and enlarged. The aim of the author has been, as we learn from his own words, "to provide a book such as would have been of most service to me when, as a university student, I was reading in various directions for help in carrying on my historical studies." In his attempt to supply that want he has held in mind two purposes: To furnish, as best he could, such information about the most desirable books as the historical reader and student is likely to profit by; and to suggest the proper methods and order of using the materials so indicated. The high reputation the work has already attained, the attention that has been bestowed upon it, and the publishing of yet another edition, are sufficient guarantee that his ambition and purpose have by no means miscarried.

"MEMORIAL TO HONORED KINDRED." By Charles W. Darling.

We have on several occasions made mention of this volume, which Gen. Charles W. Darling, secretary of the Oneida Historical Society, has had in preparation; and now that it has come to hand, one cannot but confess that it is all in

the way of a memorial that even Gen. Darling's reputation as a careful and exact historian and biographer, would lead us to expect. It is a beautiful and thoughtful memorial to those who have gone before—to the Darlings, the Pierreponts, the Haynes, the Chaunceys, the Danas, and others who are a part of the designated ancestral line; and, incidentally, much of general history may be found within its covers. Several fine illustrations adorn the work.

"EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES: ITS HISTORY FROM THE EARLIEST SETTLEMENTS." By Richard G. Boone, A. M., Professor of Pedagogy in Indiana University. (In the International Education Series.) Published by D. Appleton & Co., New York.

Sufficient has, perhaps, been said in all quarters as to what education has done for the American people, but by no means has enough been written of the means by which this general enlightenment came to be; of the men who laid this sure foundation under the republic; of the evolution by which all the light of today has come. Professor Boone has realized this fact, and out of deep study and extended research, has added another to the few histories of the American educational systems we now possess. While he has produced a work of value to the general student he has still kept within the limits of the series of which the work is a part,—and the result is "a text-book, suggestive of lines of thought for the teacher, and sources of information." "One constant aim," the writer adds, "avoiding mere description on the one side, and personal criticism on the other, to exhibit faithfully the development of contemporary institutions, and educational forces, with something of their national setting."

The ground is very fully covered,—from the earliest schools of the colonial period, through

the colonial colleges and school system; two chapters upon the schools of the Revolutionary period; and very extended accounts of all the forms and features of educational development from that day to this. Very deep research has been required, and to that the author has added an earnest appreciation of the magnitude of his work, and a purpose of fairness and historical accuracy. Whether in the school, the college or general library, the book will prove its usefulness, and, perhaps, incite others to more detailed investigation in a field too long neglected.

"AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LOCAL CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. VOL. I, DEVELOPMENT OF THE TOWNSHIP, HUNDRED AND SHIRE." By George E. Howland, Professor of History in the University of Nebraska. Published by the Publication Agency of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore. Extra Vol. IV. in the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Herbert B. Adams, Editor.

In speaking of this work, one does not know which to most admire—the industry shown in the continued and painstaking collection of materials from a myriad sources, or the order and system with which the gathered mass has been arranged. The work finds a place of its own; for the development of local institutions in the United States has never been so clearly and thoroughly treated. The author does not claim the full merit his work has really achieved when he names it merely an introduction to the study of our local constitution; which term we must understand as meaning that his study of the theme does not render unnecessary "the special treatment of the subject for any locality." As a discussion of the theme in its broad and general meaning, he covers the ground with a completeness that leaves little more to be said.

"AN HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE UNITED STATES." By Townsend Mac Coun. Published by Townsend Mac Coun, New York.

We have here an historical object lesson, or rather a series of object lessons, that show the geographical evolution of America as no letter press could; as one map follows the other, picturing the changes that have occurred in

the political outlines of America from the earliest days of discovery to the present. In the words of the author: "Historical geography is in the realm of political history. Its province is to draw a map of a country as it appeared after each of the different changes it has gone through, and then point out the historical causes which have led to the changes on the map. This I have endeavored to do, so far as our own country is concerned, in the simplest and shortest way, always employing in each series of maps the same color to represent the same thing, that each step may be clearly traced by the eye." How thoroughly he has covered the field and accomplished his purpose can be best understood from the following description of the maps, and the events they portray:

Discovery: 1474, Toscanelli's map: idea of the West before Columbus sailed; 1516, Leonardo da Vinci's map; 1530, the Sloane manuscript; 1541, Mercator's map; 1550, Spanish exploration of New Mexico; 1566, Zaltieri's map.

Colonial Period: 1606, King James patent; 1609-1626, Virginia company; Council of Plymouth for New England; 1640, foreign claims to the Atlantic slope; 1660, early English colonies; 1664, grants to the Duke of York; 1650 to 1763, French exploration and posts in the Mississippi Valley; 1763, English colonies during the French and Indian War; drainage map of the United States.

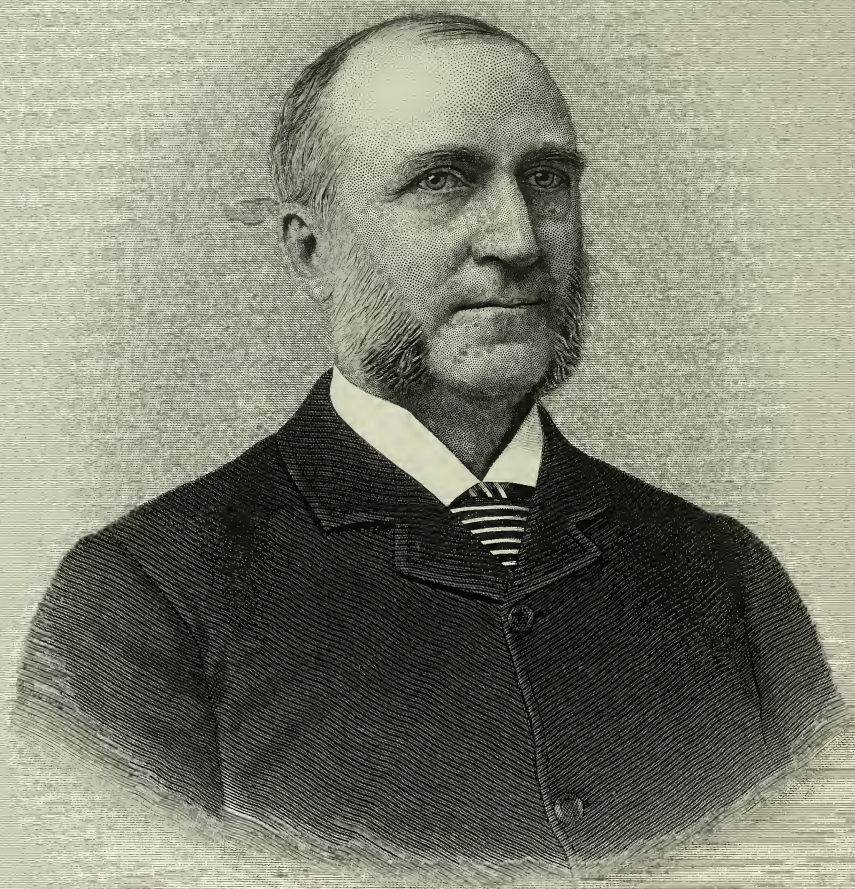
National Growth: 1755-1763, Spanish, French and English division of North America; 1763-1783, result of the French and Indian War; 1783, boundaries proposed by France for the United States at the second treaty of Paris; 1783, various lines discussed; 1783, Main Boundary: finally settled by the treaty of Washington in 1842; 1783-1801, result of the Revolution; 1801-1803, Spain cedes Louisiana to France; 1803-1821, result of the Louisiana purchase; 1821-1845, result of the Florida purchase; 1845-1848, the annexation of Texas and acquisition of the Oregon country; 1848-1853, the result of the Mexican War; 1853-1889, the Gadsden purchase and Russian cession.

Development of the Commonwealth: 1775-1783, the original states during the Revolution; 1783, the land claims of the original states; 1787, the original public domain; shows also the land cessions; 1790, United States; 1800, United States; 1810, United States; 1820, United States; 1830, United States; 1840, East half of the United States; 1840, West half of the United States; 1850, East half of the United States; 1854, West Half of the United States; 1861, Civil War. The Southern Confederacy; 1861, East half of the United States; 1861, West half of the United States; 1870, West half of the United States; 1890, West half of the United States. (Shows the new states as such.)

“THE STORY OF VERMONT.” By John L. Heaton. (In “The Story of the States” series.) Published by the D. Lothrop Co., Boston.

Between the days of the old French wars,—or from the beginning of the seventeenth century,—to near the close of the nineteenth, lie near three centuries of action, that certainly

do not lack for points of historic interest. Vermont has certainly won her way into the peace and prosperity of to-day by a path of danger and difficulty,—for, “in the brief period since white men first made their homes within sight of the Green Mountains, their lives have been menaced by savages, their lands coveted by robbers clothed with law and power, their families driven forth in terror when invading armies came among them, while decisive battles of three great wars were fought on the lake of their glowing sunsets.” Mr. Heaton has followed the story of this, the first state admitted to the new-formed Union, with closeness of detail sufficient to furnish the story in full, and yet not with such minuteness as to detract from the general interest; following in that regard the general plan contemplated for this series. The result is satisfactory on the whole; and there are some inferences and conclusions here and there not present in all the histories of this state. The work is very fully illustrated.



Charukey M. Sepew.

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1750—KENTUCKY HISTORY—1800.

KENTUCKY PIONEERS DURING THE LATTER HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

IF the views of Dr. Abbott, of New Jersey; of Professor G. Frederick Wright, of Oberlin College, Ohio, and of a number of other distinguished scientists, on the question of man's preglacial existence on the North American continent were fully established (and of their correctness the testimony of late has been largely accumulative and strongly confirmatory, some palæolithic implements having been lately found in the gravel deposits at Trenton, New Jersey, by Dr. Abbott, and two by Dr. C. L. Metz, of Ohio, in the valley of the Little Miami river, as certified by those gentlemen and also by Professors Putnam and Wright, and others), it will probably soon be demonstrated in view of the foregoing facts that preglacial man existed on the Kentucky as well as on the Ohio side of the Ohio river. And why not? Certainly the northern portion of Kentucky is included in the *Drift* or *Glacial* area. Professor Wright's recent investigations on this point leave no doubt on his mind, as his latest

utterances clearly show. He says that "the recent discoveries in the Little Miami valley show that in Ohio, as well as on the Delaware, man was an inhabitant before the close of the glacial period. We can henceforth speak with confidence of preglacial man in Ohio." And if in Ohio why not in Kentucky, in view of well established facts?

The mound builders, too, occupied Kentucky in considerable numbers, as the extent of their works there abundantly shows. And certainly, if the mound builders were a people other than Indians who were the immediate or remote predecessors of the present savage races of North America (a point about which archæologists in these latter days differ in opinion), Kentucky was once occupied by a prehistoric people, whose age would have to be counted by centuries, if counted at all, while preglacial man's history runs still further back into the hoary *Past*, by thousands and thousands of years—begins and ends indeed in pre-

glacial ages—in the millennial epochs anterior to and during the great ice period of our continent of which geologists and archæologists discourse upon with the utmost confidence.

The Indians, too, were inhabitants of Kentucky after its occupancy by preglacial man, and by the prehistoric mound builders, as witness the battle of Blue Licks in 1782, and various other battlefields of Kentucky, in which the red man was the formidable combatant of the white man, in which the Indian was not seldom victorious over “the hunters of Kentucky!”

The Mammoth, the Mastodon and probably the Megatherium, too, were there, contemporaneously with the mound builder and his Mongolian successor, the North American savage, for proof of which reference might be made to the deposits of Big Bone Lick, as well as other places there that have been found prolific in skeletons of extinct monsters.

Previous to the beginning of the latter half of the eighteenth century, the wilderness of Kentucky had not been penetrated by English speaking explorers. Before that time (1750) it had not received to any considerable extent the historian’s recognition. In 1751, Capt. Christopher Gist explored a portion of the Kentucky country. He was a Virginian, living near the Potomac river, not far from the mouth of Will’s creek, where Fort Cumberland was built in 1754–5; but he soon afterwards moved about two days’ journey farther west, to a point near the Mon-

ongahela river. He was sent out as an explorer in the interest of a corporation known as the “Ohio Company,” a land company in which the Washingtons and other Virginians and some English capitalists were interested. Capt. Gist passed down the Ohio in May, 1751, to the mouth of the Kentucky river, and travelled along the shores thereof towards its source, and over the Highlands of Kentucky to Virginia, probably by way of the Cumberland Gap.

Dr. Thomas Walker, a few years later (probably about the year 1760), explored the valleys of the Cumberland and Kentucky rivers. He gave name to the first, and called the last Louisa river, which it bore some years.

Col. James Smith, accompanied by Uriah Stone, Joshua Horton, William Baker and a colored man, crossed the mountains to the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers in 1766, to examine the country, “in view of future settlements.” Soon thereafter some North Carolina traders entered Kentucky by way of the Cumberland Gap. They crossed the Licking river and moved in the direction of the mouth of the Scioto river, following, says the author of “Western Annals,” the Indian trail which was the line of communication between the Northern and Southern nations.

In 1767 John Finley was engaged with others, in trading with the Indians along the above named “trail,” within the present limits of Kentucky.

In 1769 Col. Daniel Boone, accom-

panied by John Finley, John Stewart, Joseph Holden, James Moncey and William Cool, explored Kentucky, but owing to Indian hostilities, did not succeed in effecting a permanent settlement there. In the summer of the same year (1769), a party of twenty North Carolinians and Virginians passed into the central portions of Kentucky by way of the Cumberland Gap, and returned in April, 1770.

In 1770, Squire Boone, one of Col. Daniel Boone's brothers, with a companion, both of North Carolina, visited Kentucky. Boone returned, but his friend got lost, and either perished in the wilderness or was killed by the Indians.

In 1771, Col. Boone, who was captured by the Indians the year before, succeeded in making his escape and reaching his home in North Carolina. In the same year, Casper Mansco, with other hunters, explored that portion of the Kentucky along the Cumberland river, generally designated as "The Barrens."

In 1772, the House of Burgesses of Virginia, as the Legislature in colonial times was called, passed "An Act to establish the county of Fincastle." It embraced within its limits a portion of Southwestern Virginia and *all of Kentucky*; for be it known that at this time the "Old Dominion" claimed ownership of the soil and jurisdiction, from the Chesapeake Bay on the east to the Mississippi river on the west. Fincastle county continued in being four years, and until 1776, when the

Legislature terminated it by erecting the counties of Washington and Montgomery in the Virginia portion of it, and the county of Kentucky to include all of the present portion of the state of Kentucky within its boundaries, Harrodsburg, a town near the Kentucky river, laid out and settled by Col. James Harrod two years before, being established as the county seat of Kentucky county, and where also the first court for said county was held in 1777, being the first ever held within the present limits of the state of Kentucky. Col. Harrod was a Virginian, and became one of Kentucky's most efficient pioneers and military leaders. He is entitled to the honor of having made the first permanent settlement in Kentucky—Harrod's station being built in 1774 and Boone's in 1775—Harrodsburg is therefore a year older than Boonesborough.

The discovery of the Big Bone Lick was one of the important events that characterized the year 1773 in Kentucky. In the same year, Gen. Thomson, of Pennsylvania, surveyed lands on the North Fork of the Licking river; and in this year too, Mr. Thomas Bullitt, a Virginia surveyor, led an exploring party into Kentucky, some of them to the country bordering on the Kentucky river, the remainder to the "Falls of the Ohio." His surveys extended to Salt river also. Several of the Bullitts were conspicuous men for many years in Kentucky, and were men of distinguished ancestry in Virginia, who were honorably identified

with the judiciary of that state, and had borne a conspicuous part in the wars on the western frontiers. A. Scott Bullitt was lieutenant governor of Kentucky from 1800 to 1804.

In 1773 the McAfees settled in Kentucky, from Botelourt county, Virginia. There were three of them, (George, James and Robert), and all were enterprising, energetic, brave men, just the kind of men to be valuable acquisitions to a frontier country, and especially valuable at a time when Indian fighting needed to be done. A son of the last named (Robert), who also bore his father's name, attained to considerable fame as a historian, being author of the "History of the late war in the Western country," published in 1816. He was also a distinguished officer in Col. Richard M. Johnson's regiment of Kentucky Volunteers in the battle of the Thames; and served as Lieutenant-Governor of Kentucky from 1820 to 1824. He was in the public service as late as 1837, being then minister to Columbia.

In the spring of 1775, Cols. Richard Henderson and Nathaniel Hart, both North Carolinians, entered Kentucky as the alleged proprietors of a considerable portion of the country bordering on the Tennessee, Cumberland, Ohio and Kentucky rivers, to which they had obtained title from certain chiefs of the Cherokee Indians, at a meeting that was held in March of this year at the "Sycamore Shoals," on a branch of the Holston river. This sale being subsequently ratified by the whole

Cherokee nation, Henderson and Hart thereupon offered the land for sale, invited settlers and (with Col. Boone's assistance) erected a stockade fort, called Boone's Station, now Boonesborough, and then, without delay, called upon the settlers to send representatives to Boone's Station to organize a government. Four settlements (Boone's Station, Harrod's Station, Boiling Spring Settlement and St. Asaph, which had been established this year by Col. Benjamin Logan), were represented by seventeen delegates. Col. Daniel Boone, John Floyd, Col. James Harrod, Col. Richard Calloway and probably Col. Benjamin Logan were of these seventeen. This was probably the first legislature that held a session west of the Alleghanies. It met, says the historian, "beneath a great elm tree that stood outside of the fort." Rev. John Lythe was chosen chaplain, and after his service was ended, Col. Richard Henderson addressed them at length as to their duties, whereupon on the 23d day of May, 1775, they proceeded to business without delay. They soon agreed upon the terms of a compact for the organization of the "Colony of Transylvania," passed nine laws (see Bancroft's History of the United States, vol. 8, pages 368-9, also Western Annals, page 237), agreed to hold another meeting during the ensuing September, and then on the 27th of May adjourned.

These preliminary movements, by the primitive settlers of Kentucky, looking to self-government, met with

the most decided disapproval of Lord Dunmore, the colonial governor of Virginia, who promptly issued his proclamation against "one Richard Henderson and other disorderly persons who, under a pretense of purchase from the Indians, have set up a claim to the lands of the crown." That proclamation was fatal to the "Colony of Transylvania." It had "ceased to be" when the time had come for the meeting of its second legislature, *which never met!*

In 1775 the wife and daughters of Col. Daniel Boone reached Boone's Station, and were the first white women that settled in the Kentucky wilderness. Col. George Rogers Clark, Simon Kenton, Col. Benjamin Logan, Gabriel Jones, Col. John Todd, and, as appears from the foregoing paragraph, Col. Richard Henderson and Col. Nathaniel Hart, were among the accessions of prominent men to the population of Kentucky, during the year 1775. Col. John Todd was a Pennsylvanian, joined the army of Gen. George Rogers Clark in 1778, was appointed Colonel Commandant of Illinois county, and was killed in the battle of Blue Licks, in 1782. Col. Benjamin Logan, afterwards a general, was also a Pennsylvanian, and was one of Kentucky's most valuable pioneer settlers. Simon Kenton, afterwards Gen. Kenton, was born in Fauquier county, Virginia, also became a distinguished pioneer and soldier, and died in Logan county, Ohio, in 1836, having moved there some years before.

In 1776 Col. George Rogers Clark and Gabriel Jones, both of Virginia, settled in Kentucky, and at a meeting of the Kentucky settlers, held at Harrodsburg, June 6, 1776, they were chosen to represent the scattered western inhabitants of Fincastle county in the Virginia House of Burgesses of said colony. They accepted the trust and travelled on foot through the wilderness, most likely by way of Cumberland Gap, to the city of Williamsburg, the colonial seat of government, and it has been generally understood that it was through their instrumentality that Fincastle county was abolished by act of the legislature, and Kentucky county, which included within its boundaries the whole of what is now the State of Kentucky, was established in its stead, which was done December 7, 1776, Harrodsburg being made the county seat, where the first court was held in 1777. The portion of Virginia proper, of Fincastle county was divided into the counties of Washington and Montgomery. Gabriel Jones was killed by the Indians near the Blue Licks on his return journey made by way of the Ohio river.

Colonel, afterwards General George Rogers Clark, was long and conspicuously identified with early-time Kentucky history. Few occupied the "dark and bloody ground" before he did, and none occupied it with more solid, substantial benefit to it—no more valuable man, no more useful pioneer, no more gallant soldier ever identified himself with the early occupants of the

wilderness of Kentucky than George Rogers Clark. He was born in Albemarle county, Virginia, November 19, 1752, was captain of a company in Lord Dunmore's army in 1774, received authority from Gov. Patrick Henry of Virginia in 1778, to raise and command the forces to subjugate the hostile posts north-west of the Ohio, and served under Baron Steuben in the Revolutionary war, a war in which four of his brothers served, one of whom losing his life. His brother, William Clark, early settled at the Falls of the Ohio, afterwards went to Missouri, became Governor, after serving as Commander with Capt. Lewis in the expedition to the Pacific in 1804-6.

Gen. Green Clay, a prominent gentleman of Powhatan county, Virginia, settled in Kentucky, in 1777, was elected with John Brown in 1782, a member of the legislature of Virginia, and also at various other times; and in 1789 served with Col. Humphrey Marshall and Gen. Benjamin Logan as member from Kentucky in the Virginia Convention, called to consider the important question of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States. He had command of three thousand Kentucky troops in 1813, at the siege of Fort Meigs, and successfully defended the fort against a large force of British and Indians under Gen. Proctor and the Indian Chief Tecumseh.

Gen. Clay was much in public life, serving his country faithfully and long, crowned with honors. He was a rela-

tive of Henry Clay, and was the father of Cassius M. Clay of whom the country has heard much. He went to Kentucky as a surveyor and acquired large wealth as a land owner.

Col. Bland Ballard, a native of Fredericksburg, Virginia, born there October 16, 1761, settled in Kentucky, in 1777, and died there in 1853. He took part in many of the fights with the Indians, was a gallant soldier, a valuable pioneer, and a man of popularity and great worth. He served in Bowman's campaign, in Col. George Rogers Clark's subsequently, and was with Gen. Wayne in the decisive battle of "Fallen Timbers" in August, 1794. Finally he led the advance at the battle of the River Raisin, and was wounded and taken prisoner, but faring better than many of his Kentucky comrades in that butchery he escaped massacre.

Col. John Logan and Capt. William Hardin who settled in Kentucky early enough to have been contemporaries of Col. Ballard and of many of his predecessors, were valuable acquisitions to Kentucky and meritorious men, as citizens, pioneers, hunters, soldiers, and especially as antagonists of the fierce savages that prowled about in the Kentucky wilderness.

In April, 1777, the legal voters of Kentucky county elected Cols. John Todd and Richard Callaway members of the Virginia legislature. During this year was also witnessed the first marriage in Kentucky, Lieut. Linn being the groom. And it was in August, 1777, when Col. John Bowman, of

Virginia, re-enforced the Kentucky settlers with one hundred men. He and Col. Benjamin Logan two years later conducted a rather profitless expedition to the Indian towns north of the Ohio river.

In 1778 Col. George Rogers Clark fortified Corn Island opposite the present site of the City of Louisville, and there rendezvoused the small army commanded by him in the expedition against Kaskaskia, in which he was so preeminently successful.

In 1779 Col. Stephen Trigg and Major George M. Bedinger, both from Virginia, settled in Kentucky. The former was killed at the Battle of Blue Licks while in command of the right wing of the army, and the latter held a Major's commission in said battle, fought August 19, 1782, which was one of the most sanguinary ever fought with the Indians on Kentucky soil, about one third of the one hundred and eighty-two Kentuckians that went into battle having been killed! Col. Daniel Boone had command of the left wing, and one of his sons was of the slain, as were also Cols. Trigg and Todd, and the brave Major Harlan, whose command was directly in front of the army. Major Bedinger was an officer in the expedition against the Indians of Cols. Brown and Logan in 1779, commanded a battalion of Virginians at the defeat of St. Clair in 1791, and served as a member of Congress from 1803 to 1807.

Major William Trigg, also an early-time emigrant to Kentucky, figured

conspicuously in early times in said state, and was *aide* to Brig.-Gen. Hopkins in the battle of the Thames, and filled with great ability many important civil offices.

It was during this year (1779) that the first permanent improvements were made at Lexington.

It is of historical record that the winter of 1779-80 was exceedingly severe, many horses and cattle in Kentucky dying of thirst and starvation.

It was during this year (1780) that Cols. John Todd and Richard Callaway again turned up as representatives of the county of Kentucky in the legislature of Virginia; and it was in the same year that said legislative body authorized the location of a town at the "Falls of the Ohio," which has grown into the city of Louisville in a little more than a hundred years, and which on the occasion of the celebration of the close of its first century (in 1880) numbered by actual count, according to the census reports, 123,758 inhabitants.

Several important events marked the history of Kentucky in 1780. The first was the invasion of the country by Col. Byrd, a British officer, with a force of 600 men, Canadians and Indians. They marched from Detroit by way of the Miami river, and following up the Licking river, after crossing the Ohio, until they reached Ruddel's Station on the South Fork of said stream, which being indefensible at the time was surrendered on the condition of the preservation of the lives

of the captives, which was done. Col. Byrd then marched his forces five miles further to Martin's Station, which was also surrendered without a contest, capturing extensive spoils, but killing no prisoners. And then the enemy returned by the way he came.

This enterprising and *surprizing* exploit of the British Colonel roused up the unsuspecting Kentuckians, and it was not long until a large force was raised to retaliate, a measure approved by the Governor of Virginia (Thomas Jefferson), who thought the time had fully come for punishing the Indians on the northwest of the Ohio, who the Kentuckians also thought were inconveniently near neighbors, and this force promptly elected Gen. George Rogers Clark their commander-in-chief, who as promptly issued marching orders.

The enemy was met in the Miami and Mad river valleys, and a well-fought battle ensued, one of their chief towns (Piqua, on Mad river) was destroyed and never rebuilt, seventeen of the warriors were slain at the expense of about as many lives on the side of the Kentuckians, and a number of villages around the head waters of the Miami were destroyed, also much corn. The chastisement of the Indians was severe, and sorely felt, and for a time secured quiet and peace for the Kentucky settlers.

In 1780, Col. Humphrey Marshall, a relative of Chief Justice Marshall of the United States Supreme Court, emigrated to Kentucky, and for many

years cut a large figure there as a pioneer, politician, statesman and historian. He was from Virginia, often a member of the Legislature, a member of the Virginia Constitutional Convention in 1788, called to consider the propriety of adopting the Constitution of the United States, and a member of the United States Senate from 1795 to 1801, being elected over John Breckenridge. In 1808 he had a quarrel with Henry Clay, which ended in a duel.

In 1781 the Virginia Legislature subdivided the county of Kentucky into the three counties of Jefferson, Fayette and Lincoln, Louisville being established as the county seat of Jefferson county; Lexington, of Fayette county; and Danville, of Lincoln county. By this act of the Legislature of the old mother of states and of statesmen, the county of Kentucky, after an existence of five years, was consigned to "the tomb of the Capulets" and county seat as well. These three counties constituted one judicial district, and Judge Harry Innes was appointed judge. He was a gentleman of eminent talents and high character. Judge Innes was born in Caroline county, Virginia, in 1752, early entered public life, and after serving some years as judge, holding court in the above named counties, he served as attorney general, also member of the board of war, and from 1787 to 1816 he was Judge of the United States District Court for Kentucky. He died in 1816.

Col. Richard M. Johnson was a na-

tive of Kentucky, and thus far has been the only native very conspicuously identified with early time Kentucky history, of whom I am about to give an extended biographical sketch. Col. Johnson was born at Bryant's Station, October 17, 1781, and while yet a young man, became prominently identified with the political, civil and military history of Kentucky. He was educated at Transylvania University, became a lawyer, and as early as 1805 was elected a member of the State Legislature. He served in Congress from 1807 to 1819, and again from 1829 to 1837, and was a member of the United States Senate from 1819 to 1829, making a service of thirty-two years in the two houses of the American Congress, besides presiding in the Senate four years, from 1837 to 1841, as Vice-President of the United States. Among the most prominent and popular measures Col. Johnson advocated in Congress were the running of the United States mail stages on Sundays, the abolishment of imprisonment for debt, and the granting of liberal pensions to soldiers.

Col. Johnson raised a cavalry regiment of Kentuckians during the war of 1812, and distinguished himself as its commander, especially at the battle of the Thames, October 5, 1813, where he had a hand to hand fight with Tecumseh, and was badly wounded.

Gen. Joseph Desha was a soldier and statesman, a native of Pennsylvania, born in 1768, emigrated to Kentucky in 1781, and served as a volunteer in

Gen. Wayne's army in 1794. He was a major-general in the battle of the Thames, served in Congress from 1807 to 1819, and was governor of Kentucky from 1824 to 1828. His death occurred at Georgetown, Kentucky, October 13, 1842.

In 1782, Hon. John Brown, a man of great ability, who had served in the Revolutionary war under Washington and Lafayette, left his native state (Virginia) and emigrated to Kentucky. He was a student at Princeton College when he joined the army, and afterwards completed his education at William and Mary. He located as a lawyer at Frankfort, but the people of Kentucky demanded his services, and elected him and Gen. Green Clay the same year to represent their interests in the State Legislature. He was also elected a member of the Continental Congress of 1787-8, and of the Federal Congress of 1789-91, and a United States Senator from 1793 to 1805, and died at Frankfort, Kentucky, in 1837. He was highly honored as a citizen, patriot and statesman.

In 1782 Col. James Garrard, born in Stafford county, Virginia, in 1749, also settled in Kentucky. He was an officer of the Revolution and served in the Virginia legislature and that of his adopted state, after Kentucky's admission into the Union. Col. Garrard was Governor of Kentucky from 1796 to 1804, was a man of high character and popular with the people.

In 1783 John Filson, a professional teacher from Pennsylvania, located in

Kentucky and became its first historian. He was born near the Brandywine, about 1747, and for a few years traveled extensively in the West. In 1788 he formed a partnership with Matthias Denman and Robert Patterson to lay out a town on the north side of the Ohio, opposite the mouth of the Licking river, but before it was accomplished Filson was supposed to have been killed by the Indians, and Israel Ludlow, one of Judge Symmes' surveyors, took his place in the firm and the land was surveyed into lots, and as the result of a little less than a century's work, there exists there now a city (Cincinnati) of more than a quarter of a million people.

In the year 1783 the population of Kentucky was ascertained approximately to be about twelve thousand, but the increase had been so great that the population in the early summer of 1784 was confidently placed by the best authorities at twenty thousand; and at the close of the year at thirty thousand. During this year Gen. Daniel Brodhead opened a store at Louisville.

In 1784 Col. Richard C. Anderson, a surveyor in the interest of the Virginia Continental Line, opened an office at Louisville and proceeded to have the lands surveyed and parcelled out among the 1,124 soldiers of said line, two and one-half millions of acres of land in Kentucky having been provided for said purpose by the Virginia legislature. A larger tract was dedicated in like manner to a class of

troops known as the State Line, being three and a half million of acres, with the proviso that if the good lands in Kentucky proved insufficient the deficiency was to be supplied by lands lying between the Little Miami and Scioto rivers north of the Ohio, known ever since as the Virginia Military Lands.

In 1784 Gen Wilkinson opened a store at Lexington, which was the second in the then three counties of what is now Kentucky.

Generals Brodhead and Wilkinson both had some military reputation, but were not to a great extent identified with the military history of Kentucky. Brodhead, especially, was not, but they were Kentucky's earliest merchants. The former lived in Pennsylvania the most of his life; the latter was born in Maryland.

Soon after the close of the Revolutionary War, Christopher Greenup of Virginia, in which he had served both as an officer and in the ranks, left his native state and cast in his lot with the people of Kentucky, and very few, if any, located there, that were more valuable citizens or men of higher character. Col. Christopher Greenup was patriotic to the core from early manhood to old age, and very popular with the people of Kentucky, both as a lawyer and public officer. He was frequently a legislator, a Presidential elector in 1809, had served in Congress from 1792 to 1797, and was Governor of Kentucky from 1804 to 1808. He died at Frankfort, Kentucky, April 24, 1818.

Gen. Charles Scott was born in Cumberland county, Virginia, in 1733; was in Braddock's defeat in 1755; served with distinguished bravery throughout the Revolutionary War at Trenton, Monmouth, Stony Point and other places, and in 1785 he settled in Woodford county, Kentucky. He served as the commander of the Kentucky troops in 1791, with St. Clair, and had led earlier in the year an independent expedition to the Wabash against hostile Indians, which was successful. Gen. Scott also had command of 1,600 Kentucky volunteers, in Gen. Wayne's army at the battle of "Fallen Timbers" in August, 1794, and acquitted himself in said battle to the entire satisfaction of the commander-in-chief. Major-Gen. Scott had command of other expeditions against marauding Indians, and was eminently popular in Kentucky and also stood high with President Washington. He was a Presidential elector at Washington's second election and at three subsequent Presidential elections. In 1808 Gen. Scott was elected Governor of Kentucky, and served until 1812. His death occurred in 1822, aged almost ninety years.

Col. John Hardin was one of Kentucky's immigrants of 1786. He was born on the first day of October, 1753, served with distinction in the Indian wars on the frontiers, and was a first class hunter, pioneer and soldier. He was an officer in Morgan's celebrated rifle regiment, and commanded a detachment of Kentuckians under Gen.

Harmar, on the Maumee, in October, 1790. He was also in command in the Gen. Scott expedition to the Wabash in May, 1791. Col. Hardin was killed by a marauding party of treacherous savages, within the present limits of Hardin county, Ohio (named in honor of him), in 1792. He was on a mission of peace to the Indians, having a flag of truce, and it is supposed they murdered him to get his horse and equipments.

Judge Thomas Todd, a revolutionary soldier from Virginia, born in King and Queen's county, January, 23, 1765, removed to Kentucky in 1787, and located in Danville—was clerk of some courts until 1801—served as judge of several state courts until 1807, when he became associate judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, and served as such until his death, in 1826.

Gen. John Adair, born in Chester county, South Carolina, in 1758, emigrated to Kentucky in 1787, and served in the border warfare of the time as a major, was elected a member of the Kentucky legislature, and was chosen speaker. He was also elected a member of the constitutional convention of 1799, served as United States Senator in 1805-6, and commanded the Kentucky troops at the battle of New Orleans, in 1815, and served in the popular branch of Congress from 1831 to 1833. Gen. Adair was a Revolutionary soldier, fought the Indians as a subordinate officer under Gens. St. Clair, Wilkinson and Scott in 1791-3, and was Governor of Kentucky from 1820

to 1824. He also served as *aide* to Gen. Shelby at the battle of the Thames, and in November, 1814, was made a Brigadier-General of the Kentucky militia. Gen. Adair was fond of military life, enjoyed the "pride, pomp and circumstance of glorious war," was patriotic from youth to old age, and always a gallant soldier—a brave man. He died in 1840.

Gen. Isaac Shelby was born in the state of Maryland, in 1750, was a surveyor, and in 1774 he was a lieutenant in a company commanded by his father, Capt. Evan Shelby, in the battle of Point Pleasant, fought October 10th of said year, by Gen. Andrew Lewis, who commanded the left wing of Lord Dunmore's army, and a large force of Indians under Cornstalk, who fought all day, but were defeated. The youthful lieutenant joined the Revolutionary army early, was promoted to a captaincy, then became a colonel, and as such distinguished himself at the battle of King's Mountain, in 1780, by defeating the British Commander, Major Ferguson. He subsequently served under Gens. Marion and Greene. In 1779 he was a member of the legislature of Virginia, and after the battle of "King's Mountain" was elected twice a member of the North Carolina legislature (in 1781-82), which body gave him a vote of thanks and a sword, on account of his highly meritorious conduct as a commander.

In 1788, Gen. Shelby, the hero of "King's Mountain," took up his residence permanently in Kentucky, set-

tling in Lincoln county. He was a member of the convention in 1792, that met to form a state constitution, Congress having authorized the admission into the Union of the state of Kentucky. At the first election held for state officers, Gen. Isaac Shelby was elected Governor and served as such from 1792 to 1796; and subsequently served as Kentucky's war governor, from 1812 to 1816. In 1813 at the head of four thousand men from Kentucky, Gen. Shelby joined Gen. Harrison and greatly aided him in obtaining the grand victory of the Thames, and for his bravery and services Congress voted him a gold medal. His son James served as Major with great credit. I have already stated how gallantly Col. Richard M. Johnson's regiment (his brother James being second in command) fought to obtain the victory at the Thames—it was Kentucky fighting Tecumseh and his savages—and the Kentuckians were victorious. After an honorable, manly career, Gen. Shelby closed his long, useful life, in Lincoln county, Kentucky, July 18, 1826.

Judge George Nicholas was born in Hanover, Virginia, was educated at William and Mary College, and was closely identified with the Revolutionary war, both in the field and in the councils of Virginia. He held an important military office in the army, and was a leading member of the state convention which ratified the Federal Constitution in 1788. Judge Nicholas was often a member of the state legislature, and it

was said its most influential member. In 1790 he settled in Kentucky and there soon rose to distinction. In 1792 he was elected a member of the state convention which formed the Constitution, under which the state government went into operation, and Judge Nicholas is uniformly credited with its authorship. He was chosen the first Attorney-General of the state, and was a lawyer of eminent ability and learning. As a statesman Judge Nicholas stood high both in Virginia and Kentucky, and as a soldier in command of a regiment Col. Nicholas was a "man of mark." He died in Kentucky in 1799.

In May, 1780, the Virginia legislature adopted a preamble and resolution having in view the ultimate establishment of an institution of learning in Kentucky; and it seems that to this proceeding in "the long ago," is fairly traceable the beginning of Transylvania University, at Lexington, Kentucky. Gradually and slowly this grand enterprise, in the Kentucky wilderness, gained strength. In 1783, three years after the above action by the Virginia legislature, in behalf of educational interests, John Filson, the professional teacher from the East, arrived at Lexington and advertised himself as an academy teacher. Of course Transylvania's growth from its very small beginnings must have been exceedingly slow at first, but it seems to have been fast enough to require a president at least as early as 1794, for it was in that year that Judge Harry Toulmin was

chosen and he served as such two years when he was elected Secretary of State, and continued therein from 1796 to 1804. He was an eminent jurist, and wrote a number of law books; also a "Description of Kentucky."

John Breckinridge, John J. Crittenden, Thomas Metcalf, George M. Bibb, Benjamin Hardin, John Rowan, John Chambers, Robert Wickliffe, Charles A. Wickliffe, Robert Trimble, Charles Scott Todd, John Pope, Buckner Thurston, John Breathitt, William T. Barry, William A. Trimble and Henry Clay were Kentucky gentlemen of talents and great promise, but most if not all of them were yet in early manhood and did not fully enter into political life until after the closing years of the eighteenth century; and if some of them had barely commenced their public career before the nineteenth century had well opened upon them, they had not become "much known to fame." That being the fact, these gentlemen-statesmen—some of them soldier-statesmen, too—will have no further notice in this paper, as it is devoted to the Kentucky history, the Kentucky pioneers, the Kentucky soldiers and statesmen of the last fifty years of the eighteenth century; to what relates to Kentucky from 1750 to 1800.

A word now in conclusion. The latter half of the period of Kentucky's history to which this paper is devoted may well be regarded as the *heroic age of Kentucky*.

Where did ever a more stalwart race

of men, braver soldiers, purer patriots, more meritorious pioneers, men and women, maintain their right to life and liberty with greater fortitude, with more unyielding determination, with more unflagging perseverance, with more unfaltering firmness, with more heroic bravery contend for the right to occupy the soil against a foe so wily, so treacherous, so cruel, so savage, so unrelenting, as did the "hunters of Kentucky"—the occupants of the "dark and bloody ground" during the last twenty-five years of the eighteenth century? Did any people ever display a higher order of courage, of patriotism, of bravery, of the higher, the manly virtues, during the incipient stages of a country's settlement, daily

liable to hostile, murderous attacks from an enemy, ever vigilant, who was without mercy to man, woman, or helpless infancy, than did the people of whom I have been writing?

And now once more in conclusion. And I conclude in the eloquent language of one (Thomas Corwin) now no more:

"If any community of people have lived, since the dispersion on the plains of Shinar, to this day, who were literally cradled in war, it is to be found in the state of Kentucky. The Indians' path of incursion in the West was moistened with Kentucky blood—our battlefields are white with Kentucky bones."

ISAAC SMUCKER.

REMINISCENCES OF THE THIRTY-SIXTH AND THIRTY-SEVENTH CONGRESSES.

BY JOHN HUTCHINS, OF THE THEN TWENTIETH OHIO DISTRICT.

IV.

MR. CORWIN referred to Gov. Seward as follows: "Now do you suppose that any Republican does not understand the attitude of Gov. Seward on this question? Does anybody believe that Gov. Seward does not understand the Constitution? When he said freedom, as he called it, would invade Virginia and Maryland, does anybody suppose that he had the slightest idea, as he spoke to a listening Senate, that there would be an *armed* invasion? Certainly not. I do not come here to

defend Gov. Seward—he will soon be with us to do that much better than I can. I am not his attorney-at-law but I do not know how soon I shall be charged with complicity with John Brown. (Laughter.) I think therefore that a selfish motive operates with me at this time."

Mr. Thomas B. Davidson of Louisiana, suggested that if Mr. Corwin desired to continue his remarks he would move an adjournment.

Mr. Gartrell of Georgia, suggested

that a great many on this side (Democratic) of the House wished to catechize the gentleman, and he hoped he would allow an adjournment, but Mr. Corwin preferred to go on. The numerous questions put to him were all answered.

Mr. Corwin preferred the Fugitive Slave law of 1793 to the law of 1850. Mr. Cox of Ohio, then put to him this question: "Then you do not agree with Mr. Webster, who said this is a better law?"

Mr. Corwin: "If Mr. Webster said so, I think he was mistaken. He was a smart man, but he might have erred on that point."

Mr. Barksdale of Mississippi, put this question: "Does the gentleman represent himself as the embodiment of the Republican party?"

Mr. Corwin: "I am of the respectable portion of it."

There is one matter brought out in the answer of Mr. Corwin to questions put to him by members, which is worthy of mention, and every person of political experience will understand the truth of the answer. Mr. Corwin had admitted in reply to a question that, as a member of President Fillmore's cabinet, he advised the President to sign the Fugitive Slave law of 1850, although he did not like it in all respects. There was a Republican convention in Ohio, of which Mr. Corwin was a member and on the Committee on Resolutions. Mr. Cox had read one of the resolutions passed, in these words:

"Resolved, That proclaiming our determination rigidly to respect the constitutional obligation imposed upon the state by the Federal compact, we maintain the union of the states, the rights of the states and the liberties of the people; and in order to attain these important ends, we demand the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, as it is subversion of both the rights of the states and the liberties of the people, and is contrary to the plainest duties of humanity and justice and abhorrent to the moral sense of the civilized world."

Mr. Corwin had voted against this resolution, in committee, but there was no opposition to it in the convention.

Mr. Curry of Alabama, put to Mr. Corwin a question of this purport: "What was the vote of the convention on this resolution when it was adopted?"

Mr. Corwin: "I do not think there were twenty men in the convention who knew what was in the resolution."

Mr. Curry: "That is very strange."

Mr. Corwin: "Oh, no! They had every confidence in me." (Laughter and applause.)

Mr. Corwin then said: "Well, as I have said, the resolution referred to appeared to pass. I am speaking what I know. We were in a great hurry. As to that fact about that law being subversive of the rights of the state, I do not believe it, and so stated everywhere. The resolution was passed in

a great hurry. It was late in the afternoon of a very warm day, and the meeting took place in a very warm room. The resolutions were taken into the convention after candles were lighted. There were seated two or three hundred men with fans, and panting like rats in an exhausted receiver (Laughter.)—And the whole of the resolutions were read by you, sir,—Mr. Bingham, a gentleman, with his usual modesty, spoke in a low tone (Laughter.) The members really did not know what they were passing. So then they should not be taken as the *deliberate* judgment of that convention. I dare say that in the South the thing would be more carefully done. Whatever was read or published, the people of the state of Ohio have their own opinion, and if they do not like a platform they will vote for the men they prefer, without reference to platform.”

Mr. Barksdale: “Did any portion of the Republican party repudiate that platform?”

Mr. Corwin: “Yes sir; one of their great leaders. (Laughter and applause.) I did repudiate everywhere that part of it.”

Mr. Barksdale: “Were the resolutions accepted or rejected by the Republican party?”

Mr. Corwin: “They were accepted by the convention, but I do verily believe the great mass of that party would not agree to the terms of that resolution, though I and many others think the law should be amended. But they did not indorse with full knowledge the

terms of that resolution. (Laughter.) Like Helper’s book, they did not know what was in them.” (Renewed laughter.)

There was a pleasant vein of irony in this answer of Mr. Corwin which a large majority of the members of the House duly appreciated, especially his reference to Mr. Bingham, his colleague. Mr. Bingham was one of the best orators in the House, and his distinctness of articulation and power of voice were such that he could be heard all over any ordinary sized public hall.

Mr. Corwin in this answer also truly described the usual manner of business in state and national political conventions. The order of business is first, the appointment of committees, among which is a Committee on Resolutions, which is the platform committee, and representative men from each state or county, if it is a state convention, are named as members of this committee. Resolutions are prepared generally before the assembling of the convention by the members of the committee and others. They then deliberate upon the matter, and by a vote of a majority of the committee a platform is adopted. Of course there is seldom unanimity in human affairs. And this platform the chairman is instructed to report to the convention. This is generally done late, and when the convention is about ready to adjourn. A vote is taken and the resolutions as a whole are adopted with expressions of applause. The platform may be regarded as the expression of a majority of the conven-

tion. But many independent intelligent men in any party are compelled to do, as Horace Greeley did, when the Whig convention nominated Gen. Taylor for President, "spit upon the platform" and vote for the candidate nominated.

Here is a brief extract from the peroration of Mr. Corwin's conciliatory speech: "We have no occasion to quarrel over this subject, if we only knew each other's hearts. Men talk of the rights of the North and of the rights of the South. It will not do to consider the subject in that light. I know that the people of the South do really believe that there is a combination of politicians at the North to take away from them some right which they have under the Constitution. How can that happen?"

"I know that a question of policy may be decided wrong, but I also know that no constitutional right which the South has can be taken from her. If the constitutional right of any citizen is jeopardized, he can bring the question from a state court to a Federal court here. In 1832 there was a dispute in South Carolina about the constitutionality of duties levied on foreign goods. The people of that state thought that the law was unconstitutional, and the state court, I believe, decided that it was. That was a more dangerous crisis than any we can conjure up by these fabulous spectres which we invoke now . . . I suppose we must organize the House in some way or other, and really it seems to me that

what we call this preliminary discussion is somewhat out of place. Let us remember we have work to do. When the House is organized we can discuss these questions in a legitimate way, and when we can consider our ways. I should esteem him the best friend I have on the face of the earth who will satisfy me that the doctrines which I hold on these subjects are wrong. I should like now to move to lay this whole subject on the table."

Mr. Samuel S. Cox, then of Ohio, but now a resident of New York City, obtained the floor in reply to Mr. Corwin.

A few quotations from Mr. Cox's able speech (for Mr. Cox is able, eloquent and witty), in connection with those taken of Mr. Corwin's, will explain the state of political feelings then existing in Ohio, and will explain also the excitement at the Cleveland meeting referred to, numerous attended by the people of the Western Reserve, one of whom was the author of these reminiscences.

It may be stated here, that the quotations given are all taken from the *Congressional Globe*, Part I., First Session of the Thirty-sixth Congress, 1859 and 1860.

Mr. Cox commenced his speech as follows: "Mr. Clerk, I wish that some other member from the state from which I come would answer the very facetious and sophistical argument of my colleague from the district near my own. I do not think that he differs so much from the Democratic party as

perhaps his position here might lead us to believe. But I do not believe that the masses of the Republican party in the state of Ohio approve of his sentiments here enunciated. I have always thought in my own mind, that the distinguished gentleman—and I have always quietly given him credit for it—went into the Republican party with his national sentiment for the purpose of breaking down its sectionalism and destroying its distinctive features. But his speech to-day ought not go to the country without some response from a Democratic member from his own state. This response I will endeavor to give without premeditation or preparation.

“Mr. Clerk, it seems to me perhaps, as the nominee presented by the Republican party for Speaker, is a Republican from the state of Ohio; that the politics of the Republican party of that state of which he is an exponent, should be discussed. I am ready to say here, that that nominee is personally as unexceptionable to the Democratic party of Ohio, as any man of the other side, unless it be my friend who has just taken his seat—Mr. Corwin.”

Mr. Cox denied in substance that Mr. Corwin embodied the principles of the Republican party or that he spoke for the organization in Ohio, and then said, “I will show you before I sit down that that organization is one subversive of the Constitution, one that strikes down the judges of the state for daring to sustain the Constitution.”

Mr. Cox made other remarks about

Ohio Republican politics not very flattering, and then said, “I want the country to understand the lawless and orderless character of that organization.” He then gave an account of what is known in Ohio as the “Oberlin Rescue Case.” These are the material facts in that case :

A slave had escaped from Kentucky and was found in the neighborhood of Oberlin. His owner went before a United States commissioner and obtained a warrant for the arrest of his slave, and after his arrest, Plumb, Peck and others rescued him from the commissioner. The United States officer went to the United States Court at Cleveland, and had the rescuers indicted, and they were tried and convicted.

It was claimed by many that the law was unconstitutional, and the rescuers appealed to the Supreme Court of the state to be released, claiming that the law was unconstitutional, and therefore they were unlawfully imprisoned. The case was tried in the Supreme Court of the State at Columbus, and by a majority of the court it was decided that the law was constitutional, and thus ended the effort to release the prisoners, who had been convicted. Judge Swan delivered the opinion of the court, and it was claimed by Mr. Cox that he was not renominated by the Republican convention because of that decision. Mr. Cox also claimed that the Abolitionists of the Western Reserve controlled the Republican party of Ohio, and then he gave a description

of the public meeting referred to by Mr. Corwin, held at Cleveland. Brief extracts are here made from his speech descriptive of this meeting. "First marched the Sons of Liberty, with Mr. Giddings, who upon this floor announced himself in favor of a servile insurrection, as I will conclusively show, notwithstanding the disclaimer of his successor—Mr. Hutchins. They marched through the streets with banners which were revolutionary against the Federal Government, and which bore emblems which found their out-crop at Harper's Ferry. One banner is noticeable; on one side of it is written :

ASHTABULA.

REGNANTE POPULO.

On the other :

SONS OF LIBERTY, 1769.

DOWN WITH THE STAMP ACT.

1859.

DOWN WITH THE FUGITIVE ACT.

"They marched through the streets to the music of the old Revolutionary song, the Marseilles hymn, that glorious inspiration of democracy; that defiance, not against constitutional liberty, but against despotic Kingcraft. I have understood that these Sons of Liberty and the students from Oberlin sung it in French. Now you know our friends from New England, who made up the Sons of Liberty, have a nasal twang, peculiar to their singing, and the French language has the same nasal peculiarity, and when the two were combined they produced the most

thrilling effect in the streets of Cleveland. (Laughter). Aux armes citoyens! Formez battalions! (Great laughter). . . . Yesterday while the gentlemen from Tennessee (Mr. Nelson) was addressing the House in one of these Union strains, in order to show up the disunionists, he quotes from the famous or infamous Giddings appeal in favor of servile insurrection and of which the Harper's Ferry affair is the legitimate fruit. But the successor of Mr. Giddings arose and denied that that gentlemen ever uttered such a statement upon this floor, and I have recently seen that the *Journal of Commerce* has been compelled to take back that sentiment, in consequence of the denial of Mr. Giddings."

Mr. Cox then caused to be read from the Congressional Globe of the first session of the Thirty-third Congress an extract from a speech made by Mr. Giddings.

Mr. Hutchins then stated that the extract read was not the one quoted by Mr. Nelson, but Mr. Cox claimed it was the same in spirit.

Here a spicy colloquy occurred among Mr. Cox, Mr. Bingham and Mr. Corwin, Mr. Sherman and Mr. Ashley, during which Mr. Cox asked Mr. Sherman whether or not he believed in the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Law.

Mr. Sherman refused to answer.

Mr. Cox continued his speech at great length; a short quotation from the closing part of it will be here given :

"There is a sentiment in the North-

west which cannot and will not listen to a disunion sentiment. I regret to hear upon this side of the chamber the dissolution of the Union spoken of as a contingency. I wish to say in behalf of the national Democrats of Ohio, that with them there is no such word as that rung in our ears by Southern gentlemen—dissolution of the Union *per se*. We know no dissolution *per se*. We have no dead or living language to phrase such sentiments. We are for the Constitution and for the Union. We have no language to express anything with respect to breaking these ties, so eloquently expressed by my friend (Mr. Corwin), which bind us together. . . . We of the Northwest have no affinity with any one who utters the cry of disunion whether from the North or South, whether it comes *per se* or *per* anything else. . . . There remains in the Northwest the ready love, the unselfish devotion and the patriotic zeal which is quick to hail the music of the Union as the harbinger of our safety and repose.”

The House adjourned on the conclusion of Mr. Cox's speech.

Mr. Morris, of Illinois, when the House met December 9th, caused to be read from the *New York Tribune* a letter from Horace Greeley denying the charge made by Mr. Kellogg. Most of the day was taken up in the discussion of Mr. Kellogg's charge and other matters were talked about, but Helper's "Impending Crisis" would get in, notwithstanding the efforts made to keep it

out. There was an angry war of words between Mr. Logan and Mr. Kellogg, which is described in the *Globe* as follows :

“Here Mr. Kellogg advanced in a threatening attitude towards Mr. Logan. They were with some difficulty kept apart by members surrounding them, in the midst of the utmost confusion and disorder. Several members rose to questions of order, but the Clerk refused to entertain the question of order, or to listen to any debate until the House came to order.” After order was restored, Mr. Logan yielded the floor to Mr. Miles Taylor, of Louisiana, an estimable gentleman, who commanded the respect of all parties. Mr. Taylor said: “I suggest to this House that it is time that the course of proceedings which has been entertained should cease. (Cries of “That is right!” from the Republican benches). The time has arrived when this species of discussion, which can tend to nothing but excitement and personal irritation should be terminated. Allow me to say that the gentlemen of the House of Representatives should now proceed, quietly and with dignity, to vote until we have effected an organization, in order that there may be some person clothed with the authority which is essential to the preservation of order and decorum amongst us. For myself, Mr. Clerk, my feelings are as strongly enlisted in the various questions that may be agitated here as those of any other member on this floor. . . . Now, we are a mere unorganized assemblage

of persons without there being one single individual possessed of any power that can contribute to the preservation of order, or without any member having a right to carry on a proper and fair discussion."

This excellent advice of Mr. Taylor was not heeded and Harper's Ferry, Helper's book and the Fugitive Slave law received due attention. Extracts from these speeches by leading men will be given to show the temper of the times, the opinions of men at that time honestly entertained no doubt, but since materially changed by "the whirligig of time."

Mr. John A. Logan of Illinois, obtained the floor and made a vigorous speech from his political standpoint. Here are a few extracts:

"Sir, are there not hundreds and hundreds of fugitive slaves passing through Ohio and Illinois and the great northwestern states, who belong to the constituency of those people here representing the Southern states on this side of the House? Why is it, if you are good Constitution-loving citizens, loyal to the Constitution, if you love the Union and love the Constitution, why is it, I say, that you will not do justice to these men by taking these fugitives and returning them to their masters, as the Constitution and statutes of the country require?"

"Why, gentlemen, do you not do it? Yet you say 'Oh, we will take no right from you Southern men that you are entitled to under the Constitution.' Every fugitive that has been arrested in

Illinois or in any of the Western states (and I call Illinois a Western state, for I am ashamed longer to call it a Northern state) has been made by Democrats. In Illinois the Democrats have all that work to do. You call it the dirty work of the Democratic party to catch fugitive slaves for the Southern people. We are willing to perform that dirty work. I do not consider it disgraceful to perform any work, dirty or not dirty, which is in accordance with the laws and the Constitution."

In reply to a question of Mr. Haskins of New York, of the following purport, that if the Charleston Convention should adopt a platform in opposition to the views of Judge Douglas published in a magazine article, and should indorse the present administration, would he then support the nominee of that convention, Mr. Logan answered in substance: "I am now about twenty-eight years of age. I was born a Democrat and have always had confidence in Democratic conventions and I will vote for the nominee of that convention."

Mr. Haskins then explained his position as an Independent Anti-Lecompton Democrat in reply to a question from a Democrat whether he would vote for a Republican Speaker, that he would not vote for any gentleman who sustained the Lecompton policy of this Administration, but would vote for any gentleman on the Republican side of the House who came nearest his (Haskin's) platform.

Mr. Logan then said: "All I have to

say in reply is, that I came here as a Democrat and I expect to support a Democrat. I may have differed with gentleman upon this side of the House in reference to issues that are passed, but God knows that I have differed from the other side from my childhood, and with that side I will never affiliate so long as I have breath in my body."

Mr. Logan in his speech referred to the fact that Judge Douglas had stood by the South in 1850 in the enactment of the Fugitive Slave law "and when he returned to Chicago he was not allowed to address his fellow-citizens to show that the South had a right, under the Constitution, to have such a law. And he had referred also to his agency, in 1850, in the passage of the Kansas—Nebraska bill." "Yet," he said, "some of these Southern men, I am sorry to say, received this accusation against Judge Douglas with smiles and applause."

The confusion and disorder in the House will appear plain to those who did not witness it, by a reference to the fact which the official record shows. At the conclusion of Mr. Cox's speech, December 8, Mr. Stanton of Ohio obtained the floor, when the House adjourned, with a view to reply to Mr. Cox.

The possession of the floor at the time of adjournment gives the right to it when the House meets pursuant to adjournment. Mr. Stanton, therefore, technically had the floor, till he yielded it to Mr. Curry of Alabama, on the 10th; but literally he was floored dur-

ing all that time, as thirteen closely printed, three-column pages in the official record of speeches, will show.

Mr. Stanton was a lawyer, an able debater, a conservative Republican, and as well qualified as any Republican in the House from Ohio to reply to Mr. Cox. Mr. Stanton, like a majority of Republicans, was not disposed to continue the debate, which had been thrust upon the House till the election of Speaker, and so long as the House was willing to ballot he was disposed to forego his privilege of the floor and he stated his position clearly as will appear by a brief extract from the *Globe*.

Mr. Stanton, "I had not intended to claim the attention of the House at all until it had been organized by the election of Speaker, if it had not been for the remarks of my colleague yesterday (Mr. Cox.) And now although I desire to avail myself of this or some other early opportunity to reply to those remarks, I desire to say now to the House, that if they desire to proceed to the election of a Speaker, I will forego making the remarks I intended to make upon this occasion, and allow the House to vote as long as it chooses, with the distinct understanding that when the House will vote no longer and desire to renew the discussion, I shall be entitled to the floor."

The third ballot for Speaker was then had and resulted substantially as the second.

At the announcement of the ballot

Mr. Hickman, of Pennsylvania, introduced the following resolution: "Resolved, That the House will proceed immediately to the election of Speaker, *viva voce*; and if the roll shall have been called three times and no member shall have received a majority of all the votes cast, the roll shall again be called, and the member who shall then

receive the largest number of votes provided it shall be a majority of a quorum, shall be declared duly elected Speaker of the House of Representatives of the 36th Congress."

After numerous questions, explanations, etc., the House adjourned with Mr. Stanton on the floor.

TURNER M. MARQUETT.

TURNER M. MARQUETT of Lincoln, Nebraska, has won a reputation as a learned and eloquent lawyer—and as a man whose personal, professional and public life are laid upon a high level,—that has extended all through the Northwest; while locally and directly he is best known to many through his service as attorney for the Burlington & Missouri River Railroad Company. The descendant of an honorable and well-known family of Virginia, he had a pioneer experience in Ohio in his early youth; to be repeated in another line of life, in the new Nebraska, in a later day. The family of which he was a member removed from the Old Dominion in an early day and settled upon a farm in Clarke county, Ohio, where the father carried on agriculture with success for the remainder of his life.

The son Turner M., the second son in a family of nine, was born in what is now the city of Springfield, on July 9, 1831. He inherited by natural descent those qualities of mind and

fibres of character surest to aid him in the real work of life—his ancestors upon his father's side being French and German, and upon the mother's, English and Scotch. His early days were passed in the quiet but strengthening influences of pioneer life upon the farm—the work of the farm and the winter school preparing the reservoir for future learning, rather than imparting the knowledge itself. But the desire was there and the determination to make that desire good; and against these dynamic forces, inert circumstances were of no avail. When twenty years of age, young Marquett entered the Ohio University at Athens, from which he graduated in the scientific course. In the spring of 1856 he made up his mind to try his fortunes in the opening West. The territory of Nebraska which, with Kansas, was then attracting widespread attention wherever the echoes of freedom's battle were heard, was chosen as his point of destination. He first stopped for a time in Plattsmouth, Cass county,

where he was occupied during the winter of 1856-7 as a clerk in the store of William M. Slaughter—where he worked for his board. But he had been for some time preparing himself for a different line of labor, and in the spring of 1857 he opened an office and commenced the practice of law—in which profession he continued with success and ever-widening influence and reputation in that vicinity until 1874. He was not, however, left altogether to the demands of that profession, but was more than once called upon to positions of public honor and trust. He was elected to the territorial legislature, in which he served three terms and was four years in the territorial council. In June 1866, he was elected upon the Republican ticket as Nebraska's representative in Congress, the territory having previously received the enabling act; and at that time voted upon the question of admission into the Union as a state, and also elected a full set of state officers, including one member of the national House of Representatives.

Nebraska was admitted on the 2nd of March, 1867, and Mr. Marquett's term of office as congressman was one of the shortest upon record,—lasting two days and three nights; but which time was sufficient for him to voice his convictions in his vote, and serve his party and the country, by voting for the passage of all the great reconstruction measures, over the veto of President Johnson. Mr. Marquett might legally have served for two years

instead of two days, and his refusal to do so upon the grounds of pure morality, speaks significantly of the mental trend of the man, and gives us an insight into his character. The reasons for this decision have been given by Mr. Marquett in his own words, which we take the liberty of quoting: "I was elected to Congress in June. The state was not admitted before the general election in our state, which was in the following October. At that time it was thought best to elect a territorial delegate to the Fortieth Congress and also a congressman. I was elected for territorial delegate, and John Taffe for Congress. I went on in December and worked hard for the admission of the state, which was admitted on the second of March. It then became a question whether myself and the two senators who had been elected to represent the state, Gov. John M. Thayer and Thomas W. Tipton, should be sworn into the Thirty-ninth Congress or should wait until the 4th of March and be sworn into the Fortieth Congress. They both determined to wait for the Fortieth Congress. This would give them two years longer time. I could have waited and been congressman for the Fortieth Congress, and as there was no provision in the enabling act to elect more than one congressman, I knew that under the law I could hold my seat, and was advised by my friends not to be sworn in until the meeting of the Fortieth Congress; and I admit it was something of a temptation to do as the senators proposed to do, and which

would have given me two years instead of two days. But on the other hand I thought it would hardly be a fair thing for my friend, John Taffe, and hence as soon as the state was admitted I appeared on the floor of the House and was sworn in. Politicians from Nebraska looked upon it as a foolish thing to do. I deemed it but right. It was the right thing but I never got credit for it. I believe there was no paper in Nebraska that mentioned it that did not say it was foolish on my part. I recollect one of the papers said that the senators were sharp enough not to be sworn in until the Fortieth Congress, while I had no more sense than to be sworn out of a two years term in Congress. I looked upon it as the right thing to do, and would do it again."

"You see," added Mr. Marquett at the conclusion of this explanation, "I am a failure as a politician"—which speaks less for the current idea of political methods, than for Mr. Marquett's personal manliness and uprightness of character.

Upon the expiration of this brief term of service, Mr. Marquett returned to Plattsmouth, where he remained in the practice of law until 1874, when he removed to Lincoln, the capital of Nebraska, where he has since resided. Soon after this removal he formed a law partnership with Gen. Amasa Cobb, under the firm name of Cobb & Marquett, and afterwards of Cobb, Marquett & Moore, until 1878; when Gen. Cobb was appointed judge of the Supreme Court. Mr. Marquett then

continued in the practice alone; until he became the head of the firm of Marquett, Deweese & Hall, which enjoyed from the beginning a large and lucrative practice.

In 1869, it should be mentioned in passing, Mr. Marquett was a very prominent candidate for election as United States Senator from Nebraska, and came within one or two votes of an election. Since then he has had little of a personal connection with politics. He has always been a Republican, from the formation of that party.

Mr. Marquett has held his present position as general counsel for the Burlington & Missouri River Railroad Company, since 1869, a period of twenty years. He is ranked as one of the best railroad lawyers of the country, and stands very high in every department of his profession in which he has taken part. To quote the language of one who knows well: "One cannot speak too highly of his abilities as a railroad lawyer, nor of the hold his eloquence has on juries; whether in civil or criminal cases, he carries an immense moral weight with him in such cases, as he is known to be straightforward, and as honest as the judge upon the bench himself, even though he is pleading for a client." He is a close student and an extensive reader, well-balanced mentally; and his success as a lawyer depends largely upon the thoroughness with which he always understands his case, not only in the general outlines, but in all the details. In the trial of a case he is original,

and the opposing counsel do well to look for an unexpected turn at any time. The following incident has been related in illustration of this point: He was defending a man for murder, which had been committed, according to the indictment, by sending a bottle of poisoned whisky through the express office. The prosecution depended on the evidence of the express agent, who in the preliminary examination identified Mr. Marquett's client as the man who delivered to him the bottle. When this witness was called Mr. Marquett had a person who resembled his client, personate the accused, while the latter sat with his back to the witness, and was busy writing. The witness identified the man that sat by the side of Mr. Marquett as the guilty man—the man who had brought the bottle in and delivered it to him. Thus the credibility of the witness was destroyed and his client eventually acquitted. In the conduct of a case he is not content to follow the old beaten lines, but goes outside and gathers up everything that bears on the case or will aid his client. In short his success has depended on his thoroughness in details, and his originality in prosecuting his cases.

While, as has been said, Mr. Mar-

quett takes little part in politics, he is occasionally persuaded to take part in an important campaign, and he has no superior as a stumper in the state. As an after-dinner orator he is full of eloquence and wit, and is always put upon the programme for the principal speech upon all sorts of social occasions. His open-handedness to his friends and his generosity in all charitable undertakings is proverbial. He has paid more notes as "endorser for an acquaintance" than any other man in Nebraska. But it is because he is ever ready to help a friend out of a difficulty, not because he is careless, and easily imposed upon.

Mr. Marquett has been twice married, first in November, 1861, to Miss Harriet Border, a native of Illinois, who died at her home in Lincoln, in 1883, leaving four children. The eldest, Belle, is now the wife of Clifford Tefft. Harriet married George H. Fawell, and Gertrude and John are at home. Mr. Marquett contracted a second marriage in 1885 with Mrs. Asenath Stetson. The family residence is pleasantly located on the corner of P and 18th streets in Lincoln, and Mr. and Mrs. Marquett enjoy a wide acquaintance and great personal popularity.

THE AMERICAN RAILROAD: ITS INCEPTION, EVOLUTION
AND RESULTS.

XIX.

THE BURSTING OF A BUBBLE—THE RAILWAY MANIA OF ENGLAND.

BUT all this was only the precursor of the coming storm. The wild excitement of a half-decade past, had carried railroad stocks to that stage of inflation, and projected so many lines that could be built only upon paper, that a climax and reaction were inevitable. In the early fall of 1845 it was estimated that to build the lines then in course of construction, or projected, in England alone, would require a capital of more than three hundred millions of dollars! From tables published at the time, for the purpose of influencing railroad subscriptions in America, we learn of the expansion in values, upon some of the English lines, between November 30, 1844, and July 20, 1845, the figures being stated in pounds:

Roads.	Paid on Share.	Value Nov. 30.	Value July 8.
Bristol & Gloucester.....	30	36	60
Dublin & Drogheda.....	60	72	115
Dublin & Kingston.....	100	165	251
Grand Junction.....	100	210	239
Great North.....	100	119	230
Great Western.....	80	138	215
Liverpool & Manchester.....	100	203	214
London & Birmingham.....	100	218	245
Sheffield & Manchester.....	87	83	135
York & North Midland.....	50	100	115

“The average dividends,” says the optimist editor of the *Railroad Journal*, from whose pages these figures are taken, “last reported are about six

and one-fourth per cent., or nearly double the rate of interest on permanent loans in England; and it has increased the market value, and we may say the real value, of the shares representing this £39,579,689 to over £73,000,000 on the 19th of July last; and by a reference to the dates of August, I find the shares have most of them advanced, and not more than one or two show any decline, even with the additions of one hundred and twelve new lines, or 2,860 miles of new railways to be built, requiring over fifty millions of additional capital to construct them. It seems proper to mention, for it is an important fact, that these advances in the value of shares have taken place at the same time that some of the most important lines were working under the influence of materially reduced rates. The average length of these thirty roads is only fifty miles. The entire length of railway now in use, in course of construction, and recently chartered in Great Britain, is not far from six thousand miles, on a territory not quite three times as large as the state of New York. If such results are realized in England, where but a small

portion of the people travel, and on such short roads, what may we not anticipate in this country, where everybody travels?"

The mania was in its height, and monopolized the speculative funds of England and France, to the exclusion of almost everything else; although the more careful speculators and investors began to apprehend danger and retired with what they had already gained. Money became scarce, and the rates of interest advanced. In France, the payments of the first installment, of ten per cent., upon only five of the new railroads, made a levy of eighty-five million dollars upon the funds of the capital. The daily journals of London were realizing from two to three thousand pounds per week for railroad advertisements; in three months nine railroad journals sprang into being in England alone; ten distinct lines of railway were projected, to provide a nearer route between London and Manchester, all selling at a premium, and requiring a capital of £23,150,000 for their completion; the Pope interdicted railways in his dominion, while the Bishop of Exeter called the attention of his clergy to the impropriety of being engaged in railway speculations. In France the excitement was running with equal heat. A writer in Paris, under date of November 1st (1845), throws a strong light upon the situation there: "Railway fever rages with as much virulence in this country as the same malady appears to do on your side of the channel. High and low, rich and poor,

gentle and simple, young and old, male and female—all appear determined to become rich *tout a coup*, without any further trouble than buying railway property and selling it again. Unluckily the golden dream does not appear to be realized for all; but still the failures have not yet been sufficiently numerous and sufficiently disastrous to cause it to be treated as a delusion and a snare, *au contraire* scores of persons have become enriched—therefore, it is asked, why not all? Heaven grant that the reply to the questions be not ruin and wretchedness and misery! Meanwhile, the speculation is carried on to an extent that would astonish a negligent observer. From a petition drawn up by the merchants of Paris, it appears that twenty millions of British money, or one hundred millions of dollars, are now locked up in railway speculation; and from the calculations that I myself have had occasion to make, I am inclined to think that the amount is really not less than £15,000,000 sterling, even if it be not more. The worst of it is, that this enormous sum is not employed in making railways, but is deposited in bankers' hands, and lies idle and unproductive in their strong boxes. The French chambers have adopted the system of putting up great lines of railways to public competition, awarding them to companies that will take a lease for the shortest period, and agree to give them up, entirely constructed, and with all their material, to the government, at the end of the lease. This system calls

into existence an immense number of companies, each company being compelled to raise the amount of capital actually required for the railways. Thus there are six, eight, and in one case twenty companies for particular railways, and, by consequence, six, eight, and twenty sets of capitals, or five, seven, and nineteen more than will really be required. From this you may judge of the folly of the system which necessarily causes such an enormous amount of capital to be unproductive for months and months; and you may imagine that the mercantile classes are suffering grievously for want of money."

But England and France were not alone. The speculative theorists were eager to break down the walls of far China herself, as a means of offering investments to the excited public. When we remember that capital and energy are endeavoring even now, and with little encouragement, to open the Celestial Empire to the locomotive, the following, penned soberly in the closing days of 1845, will be read with double interest: "It is now said that a railway is contemplated to connect St. Petersburg with Pekin. We have faith in the scheme. The resources of Russia, her scheme of employing the labor of her immense army in constructing work of this kind instead of their idly performing garrison duty, as the armies of the other European powers have been for some twenty odd years past, will soon tell what can be done with half a million able bodied men,

set to work opening avenues for trade instead of closing and trying to guard from intercourse, as has so long been the policy. How such a route would compete with the route to China by the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, or the Cape of Good Hope, it is time enough to conjecture. As an ingredient of power in the hands of the northern empire it must be invaluable. Railroads will be more to her than can be calculated. They will compensate for want of sea ports and sea room. Let the imagination run for a moment round the vast area of the Russian empire, and see how it is and has been cramped up, as it were, for the want of just such an apparatus to give it impetus in the track of improvement, and see how the neighboring powers dwindle as she expands in every direction. All this is speculation, a touch of the *infection* of the day. Perhaps so. The man that would have predicted twenty-five years ago that by this year 1845 ten thousand miles of iron track railways would be in use at the cost of many hundred millions of dollars, would have been considered a perfect enthusiast, and if he had gone on to say that this same year the people of almost every country were literally gone crazy in pursuit of a chance to make their fortunes in constructing more railroads, he would have been set down as a crazy man at least."

The railway through China was not built, nor were many carefully laid out and generously advertised, nearer at home. The reaction came, and while

many were left rich, thousands were ruined, and the safe and solvent roads were for a time compelled to suffer with the rest. To quote from the *Liverpool Times*: "The railway mania has received its *quietus*. Something like a panic has overtaken the speculators in iron highways. Now that the reaction has come, it brings in its train ruin and devastation, and bankruptcy to thousands. But the end is not yet, a more gigantic system of swindling has rarely been seen in these latter days, and the number of respectable persons who have lent their names to support bubble companies, make us blush for the cupidity of one common humanity. The Bank of England, the critical state in which the food of the country has been placed by the harvest, and the state of the potato crop; above all, and beyond all, the ridiculous experiments which the projectors of the numberless moonshine companies made upon the common sense of mankind—these causes have forced the declension to its present point. The wreck of fortunes and of characters which this temporary insanity has produced, will be felt long after the causes that produced it have passed away.

"As a proof of the extent to which this huge system of swindling has been carried, it may be mentioned that even ladies were not exempt from its influence. The female friends and relatives of those who pulled the wires of certain imposing puppet schemes, were in the daily habit of haunting the parlieus,

and offices of the share-brokers in the metropolis, to watch the market, in order to turn their letters of allotments to the best account. One of the railway papers mentioned a certain batch of female speculators who contrived to realize, by this kind of chicanery, during the height of the mania, the astounding sum of £500,000. Now that people have time to reflect and to analyze, they find that out of thirty-three sets of provincial committees, the name of one party appears twenty-three times; the names of two others, nineteen times; of three, seventeen times; of fourteen, fourteen times; of twenty-three, eight times; of twenty-nine, nine times; and of twenty-two, ten times."

The *London Times*—although nineteen columns of each issue, upon an average, were filled with profitable advertisements of railroad projects—continued from day to day to utter loud protests against the course of the speculators, and to warn the people that a day of reckoning must come. A personal examination of the pages of this journal during the final months of 1845 will show the drift of events toward the inevitable end, and the efforts made by at least one great journal to call a halt while there was yet time. In the issue of October 17, 1845, we find this warning: "Railway allotments and railway scrip, the deposits and premiums on railway shares, are at present the all-engrossing topics. It is reserved for a future day to consider and provide against railway discount. While the present rage for making money

continues; so long as bubbles are convertible into cash; and till it is found that an end must come to the practice, if not the science, of realizing before a railway exists except in imagination the possible profits of its contingent traffic, and of securing beforehand the savings which are to result from its uncertain income, it will be hard to bring the nation to take a calm survey of its prospects, and to provide wisely against its future necessities. When pay-day comes,—for, however unwelcome the hard truth may be to speculators of all sorts, pay-day always comes,—when bubbles burst, and those whom they have dazzled find themselves left in the lurch; when calls are imperative, and there is nothing to meet them; when scrip is found to be an inconvenient incumbrance by its holders, and is redempted by those who have sold it; when the sad reality of Parliamentary contracts and subscribers' agreements is proved to be an uncomfortable fact, and it is discovered that no more trust is to be reposed in Railway Kings than in ordinary Princes, the nation will be as much troubled as it now is elated, and there will be an equal difficulty in bringing it to a due consideration of its expectations and its needs." Again, on October 18th: "The mania for railway speculation has reached that height at which all follies, however absurd in themselves, cease to be ludicrous, and because, by reason of their universality, fit subjects for the politician to consider as well as the moralist. Whilst we contemplate with pity the enormous

amount of individual misery which must inevitably, and at no distant period, fall upon thousands who have madly entered within the clutches of the iron Mammon, we must not lose sight of the fact that the character of the nation itself is at stake. We do not here allude to the almost certain deficiency of money to carry out the proposed undertakings. This part of the subject has been treated in former articles, and may perhaps be further pursued. What we would at present draw to the attention of the public is the alarming extent of those dishonest and now illegal practices by which unwary persons are induced to embark their capital in railway speculations. It is a matter of daily occurrence for the promoters to place in the provisional committee the names of noblemen and gentlemen who, in many cases, have neither interest in nor knowledge of the affair, and in some instances are directly opposed to it."

A suggestion of the results of the near future, is given in the *Times* of October 20, showing that the Bank of England had found it necessary to throw its influence against the rising tide: "The wise proceeding of the Bank of England in raising the *minimum* rate of discount to three per cent., small as the difference is from that which before prevailed, has brought the railway speculation to at least a temporary stop. Little has been heard on all sides to-day but discussions on the tendency of this measure, and among the jobbers and gamblers in railway shares the conviction is general that it

ought not to place them in a worse position, because to men who are already paying at the rate of twenty or thirty per cent. to put off the evil day of payment, a difference of one-half per cent. in the current value of money seems a trifle unworthy of the smallest consideration. Still they hesitate about engaging in any new operations, and the disposition is far greater to sell than to buy, only that buyers are not to be found at the standing quotations, the dealers, who stand between the companies and the public, keeping aloof until they see which way the tide is likely to turn. . . .

“The increase within the last ten days of new railway speculations announced, answers to a capital in round numbers of £50,000,000, the schemes being about forty in number. There had previously been advertised about 460 new railway schemes to be brought before the Parliamentary session of 1846, and representing a capital of nearly £500,000,000, the first calls on which may be roughly estimated at £45,000,000. The maddest of railway speculators, who is invulnerable to reason and to argument, must be startled, one would think, and pause a little at such facts! The railway meetings have decreased within the last few days. The public, no doubt, by this time have become in a measure surfeited with them, and the projectors do not find that general support which till within the last week or so was afforded to every scheme making its appearance.”

Another straw, in the *Times* of October 27th: “One of the first houses in the city have, within the last few days, sent their collecting clerk to Manchester to get in the quarterly accounts, and have received answers from nearly twenty persons that payment is not convenient, as they have been engaged in railway transactions. The collector, writing for further instructions, is informed that he is in all cases to stop the credit and place the matter in the hands of an attorney forthwith.”

An insight is also given us in the same prolific columns of some of the expedients resorted to by the speculators to keep the bubbles afloat and to set new ones drifting into the air. “A young gentleman,” we read on October 31st, “need only to look at a half-crown railway map and search for a district tolerably clear of the rail. His eyes, of course, will guide him to one of the larger meshes in that thick reticulation. Taking two of the towns that form the corners of that open space, he draws a diagonal with his pencil and thus creates a ‘direct line.’ Branches and extensions can be added with still more facility. He then writes down, unless he can carry it in his head—1, the name of his company; 2, his own name as ‘promoter,’ either alone or with the names of as many friends as he can venture to take that liberty with, or, in fact, with any names whatever, real or fictitious; 3, his own occupation, viz., whether gentleman or esquire, or engineer, or

artist, or solicitor, or clerk, or perfumer, or tailor, or M. A. or M. D., or Dissenting minister; 4, his place of business, if he has one; 5, his place of residence, whether it be castle or hall, or in Berkeley-square, or rooms in Grays's-inn, or lodgings in the Borough. In the course of his walk to the office in Sergeants'-inn, he may, if he pleases, remodel his company, changing every name in it, whether of place or person, including himself. Arrived at the office he invests a few sovereigns, begged, borrowed or stolen, in fees, and enters his company as finally settled in his own mind. Advertisements and letters do the rest." "While any undertaking is in the state of scrip"—from a further exposition under date of November 1st—"which in railways seldom represent a payment of more than £2 or £3 on each share, it is easily kept in control by a junta of directors, provisional committeemen, and secretaries who have this great advantage over the public that they know exactly how many shares have been issued, in what hands they have been placed, and which of their subscribers are likely to throw them on the market. This is an advantage of itself, compared with which loaded dice make but a weak simile; but the case is infinitely worse when that practice which has obtained at the Stock Exchange the emphatic name of 'rig' is resorted to. Take a brief sketch of one, drawn from the life. A little junta of directors assemble to consider the applications for shares, and to allot them to the appli-

cants. At that moment, perhaps, lured on by a flattering prospectus, the greedy multitude of speculators out of doors—not a single letter being yet issued—are offering £5 premium on each. Sometimes this is really the public, but when a 'rig' is carefully planned and considered, it is more commonly some secret agent of the projectors, who stimulates the herd of fools congregated about the Stock Exchange, by offering to make an actual purchase at that price. A novice would conclude that if the concern were really an unsound one, a mere paper project, this would be a very silly proceeding on the part of the directors. By no means; they understand their business better. Their agent goes on purchasing at the rate of some high premium, not for money, of course, but for time, that time being the indefinite one of the appropriation of shares, which is entirely at their own disposal. The jobbers and others who calculate on finding an abundance of sellers in the market as soon as the letters are out, who will be but too glad to take much less and so enable them to deliver the scrip sold, and at a large profit, fall into the trap designedly laid for them. The directors or their agents having now made their bargains and filed the brokers' notes for them in the usual form, to the extent, say, of twenty thousand shares, resume the duty of considering the letters of application. Here some curious illustrations of the degree in which a board projecting a 'rig' may

also have a conscience will occur. They will give a few shares, more or less, according to the degree in which they desire to keep up appearances, but always less than they have already purchased through their agents, and which they know the market cannot produce. Instances have been heard of where directors have destroyed the whole of the letters of application, some bushels, of course, without ever looking at them. Then commence those tactics of realization which constitute the perfection of a 'rig.' It is announced that no more letters will be received, and that those which have been accepted have received their scrip, while the precious commodity, by fictitious bargains, comes to be regularly quoted in the official list, and all appears to be perfectly right and prosperous. As the period arrives for the making up of the time bargains, the sellers of the first operation begin to inquire where it may be procured for delivery, and find the holders, as they imagine, uncommonly confident; at all events, there is none to be had. They raise their offers, and begin to apprehend heavy differences, or the total loss of their credit. At this period comes into play the conscience, such as it may be, of the issuing board, the consideration being to what extent they shall mulct the unfortunate seller of what he cannot deliver without their aid, and who is entirely in their power. Sometimes they will content themselves with taking from him only £2 or £3 per share; but an instance occurred in

1825 where £10 or £11 were exacted. *The transaction then closes without the issuing of a single share.* If the seller, being a more acute person than usual, contrives to get some information of the 'rig,' he would repudiate his bargain, but this is the only mode of escape. Thus exactly according to the degree in which a 'rig' was practiced, would the market wear an entirely delusive appearance, and no test of value."

A clearer insight is given into the methods of the promotion of these bogus companies, in another column of the same issue, where a correspondent who seems to have had personal experience whereof he writes, exposes the sharpers as follows: Local circumstances render a railway desirable to the important town of A. Some influential parties are called together by a solicitor, aided by an engineer, and are easily persuaded to sanction the scheme and give their names to it; the professional men indemnify them against all preliminary expenses; a barrister accustomed to this work (and to no other), draws a prospectus, a public meeting is called, the same barrister and perhaps some clever attorney, deliver themselves of their eloquence, resolutions previously cut and dried are passed with acclamation, and the good people of A apply for shares innumerable, under the impression that all is *bona fide* and aboveboard. The professionals club together £200 or £300, take offices, engage clerks and secretaries, and finally select their act-

ing committees, with much apparent good faith, but still taking care to secure the appointment of their own personal friends who are in the secret, and a large majority of provisional committee men who are not in the secret, and live at an impracticable distance from London, at remote places "on the line." Then follow the usual advertisements that all the shares are allotted, innumerable applications being of necessity left ungratified, and fixing a day for payment of deposits, on pain of forfeiture; and now the thimble rig begins in earnest—thus far it has been only arranging the tables. Some £20,000 or £50,000 are paid in, according, of course, to the estimated amount of capital.

The first demand upon this is moderate, only some £500 to the solicitor, an equal sum to the engineer, "on account," for preliminary expenses, and a few hundred more for advertising; the solicitor usually goes shares with the advertising agent, and of course the bill of the latter is paid without hesitation under the professional advice of the former, backed by the "directing" barrister, who receives a round sum of £300, not on account, but as a proper professional gratuity for services rendered in getting up the company, travelling, speechmaking, etc. Engineering, surveying, referencing and other professional labors, are now seriously undertaken and money liberally advanced, from time to time, on account; but these are not the profits to realize the golden visions of

modern projectors, and a deeper game is played; but like the gaming of our hells, it goes on behind locked doors and green baize curtains; none but the initiated being admitted. A "share committee" being appointed, to "manage the market;" the absentee directors know nothing of it and are never summoned; the fools in presence (for there must always be a sprinkling of fools in every well-organized acting committee, to count noses on an emergency) assent to it as a thing of course, being told that such manœuvres always require a tact, promptitude and delicacy which can only be found in a very limited body, and the little batch who are "in the secret," and who always stick together are naturally chosen to form the "share committee," because they are very truly supposed to be the most experienced in the ways of the market; the "directing" barrister assumes, without asking, an *ex-officio* title to be present at all times and in all committees.

The sub-committee thus constituted commences its operations by employing a stock broker to assist them, and he is immediately invested with full powers to buy as many of "the London & A Direct Grand Junction Railway" shares as he can procure.

He goes to work accordingly but begins with caution, limiting his first day's purchase to thirty or forty, and paying for them a low premium of 5s. per share. The next day he buys one hundred more at 7s. 6d., and then another one hundred or two hundred at

ros.; the transactions on the first fortnight's accounts may amount to £300 or £400 only, to meet which a check of £500 is readily given to the "share committee" without producing scrip, and without inquiry, for the gradual rise in the quotations satisfies the "sprinkling of fools" that all is going on right, and so it is for them and their colleagues; the second fortnight's accounts show a still rising premium and another check is readily given, but for £5,000 this time, the operations being more extended; and so the rig goes on till the differences thus liberally paid out of the deposits, amount to three-fourths of the balance at the bankers. Heaven only knows how much of these alleged differences sticks by the way; for the sub-committee truly urge, and are well-backed by the directing barrister and attorney, that such transactions demand the greatest secrecy and confidence.

When things have reached, or are rapidly approaching, this critical juncture, the "office" is given to all who are in the secret, and their shares are quietly sent in the market and realize a premium at the highest price, while those who are not in the secret and earnestly desire to sell, are prevented by withholding their scrip on a thousand frivolous pretences, the favorite one being that the "subscribers' agreement" is gone into the country to be executed! The absentee directors are usually honest men who have subscribed only for investment, or to advance a scheme of real local importance; the "sprinkling

of fools" are easily persuaded that it is for the common interest to hold each his thousand shares, or the market will be flooded and a panic ensue, and then the little "batch in the secret" make their fortunes, the bulk of the deposits having gone to the devil.

But the game is not yet over. If the barrister, the attorney and the engineer have done their work cleverly, the harvest still remains to be reaped; the first turn in the market is the signal given for the grand *coup d'état*, and of course it will not be long before the market turns when thousands are no longer supplied out of the deposits to create fictitious buyers. I need hardly observe that a line can scarcely be projected in these days that will not clash with some rival interests, but even if it should be so lucky, and therefore in all probability "a good line," it is easy to get up a competition, upon a good understanding with the opposing solicitor and engineer. Well, the market is flat; the premium falls, and is daily descending to par, and the active little share committee is the first to cry "*Sauve qui peut*;" attributing the growing panic to the improving state of the growing rival; "amalgamation" is now proposed; it is another work of difficulty and delicacy, and therefore confided to the share committee, or yet more frequently undertaken by them *Suo motu*, without any authority whatever. The solicitor and the engineer stipulate for compensation for surrendering their prospective professional gain, and each receives \$5,000. The direct-

ing barrister receives his fee for negotiating and settling the alliance, perhaps £500 and is further compensated by being made standing counsel of the new body. The batch in the secret each has his £1,000 for generously surrendering his seat in the direction to make way for new men. The "amalgamation" is pompously announced to the world as a measure obviously conducive to the interests of the line by saving a Parliamentary contest. The compensation fees are paid out of the deposits of the rival company, and the payment, if ever accidentally discovered, is justified by necessity. The scripholders on both sides, at length begin to see "they are sold, and, all but they being satisfied, 'the bubble busts!'"

The repeated warnings of the *Times*, which seemed to have the interests of the people at heart, and was certainly sound in its position, had a perceptible effect upon the condition of affairs; but the tide had arisen to a point where even this great barrier could not stay the overflow, nor prevent the certain ruin of thousands. Passing rapidly through the files of that journal during November, a variety of interesting events may be discovered. Here, under date of November 7th, is a significant quotation from the *Newcastle Journal*: "Shares which a week or two ago bore a high premium and were eagerly sought for, are now at a discount, or, it may be, difficult to be disposed of at any sacrifice. The soundest and most promising lines have receded to an

extent unaccountable on any other principle than that of a sudden paralyzing panic having fallen upon the railway world, confounding for a time the substantial project with the empty bubble, and the well considered *bona fide* undertaking with the rash hap-hazard speculation. At any season or period a panic in the money market works a world of mischief, confusing everything; but in the excited state in which the country has been kept for the last six or eight months in respect of railroads at home, abroad and in the colonies,—when week after week, nay day after day, new projects full blown were being flung upon the market, it may easily be imagined what frightful havoc anything like a fright among railway shareholders would occasion, and what widespread ruin it would create. . . . Shares were at a high premium in schemes of which none knew anything save the solicitor or the engineer. Provisional committees and managing directories were forged out of materials which it was impossible to see without surprise, or examine without distrust; and in that condition of things, the crash was sure to come, sooner or later."

Again, on November 12: "One of the leading features of railway enterprise which is manifesting itself at this moment with an extraordinary degree of activity, is the employment of the vast numbers of persons who have any pretension to be called members of the surveying or engineering professions,

in the preparations for the 30th inst., when the plans, sections, and books of reference must be ready for deposit with the clerk of the peace. All of them receive the most liberal or extravagant pay, and the merest novices receive engagements, for which they throw up, with or without the consent of their principals, their regular employment, and nearly all ordinary and routine business is at a standstill. Of the extent of occupation which has devolved upon these professions in consequence of the prevailing excitement, some idea may be obtained from the useful statistical tables published in the Railway Almanack for 1846; and, as really eminent men are not numerous in those departments of professional skill, it necessarily follows that the whole work is in comparatively few hands. From these tables it appears that one engineer is engaged on eleven of the new lines, another on fourteen, a third on sixteen, a fourth on seventeen, and a fifth on twenty-one lines. The same may be, and no doubt are, engaged on other lines; for many of those on the list have no engineer's name attached to them, and it may be safely assumed that the execution in a proper manner of such a quantity of work is beyond human power. Letters from the northern counties, received in the city this morning, describe the activity and excitement as universal, with regard to the great engineering and mapping movement; and notice is especially taken of the class of persons who are so employed, one letter re-

marking that 'lads who have only just left school are permitted to take particulars which require experience in some of the nicest questions of real property.' It may easily be anticipated what figure some of them will make when the time for the great ordeal arrives.'

On November 17, the *Times* published an elaborate series of tables, showing the exact condition of the railroads of England at the time, and called attention thereto in a leading editorial full of the deep significance of the occasion. The table exhibited 1,428 railroads either made, authorized, or announced to the public. "Probably," says the *Times* in comment, "neither friend or foe ever gave the British nation credit for so vast a fund of projective or rather explosive force. Those 1,263 new titles are not a mere paper enumeration of possible or imagined schemes. After making every deduction for mere swindling or mere castle building, or mere insanity, there remain many hundreds of railroad schemes, to which men of reputed sense and honor have given their deliberate sanction, and which have been ushered into the world with great names, elaborate estimates, and pompous commendations. Numbers of respectable persons have been found to give a public pledge to the wisdom of these projects, and multitudes have been induced by that pledge to cast their money into the auspicious undertaking. This unprecedented mass of speculation, therefore, we are forced to conclude, is

not the folly or the wickedness of a few, but a national act—the wide-spread mania of numerous classes—of tradesmen, of merchants, of gentlemen, of clergymen, of rich and poor, of idle and busy.”

The issue of November 18th contains this from the *Halifax Guardian*: “The Stock Exchange here (Liverpool), as well as in Manchester, is in a frightfully agitated state. Every broker suspects his neighbor, and all confidence among the fraternity is completely destroyed. The panic is spreading, and it appears that the great bulk of the brokers have been jobbers on their own account, and that a very great amount of the business lately done has been fictitious, or, at all events, that no principals beyond the brokers themselves have been concerned. A most unjustifiable and reckless series of transactions have been carried on amongst them—accounts have been jumbled up together, and all is now chaos and confusion. It is scarcely possible to know who are the sound or who is the unsound, and all the business of new transactions is entirely at a standstill. Hundreds of transactions in new fanciful scrip shares will never be paid for; in fact, no reasonable man can look to obtain the rates at which he sold his favored allotment, and very many of these stags who had fancied themselves retired into green pastures of quiet rest, will find themselves most woefully deceived. As for stags in recent allotments, there is no race at all; nobody

will even look at this scrip; and as to letters of appointment, such things do not see daylight. This week prices have fallen some twenty or thirty per cent., and more brokers are involved than we were led to infer, while the prospect of improvement appears to be remote and uncertain. The system of selling out has been in daily request to a much larger extent than the business for the account; and, as a necessary consequence, embarrassment has increased in greater proportion. Three firms, members of the association over the Royal Bank, have been expelled from that body this week for having made default in paying the differences between them, and it is said that a far greater number of cases are now before the committee, but that their decision thereon is postponed for a short time. As to business, it is measurably dull. The prices in the official list are mostly nominal, and we have heard it hinted that more scrip is at a discount than appears to be from that publication.” England had begun to reap the whirlwind.

Passing on to November 25th: “The only present indication of a movement in railway matters is that proceeding from the unfortunate holders of shares which have become unsaleable in the market, and these are pressing on all sides for a stoppage to all further expenditure, with the return of so much of the deposit as may be left on hand.” And elsewhere in the same issue: “The courts of bankruptcy throughout the country are likely to be

very soon occupied with the cases of those who have become the victims of the recent railway bubble mania. The first of an anticipated long series of judicial investigations into failures in trade produced by indulgence in speculation was commenced a day or two ago at Birmingham. The victim in the present instance appears to have been a person not fraudulently disposed, but by giving way to a general failing he has acted dishonestly toward his creditors. The bankrupt in this case is a defaulter in a small scale, and a mere dabbler in comparison to thousands who have been neglecting their legitimate sources of substantial profits for the visionary shadows which railway speculation has placed before their eyes." December 10th: "It is now calculated that the seven hundred companies who have lodged their plans with the board of trade must furnish to the accounting general within a few weeks from the present time the enormous sum of thirty-five millions of

money. That they will be able to do this no sane man pretends to assert. The bare mention of the thing is received as an absurdity. The only question is as to how the difficulty may be met."

December 18th: "The railway drama approaches its *denouement*. Each day develops some new effort of the actors to escape the toils they have spread for each other. The more they struggle the more the plot thickens, and the deeper becomes the interest of the scene. There is a strange peculiarity in the performance. It reverses the established order of things and inverts the common proportion of numbers between the players and the audience. Here we have on one side a crowded stage and a whole community for the *dramatis personæ*, on the other a beggarly account of empty boxes, dotted thinly here and there with a few critical and unsympathizing spectators."

J. H. KENNEDY.

(To be continued.)

THE RAILROAD MEN OF AMERICA.

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

When, in the opening weeks of 1888, at a time when the people were forecasting the Presidential possibilities, and speculation was rife as to the man who should lead the Republicans against Grover Cleveland, whose renomination was already assured, suggestions were heard in various quarters east and west, that Chauncey M. Depew was one upon whom all might unite; and when the idea received the warmest welcome in quarters where endorsement became the highest compliment, the unique spectacle was witnessed of the declaration by politicians in favor of one who had never been one of them, of one who had made no effort to place himself in the attitude of a candidate, and of one whose claim upon public attention was the fact that he was worthy of it, and that his great abilities had made him so marked that he was universally recognized as equal to any position within the people's gift. A lawyer, an orator and a railroad man, rather than a politician, he had commanded the admiration of the people by sheer genius and brain power, and not by the accidents of position, the tricks of the showy statesman, or the purchase of enthusiasm or political support. It in no sense lessens the impressiveness of this

fact that another was chosen in the carrying out of party policy, and amid the exciting casting of chances of the Republican National convention.

Although trained in the profession of the law, Mr. Depew became, ere many years of practise, so intimately connected with the railroad interests of New York and the country, that his transition from one field of labor to the other was natural, and almost inevitable under the circumstances; and when he was chosen president of the New York Central & Hudson River Railroad Company, the wisdom of the choice was recognized in all quarters, and it was agreed that the ranks of the railroad men of the country had received a reinforcement that would shed honor upon a body already renowned for the number of its high-minded and brainy men.

Mr. Depew was born in Peekskill, New York, on April 3d, 1834, the son of Isaac Depew, a prominent and highly esteemed citizen of that place. His mother, born Martha Mitchell, was a lady of marked personal beauty and fine accomplishments, and a member of a New England family, whose most illustrious representative was Roger Sherman, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Mr.

Depew's remote ancestors were French Huguenots, who quit the inhospitable land of their nativity about the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1658; and were of those who founded New Rochelle, West Chester county, New York, in memory of La Rochelle, France, which their Huguenot progenitors had defended with dauntless courage against the assaults of their persecutors. The family settled in Peekskill two hundred years ago, and the farm purchased at that time still belongs to them. Mr. Depew still delights to call the old place his home, although he is a resident of New York, and has for years been recognized as one of the leading men of the metropolis. His boyhood was spent in his native village, and it was there that he was fitted for college. He was known as an apt scholar and a leader among his fellows, and gave unmistakable promise of future brilliancy. At the age of eighteen he entered Yale, and in 1856 was graduated with one of the first honors of his class. The year of his graduation will live in history in a political way by the organization of the National Republican party, and the first vote of the young man for President was cast for John C. Fremont, the Republican nominee. Although of Democratic antecedents, his early interest in politics had led him to prompt affiliation with the new party. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854, the defiant attitude of the south in its efforts to carry slavery into Kansas and Nebraska, the unqualified

opposition of the Republican party to the extension of slavery into any of the territories, and the hostility of the Democratic party to congressional interference with the question of slavery in the territories elsewhere compelled attention; and young Depew was already well grounded in American politics, and was as well prepared to decide upon the great issue involved as upon any other question of vital moment.

Having chosen the law as his profession, Mr. Depew entered upon its study in Peekskill, under the direction of Hon. William Nelson, and was duly admitted in 1858. In the same year he made his first personal appearance in politics, being elected a delegate to the Republican state convention in recognition of the interest he had taken in the Republican cause, and the energy and skill he had displayed in support of its policy. He commenced the practice of law in 1859, and soon demonstrated his fitness for the profession; but for a time at least, his career in the law was destined to an interruption. In 1860 he took the stump for Lincoln in the great and impressive Presidential canvass of that year. He addressed many large and enthusiastic audiences in the Ninth New York congressional district, and in other parts of the state in which he was best known, and was hailed with delight wherever he went.

In 1861 Mr. Depew was nominated for the assembly in the Third West Chester county district, and although the Democrats were largely in the majority in the county, he was elected by

a majority of two hundred and forty-nine. To the performance of his legislative duties he carried rare intelligence, industry and tact, to say nothing of his exceptional qualities as an orator. He was so well satisfied his constituents that he was re-elected in 1862, and his name was prominently mentioned in connection with the speakership. He was made chairman of the committee on ways and means, was for a portion of the session speaker *pro tem.*, and was counted a vital force in the business of the session. During this second term in the assembly, he advocated, with characteristic earnestness and ability, the adoption of some measures demanded by the interests of New York city, and at the close of the session, in acknowledgment of his efficient service, was tendered a banquet by a number of the most prominent business men in the metropolis, and found himself all at once the subject of sincere congratulations and eloquent eulogy.

In the year last named, the Democratic party scored a signal victory by the election of its candidate for governor, Horatio Seymour, one of the ablest and purest statesmen the Empire state has produced. The prestige of his success was not to be easily overcome, and in the following year the Republicans found it necessary to select their candidates with care. Mr. Depew was chosen as the standard-bearer of the Republican party as its candidate for secretary of state, and the campaign was an exciting one from its inception to its close. He took the

aggressive from the start, and led his forces with consummate skill and with an energy and dash that carried consternation into the ranks of the enemy. At the close of the contest he had reversed the decision of 1862, and was proclaimed the victor by a majority of 30,000. In this canvass Mr. Depew displayed prodigious power of endurance. He spoke twice a day for six consecutive weeks, and with freshness, vigor and commanding eloquence on each occasion. He discharged the duties of his office with credit to himself and honor to the state; and upon the expiration of his term was tendered a renomination by his party, which he unhesitatingly declined. When Andrew Johnson succeeded to the Presidency of the United States, and before he broke with the party which had associated his name with that of Abraham Lincoln and elevated him to power, he selected Mr. Depew for the post of collector of the port of New York, and had proceeded in the business so far as to make out the commission; but becoming incensed against Mr. Edwin D. Morgan, then one of the Senators from New York, because of that gentleman's refusal to sustain his veto of the Civil Rights bill, he tore up Mr. Depew's credentials, and never sent his name to the Senate for confirmation. The government lost the services of a man of conceded ability; but in the light of later events Mr. Depew was the gainer. Still later in the same administration, the Secretary of State, Wm. H. Seward, appointed Mr. Depew United

States minister to Japan, and for a time the gentleman thus honored was disposed to accept; but after holding his position for four weeks declined the office, with the evident determination to withdraw from political life.

He now brought into his profession a sturdier manhood, a maturer character, larger and clearer ideas of men and affairs, and a better knowledge of his own resources; and resumed his duties with the consciousness that, for all the purposes of life, his talent and energies were more readily available to him than before. He had already won the admiring attention of Commodore Vanderbilt, and the warm friendship of his eldest son, William H. Vanderbilt; and the future railroad king and his chief representative now gave practical expression to their high appreciation of his talents as a lawyer and his character as a man. In 1866 Mr. Depew was appointed the attorney for the New York & Harlem Railroad Company, and in 1869, when this company was consolidated with the New York Central, and became the New York Central & Hudson River Railroad Company, with Commodore Vanderbilt at its head, Mr. Depew was made the attorney of the new organization, and was afterwards elected a member of its board of directors. As the influence of the Vanderbilts extended, and one road after another was brought under their management, the range of Mr. Depew's official jurisdiction became correspondingly wider; and in 1875 he was promoted to be general counsel for

the entire Vanderbilt system and elected to a directorship in each of the lines comprised in it. In 1872 he permitted the use of his name as a candidate for lieutenant-governor on the Liberal-Republican, or Greeley ticket; but his party was unsuccessful, and he shared its fate. In 1874 he was the choice of the legislature for regent of the state university, and was also appointed one of the commissioners to build the capitol at Albany. Indeed, it seemed as if there was to be no limit to the duties assigned to Mr. Depew, but his administrative ability rendered him equal to every demand upon it, and every task he assumed was faithfully performed.

An interesting episode in the life of this busy and remarkable man occurred in 1881 in connection with the resignation of Mr. Conkling and Mr. Platt from the United States Senate, and their fight for a return to their old posts. Gov. Cornell advised the legislature of these resignations, and on the thirty-first of May the two houses balloted separately for their successors. The Republicans had a majority in each house, and after the first ballot went into joint convention. Mr. Depew was pressed into the lists by many of the most influential men in the Republican party, and yielded reluctant assent to the use of his name. The first ballot for a senator to succeed Mr. Platt was distributed among eighteen candidates; and of these Mr. Depew stood second in point of strength. The Democratic ballots

were cast unanimously for Hon. Francis Kernan to be Mr. Platt's successor and for John C. Jacobs to succeed Mr. Conkling, up to and including the twenty-second ballot, when on the twenty-third it was scattered, and on and after the twenty-fourth it was entered on Clarkson N. Potter. In the ballot under consideration, Mr. Depew divided the honors with Mr. Platt, who had been elected by this same legislature, and led Gov. Cornell handsomely. The Republicans had held no caucus, and now went into joint convention without formal consultation or agreement. On the second joint ballot, Mr. Depew tied Mr. Platt; on the third he led him by two; on the seventh, he forged gallantly ahead to the tune of sixteen; on the tenth, he led him by twenty-six; and in the fourteenth, he moved readily away from his strongest competitor by twenty-nine, leaving all the others to bring up the rear with but a feeble showing of speed or strength. On the nineteenth ballot Mr. Depew only lacked ten votes of an election, and on the thirty-fourth this record was repeated; other ballots carried him very near to the goal; but it should not be inferred from this statement that his friends were at any time fitful or wavering in their support. The uncertainty and vacillation of the scattered forces opposed to him give the explanation. His friends stood by him with unflinching loyalty, and in such numbers as to demonstrate beyond all question that he was the man for the occasion and the choice of a majority of his party's re-

presentatives. On the ninth ballot he had a majority of three over all the other candidates; on the tenth, seven; and, finally, when a caucus was held and a candidate nominated, the entire caucus only numbered twelve more than the highest number of votes given to Mr. Depew. Under these circumstances his right to the nomination would seem to have been beyond question; but, as one has said, "there were gentlemen in the field who fancied themselves 'dark horses,' other gentlemen who were sustained by the faint hope that the Senatorial lightning might strike them, and still others—and with them their friends—who had axes to grind, for whom, assuredly, Mr. Depew would not turn the stone. Mr. Depew's opponents did not question his great abilities, his sterling probity, or his eminent fitness for the high place to which he aspired; they could not doubt his patriotism or his loyalty to his party; and with many of them it was not that they loved Mr. Depew the less, but themselves the more. But who was to bring order out of this political chaos? Who was to make the sacrifice necessary to the restoration of harmony? Throughout the contest so far, Mr. Depew had borne himself with true manliness and dignity; he had stood head and shoulders above all his competitors; his friends were prepared to stand by him to the bitter end; and of all the candidates named he alone had an offering worthy of acceptance—and he it was who made the sacrifice." On the morning of the

2nd of July, the deadly bullet of the assassin, Guiteau, struck down the President of the United States, James A. Garfield, and the heart of the Nation thrilled with horror. In the presence of this awful calamity the people stood awe struck and dumb, and sadness, mourning and a fearful sense of insecurity spread all over the land. The effect of this appalling tragedy upon the minds of men need not be described here. The New York legislature had adjourned upon the announcement of the tragedy, and when it re-assembled, the more thoughtful men of the Republican party felt that the Senatorial contests should be brought to a close as decently and speedily as possible. Mr. Depew was the first to point out the duty of the hour, and, after the fortieth ballot had shown his undiminished strength, he withdrew from the field. In his letter to the convention he said: "Neither the state nor the party can afford to have New York unrepresented in the National councils. A great crime has plunged the nation into sorrow, and in the midst of the prayers and the tears of the whole people, supplicating for the recovery and weeping over the wound of the President, this partisan strife should cease." To those who had fought with pride and unquenchable zeal under his flag, he made grateful and touching acknowledgment, and said: "Their devotion will be the pride of my life and the heritage of my children." On the 8th of July, Mr. Depew having withdrawn, a caucus of the Republican

members was held, and Warner Miller was nominated by the caucus, and the nomination was ratified in joint convention on the forty-eighth ballot. Mr. Conkling's successor was not elected until the 22d of July. Mr. Depew had every reason to be proud of the part he played in the conflict.

Recognition, however, came to him in its own good time. In 1884 the Republicans of all factions in the legislature, being in a majority of nearly two-thirds, tendered the United States senatorship to Mr. Depew, but he had become committed to so many business and professional trusts he felt compelled to decline the honor. In 1882 William H. Vanderbilt retired from the presidency of the New York Central, and the management was reorganized. Mr. James H. Rutter was made president, and Mr. Depew second vice-president. Upon the death of Mr. Rutter in 1885 Mr. Depew was elevated to the presidency, and is now the executive head of one of the largest and most prosperous railroad corporations in the world, with untold wealth at his back, and with an influence commensurate with the vast interests of the great Vanderbilt system of railroads, and not even circumscribed by these limits. For over twenty years "he had been the friend of William H. Vanderbilt, and enjoyed his confidence to the utmost. As counsel, director and vice-president, and as Mr. Vanderbilt's confidant and friend, he had become thoroughly familiar with the management of the road, and he made its details and

secrets his own. As the chief legal adviser he had to deal with the intricacies of nearly every branch of its business; all that the heads of the departments had acquired by years of observation and practical experience was his to command; he had been in at the inception of every enterprise, had aided in shaping the policy of the road and in defining its relations with other like corporations; he had been the interpreter of the law which declared its rights, responsibilities and limitations; he had completely mastered its machinery and knew the power that moved it, and better than any other man he was prepared to fill the place in which the Vanderbilts, father and son, had distinguished themselves as great managers, and in which each had won for himself the title of Railway King. To fit himself for the administration of the affairs of such a corporation meant work, and a great many things besides. The basilar fact in Mr. Depew's character is a profound and accurate judgment, and this asserts itself in all his manifold relations with men and affairs, and as well in every effort he puts forth in any direction. Practical common sense, tact, an exquisite sense of the proprieties, a singular aptitude for business and an intuitive appreciation of the value of means with reference to their ends, are manifestations of this judgment; and, if we add a strong will, great executive ability, untiring industry and instinctive love of order and readiness to adopt the best method, an intellect of astonishing range and remarkable

promptness in the solution of intricate problems, we have a correct estimate of the qualities which go to make Mr. Depew a worthy successor to William H. Vanderbilt, and to maintain for him an undisputed place in the first rank of American railroad managers."

Mr. Depew, in addition to the presidency of the New York Central & Hudson River Railroad company, occupies the same relation to the West Shore Railroad company; is a director of the Chicago & Northwestern; the Michigan Central; the Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati & Indianapolis; the New York, Chicago & St. Louis; the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis & Omaha, and the New York, New Haven & Hartford. In addition to these important railroad connections, his time and interest are claimed in many directions of a business, charitable or social nature. He is regent of the University of the state of New York, president of the well-known and influential Union League Club of New York city, having been twice elected to that position; and is now, and has been for many years, the popular leader and president of the Yale Alumni Association. He is an active member of the celebrated "Skull-and-Bones" of Yale college, and also of the St. Nicholas Society of New York, the Holland Society of New York, and the Huguenot Society of America. He is a member of the New York Chamber of Commerce, and a director of the Union Trust Company of New York, the Western Union Telegraph Company, and the Equitable Life

Assurance Society; and bears the degree of LL. D. conferred on him by Yale University, June 28, 1887.

While, as has been already said, Mr. Depew was urged as a candidate for the Republican nomination for President in 1888, he made no personal effort to advance his chances in that direction, although willing that his name should be used, and frank as to his purpose of acceptance should the honor be laid upon him. Elected as one of the delegates from New York, he became from the first one of the conspicuous men in that great gathering; and when it was known that he was the choice of the delegation from the Empire state, and would receive its support, the feeling was held in many quarters that he was in truth the coming man. On June 22 his name was formally presented as a candidate by Senator Hiscock of New York, who declared, on behalf of his colleagues: "We propose a candidate whose name will be an inspiration to our country. His name is dear to us all. His counsel has led us and will guide us; his eloquence has electrified and will continue to inspire us. His broad and statesmanlike utterances have long commanded the respect of the people, not of New York alone, but wherever heard or read. As Chief Magistrate of the Republic, his superb abilities, his matchless executive equipment, his thorough knowledge of affairs, his broad comprehension of public interests and the Nation's capacities, his perfect integrity, his justness and consideration of the rights of man, his

fidelity to Republican principles, would assure an administration promotive of National development and progress."

On the first ballot Mr. Depew received 99 votes; the same on the second, and 91 on the third—at the conclusion of which an adjournment was had until evening. In the evening when the convention had reassembled, Mr. Depew ascended the platform, where he received an ovation that well illustrated his popularity with the delegates and the people, and in a short speech withdrew his name from the contest. His reasons for so doing can be best given in his own words.

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention: I come here," he said, "as a delegate at large from the state of New York, neither expecting nor desiring to appear in the convention or before it in any other capacity. After my arrival the representatives of New York, by a unanimous vote, presented my name to this convention. It was done for state reasons, in the belief that because it was the only time since the organization of the Republican party that all divisions could be healed and all interests united in the Empire state, it would secure in that commonwealth the triumph of the ticket. (Applause.) Under these conditions, personal consideration and opinion could have no possible weight. Since then a discussion has arisen which has convinced me that my vocation and associations will raise a question in hitherto certain Republican states which might enable the enemy

to obscure the great issue of the future industrial prosperity of this country, (applause,) which, unless obscured in some way, will surely win us success this fall. (Applause.) The delegates had voted to continue in this support so long as ballots were to be taken, but under the circumstances, after the most earnest and prayerful consideration, I came to the conclusion that no personal consideration, no state reasons, could stand for a moment in the way of the general success of the party all over this country, or could be permitted to threaten the integrity of the party in any commonwealth hitherto Republican. In our own state, by wise laws and wiser submission to them by the railroad companies, the railway problem has been so completely settled that it has disappeared from our politics. (Applause.) But I believe that there are communities where it is still so active that there may be danger in having it presented directly or indirectly. Under these circumstances, and after your vote this morning, I called on the delegation from my own state and requested them to release me from further service in that capacity. They have consented, and my only excuse in appearing here is to give excuse for their action for the appearance of my name, and to express heartfelt thanks to gentlemen from the states and territories who have honored me with their suffrages. The causes which have led to this action on the part of the state of New York, now that their judgment has been arrived at, will leave

no heart-burnings among the people in that state. The delegation will go home to a constituency which will find us unanimous in the support of whoever may be the nominee of this convention." (Applause.)

Mr. Depew's last notable public appearance was as chief orator in the great centennial celebration that occurred in New York city, in the Spring of 1889.

This sketch of Mr. Depew would fall far short of doing him justice if it failed to take into account the warmth and depth of his social nature, the inflexible probity of his character and his broad and generous sympathies toward his fellow man. He has in abundant measure the affectionate nature which distinguished Henry Clay, and which made him the idol of such a circle of friends as no other American statesman could ever boast of. He is loyal to his friends and they are unswerving in their devotion to him; he is tolerant of men's convictions while firm in maintaining his own; he delights in speaking well of others, and, above all, finds infinite satisfaction in doing good. While he has back of him enormous wealth, and can count among his friends the noblest in the land, he is never unmindful of the claims of the less fortunate who are entitled to his consideration. As an orator, and especially as a post-prandial speaker, Mr. Depew's reputation has long since been established the country over.

SAMUEL F. BARGER.

Samuel F. Barger, who, for a quarter of a century or more, has been one of those most closely identified with the interests of the New York Central, has had a wide influence, in a quiet way, upon the railroad development of New York and those portions of the West through which its greatest lines of railway are led. He is a descendant of one of the early Dutch families who made their homes upon Staten Island, where not only his parents but his grandparents were born. His own career opened in New York City on October 19, 1832. His primary education was acquired at the grammar school of Columbia college, then located in Murray street; and after completing the usual preparatory course, he entered the University of the City of New York, of which the Hon. Theodore Frelinghuysen was then chancellor. In the meantime the father had removed from New York to New Jersey, where the son proceeded after the completion of his course, and entered upon the study of the law in the office of Aaron S. Pennington, of Paterson. He was admitted to practice in New Jersey in 1854, and in 1855 came to New York where he was again admitted, as was required by the laws of the state. He immediately commenced the labors incident to his profession; taking possession, in 1858, of an office in the Trinity building which he has since continuously occupied.

Mr. Barger's connection with the great railroad system in which he has so long had part, commenced when Commodore Vanderbilt, in 1867, assumed control of the New York Central; becoming one of the directors of that company. He has occupied that important relation from that day to this, his term of office extending through the three Vanderbilt generations, the Commodore, William H., and the sons and successors of the latter. It has been no mere formal or nominal relation to the company that he has sustained, as he has been, all through his term as director, a member of the executive and finance committees, where his extended experience, sound conservatism, good judgment and knowledge of the law have been continuously brought into play for the protection or advancement of the interests committed to his care.

The changes that have occurred since Mr. Barger assumed his first official position in the directory of the Central, may be understood from the fact that he, although by no means an old man, is the only living representative of that board. His associates, Commodore Vanderbilt, William H. Vanderbilt, Augustus Schell, Horace F. Clarke, Daniel Torrence, C. W. Chapin, James H. Banker, H. Henry Baxter, William A. Kissam and George J. Whitney, have all reached the end of their earthly labors, and those of a new



W. W. & P. H. G. & C. O.

Saml. J. Barger

generation have come to take their places.

Mr. Barger had the honor of presiding over one of the most important meetings recorded in the history of the American railroad—that held at Albany on November 1, 1869, when the Hudson River railroad and the New York Central were consolidated into the one giant system under the laws provided for that purpose, and in accordance with the wise and foreseeing plans already formed. He has also, through the use of his capital and personal labors, been of efficient service to the Western extensions or connections of the Central system, serving as a director and a member of the executive and finance committees of the following roads: the Harlem railroad, the West Shore, the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern, the Canada Southern and its leased lines, the Michigan Central and the Chicago & Northwestern—giving him an official connection and service over the vast extent of country extending from New York on the east, to Omaha on the west.

Mr. Barger's other official connections, railroad and otherwise, may be briefly summarized: a trustee of the Canada Southern Bridge Company, and the Albany Bridge Company; a director and member of the executive committee of the Wagner Palace Car Company from its formation; a trustee of the Union Trust Company for some ten or twelve years past. He was a director and a member of the executive committee of the Western Union Telegraph

Company, and also a member of other committees of the same great organization for a number of years; but resigned and retired therefrom upon the consolidation of the Western Union with the American Union in 1881.

These varied and important interests have certainly furnished Mr. Barger with sufficient occupation and he has carefully kept within the lines they marked out; caring little for the excitement of public life and refusing all invitations in that direction. A lifelong Democrat, he has used his influence for the advancement of his party's interests and the upholding of its principles, but has kept himself steadily in the back-ground, his only office-holding being comprised in a term as quarantine commissioner in 1860, and service as an elector upon the Democratic Presidential ticket of New York in 1876. He has also been identified with the public school system of New York, and, through other channels, has quietly given efficient service for the public good. He has been identified with the Masonic order for many years; is an attendant of Dr. Hall's Presbyterian church; and holds a prominent position in New York social life, having been a member of the Union Club since 1867 and on its governing committee, and, in addition to membership in several other social organizations of New York, is a member of the Somerset club of Boston and the two clubs at Newport, Rhode Island, where he spends his summer months. In his personal relations Mr. Barger is a

quiet, unassuming gentleman, generous, approachable, well-acquainted with literature and art, while in all his business relations he is high-minded, honorable, with integrity that has never been impeached, and a desire that the rights of the humblest holder in any interests under his control, shall be

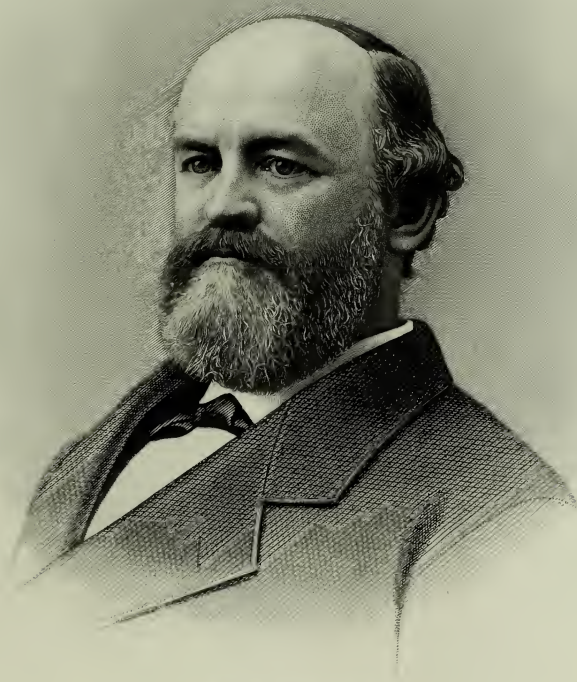
carefully guarded and protected. His record in connection with the great Central system has not only been extended over a long and important period, but in all respects has been one of which he might well be proud, and upon which no dark line of criticism or condemnation can be justly laid.

CHARLES L. COLBY.

It was well for those great railroad interests of the Northwest that when Gardner Colby was compelled by advancing age and the approach of disease to lay down the burdens he had so manfully borne, there was one who by reason of youth, industry, keen natural sagacity and financial genius, was able to step into the breach and carry all forward to a magnificent success. Charles Lewis Colby inherited from his father much more than was set down in any formal bequest; for no mention was there made of the traits of character that made the one conspicuous and honored, and that shine so steadily and truly in the life and works of the other.

The son, Charles L., who is now and has been for years ranked as one of the foremost railroad men of the country, was born in Roxbury, now a part of the city of Boston, on May 22, 1839. His youth was passed under the care of a father and mother alive to his best moral and mental interests; and after the usual preparatory schooling he entered Brown University, from

which he graduated in 1858. He soon after entered upon his business career in Boston with Page, Richardson & Co., ship-owners, who run a line of packets to Liverpool, and also conducted a large average adjusting business. At the end of three years he went to New York city, where he entered into partnership with Capt. Albert Dunbar—a man much older than himself—under the firm name of Dunbar & Colby. Their business was the building and general management of ships. The senior partner soon after became unable to attend to business because of sickness, and in two years died, leaving Mr. Colby the control of their great enterprises almost from the commencement of their partnership. Nothing daunted he kept fearlessly along the road upon which he had entered, commanding unusual success. He soon added a general warehouse business and admitted a brother as partner, the firm being known as C. L. & J. L. Colby—E. B. Bartlett being afterwards also admitted.



MADE IN U.S.A.

Chas. L. Colby

In 1870 Mr. Colby entered upon what may be well considered the great work of his life, giving up his New York connection that he might aid his father in the Wisconsin Central enterprise. He was soon set to a task that was calculated to try his powers to the fullest, being sent in 1870-71 to Europe to negotiate securities and sell the railroad bonds. He was laid under no special instructions by the management but left free to compass the desired ends by his own methods, and the results showed that the trust had been committed to the right hands. Upon reaching Europe Mr. Colby made the acquaintance of Henry Villard, and through his assistance negotiated a large amount of railroad securities in Germany. The next three years were spent in alternating between Europe and America, with occasional visits to Wisconsin, his attention being mainly given to the financial part of the enterprise. In 1874 it was found that his attention was almost continuously required in the West, and he accordingly closed up his affairs in New York, sold out his Eastern interests, and removed to Milwaukee, which has since been his home. He was first treasurer of the Phillips & Colby Construction Co., and held that office for several years. He was connected with the Wisconsin Central from its beginning, and it may be said in passing that he has raised all the money needed by the extensions and improvements of the great system until now, and has carried into the State of Wisconsin over twenty

million dollars, besides ten millions or more which has been invested in Chicago in connection with the same great enterprise.

In 1877 Mr. Colby was elected president of the Wisconsin Central and remained continuously in that position until now except during an interm of a few months when he resigned for a time, to cover an expected absence in the east. The grand work he has accomplished in connection therewith; the service he has given to his adopted state; and the results accomplished by the seed sown by his father and nurtured by himself in that now teeming portion of the west, may best be learned from the following tribute from one of the leading journals of Wisconsin, the *Sentinel*, of Milwaukee:

“Mr. Colby has been a resident of Wisconsin nearly seven years; he has been identified with many enterprises of a public character; has interested himself greatly in all benevolent and charitable institutions; and in many cases, as all know, has contributed largely both of his means and of his time to increase their usefulness and their power. Through his untiring and ceaseless efforts is due, more than to any other cause, the final completion and success of the Wisconsin Central Railroad, which has done more for the recent development of the state than any other enterprise.

“In Mr. Colby’s efforts to accomplish these great results he has met with much opposition from many who should rather have given to it their hearty

good will and help. He has been hampered in the courts, in the legislature, and by these same prosecutions to which reference has already been made ; but he has fought his way to success. Many of those who once bitterly opposed him are now his warmest friends ; and the day has already come when the whole state recognizes the energy, enterprise, integrity and pluck of the man who has yielded to no obstacle and to no enemy. The few who now oppose him appear to be merely those who have been dismissed from employment of the company for reasons that were sufficient to warrant it in so doing. The congratulations that have poured in upon Mr. Colby from not only the business men and best people of Milwaukee, but from all over the state and the northwest, indicate the high esteem in which he is held by all communities who know him. Few men, if any, have ever become identified with the interests of Wisconsin and who have, in the brief period of seven years, attained to so high position in the regard of the people of the state. Although standing aloof from desire for political preferment, and only accepting public service when it has been forced upon him, he even became the first choice of a considerable portion of the communities where he is best known, for the position of United States senator ; and was persistently brought forward in connection with that position, although at no time in any way or degree a candidate.

“To those who appreciate, first, the

herculean labor and grit required to push the Wisconsin Central Railroad through the northern wilderness of the state ; second, that the work accomplished was the entering wedge to the present rapid development of the entire upper half of the territory of the commonwealth ; third, that thereby the greatest natural resources of Wisconsin were made known and became utilized ; fourth, that from this beginning, made less than ten years ago, the northern half of the state has become reclaimed from absolute wilderness to equally productive wealth with that of any other region ; fifth, that to this beginning is alone due the present stride of railways across and through the long neglected territory that fairly teems with grand riches of forest, mine and field, and that is to be in the near future the most steadily flowing tributary to Milwaukee's commercial greatness ; then, indeed, there can be but one sentiment in regard to the good accomplished by the long hindered yet finally successful labors of Mr. Charles L. Colby and his immediate associates in the great work of building the Wisconsin Central Railroad through the wilderness that was so long deemed impregnable. To-day Milwaukee and Wisconsin owe much to the management of the Wisconsin Central, and northern Wisconsin owes everything.”

The details of railroad work accomplished in that portion of the northwest by Mr. Colby and his associates in creating the present Wisconsin Central system, would fill a volume if related

in full. They built the Wisconsin & Minnesota, Milwaukee & Lake Winnebago; bought the Chippewa Falls & Western; built the Minnesota, St. Croix & Wisconsin; built the St. Paul & St. Croix Falls; built the Packwaukee & Montello, the Penokee Railroad, and the Chicago, Wisconsin & Minnesota; and also created the Chicago & Great Western, a terminal company holding the terminal facilities of the system in Chicago and its suburbs. These companies make up what is called the Wisconsin Central lines; some having been consolidated, and all brought into one system and under one control. Mr. Colby is president and treasurer of all the companies named.

In addition to these connections, Mr. Colby is also closely identified with the various important lines leading clear to the Pacific; being on the boards of direction of the Northern Pacific Railroad company; the Oregon Trans-continental company; and the Oregon Navigation company. He is also a member of the executive committees of each of these great corporations.

As if the above business connections were not enough to keep even the giant industry and executive genius of Mr. Colby engaged, his name, capital and energy, may be found working for the general good through other lines of commercial activity. He is connected with various equipment companies; is president of the Penokee & Gogebic Development Company, which owns the famous Colby and

Tilden mines—which developed the Gogebic regions;—he and his friends own a half interest in the Ashland Iron Mining Company, of which he is also president; and also of the Colby Consolidated Mining Company, organized for the purchase of interests in other mines. These several companies put out from five to six hundred thousand tons of ore annually.

Not alone in a career of business success, has Charles L. Colby conformed his life to that of the beloved father whom he well may choose for a model; but in works of educational and religious usefulness, and in a broad charity that seeks only for the best results, and takes little note of the outlay that must go before. Like his father, he is a trustee of Brown University; a member of the board of trustees of Wayland University, at Beaver Dam, Wisconsin; and connected with various other institutions of a like character, among which may be specially mentioned the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society. His heart and his means have been for years devoted to the interests of the Young Men's Christian Association in its various branches; and he has given liberally to that department of Christian work. He has been a member of the international committee for six or eight years, and was at one time president of the international convention. He is constantly giving to many worthy objects, and wherever his heart is interested, his benefactions are sure to follow.

It is to be regretted that the constant and ever increasing demands of business have prevented Mr. Colby from giving more of his talents and energy to the public use, as he is fitted in many essential ways to wield a wide influence in public and political affairs, and such part as he has taken has measured the ground there is for such regret. A speaker of magnetic eloquence, a clear and deep thinker, with a compactness of expression that combines the whole theme in a few glowing words, a natural leader of men, and a close student of public events, he would soon make his mark in any field to which he might be called. An earnest Republican, he is often called upon to speak in important campaigns, and one of his speeches, delivered in Wisconsin during the campaign of 1884, may be—as it then was—regarded as one of the strongest political documents furnished in that great presidential year. He is often called upon to speak in Y. M. C. A. gatherings, and in other church and mission gatherings; and has always something new to say, and says it with an earnest vigor that carries all before him.

The only public position that Mr. Colby has consented to accept, was that of member of the Wisconsin State Legislature in 1876, where he went for the purpose of forwarding certain important public interests. While there he became conspicuous by the brilliant fight he made against the restoration of capital punishment to the state; and to his speech, delivered on

February 24th, the defeat of that obnoxious measure was almost entirely due. It was an eloquent argument from the ground of a true Christian humanity, and brought commendation from the people and press from all quarters of the state. For the purpose of illustrating Mr. Colby's clearness as a thinker, and power of statement, the subjoined brief extracts are taken here and there from some of his most important public addresses:

From the speech against capital punishment, above described: "The death penalty is a failure. Aye, it is worse. I say it boldly, it increases crime. It lowers moral sentiment. The government sets the example to the people and declares that human life is not sacred. You have heard already that public executions were always attended by the most unhappy results. Hundreds of instances are on record where those who witnessed an execution went away to commit the very crime for which death had just been inflicted. The very sight of it hardens the sensibilities; brutal instincts which lie in most men dormant are aroused, and they go from the place to perpetrate new deeds of violence and blood."

"It is a fact that the gallows is the emblem of vindictive justice, and vindictive justice belongs to heathenism."

"It has been said by an eminent writer, 'There is a long twilight between the time when a god is first suspected of being an idol and his final overthrow.' There has been a long

twilight since the penalty of death was first suspected of being otherwise than divine. But the day is dawning; the light is breaking. The idol is tottering, and in Wisconsin at least there is nothing left of it but its ashes. And I believe, Mr. Speaker, that from its ashes it will never rise!"

In an address upon "Christian Education," delivered before the Wisconsin Baptist State Convention on October 5, 1882: "The subject under discussion this evening is Christian education. I believe in it fully and firmly. I believe in the full development of every human being, body, mind and soul. He who misses this loses just so much of the possibilities of life."

"Thousands are born into the world, grow up to manhood, and die without ever gaining any knowledge of the world they entered, without ever tasting the delights of learning. They never lift the corner of the curtain which hides from their view the wonderful beauties of created things. They never have a glimpse into the mind of the Infinite Creator. They have no knowledge of that which lies beyond the range of their natural vision, of things which have been in the past, and out of which have gradually evolved the world-encircling and world-filling wonders of the present. They have no knowledge of the brains which planned and the genius which executed the great movements of history—of the peoples and nations—the

overturnings and upbuildings, the grand achievements of men, the establishment of governments, the formulation of laws, the conquest of arms, the advance of science, the progress of humanity toward civilization and God. They behold not the footprints of the Almighty in His steady march through the ages."

At the formal opening of the Milwaukee Museum of Fine Arts, at the Exposition building: "The study of art plumes the wings of the imagination, and makes it strong in flight. It helps men to use the things which are seen, as stepping stones upon which they may rise to the enjoyment of the things which are not seen but which are eternal."

Such selections might profitably be culled from many other addresses of like character, but enough have been given to serve our purpose—to show that the man of many business cares, upon whom great responsibilities are constantly resting, has found time not only for the constant broadening and cultivation of his own mind, but to lift his voice again and again for the advising, the encouragement, and the bettering of his kind. And although Charles L. Colby has done great good in the world in many material, moral and educational ways, he has not yet, let us prophesy and hope, begun to touch the high mark of his usefulness, nor fulfilled all the purposes of good for which he was sent into the world.

TO THE SUMMIT OF PIKE'S IN A CARRIAGE.

PIKE'S PEAK has a familiar sound; I have heard it almost every day for three decades, and wherever English is spoken the name has been mentioned. Having it in sight daily, with its long slope reaching up to the apex over 14,000 feet high, its north face always closed in or fretted with snow, it might seem that it would grow monotonous. Monotony is not possible with the magnificent eminence, and like the presence of one we love it is always welcome. The great ice-field at the pole is as to the earth but the thickness of a hair, the great mountain range as a wrinkle on the surface; but we measure the thickness and the heights by miles. They who made the Bible possible loved the high places of the earth; the law was there given to the great leader, and the beloved Master sought the mountain top to pray. It lifted him away from the earth while he was of it, but brought him nearer to the Father. It is the vantage ground of humility, the sanctuary where arrogance cannot enter.

The devil was lacking in tact when he offered the world to the Master from a mountain top; his royal highness was out of his element, the atmosphere was repugnant. Neither he nor his pupils lack ambition, but on a mountain top there is nothing to which

mortal may aspire, except the unknowable, and for the unknowable he is made willing to bide his time in meekness. It is no place for his majesty to proselyte; his most zealous disciples even, are liable to step into the path he never designed for them. No doubt the devil would have failed on the occasion in question had he selected a valley where the air was impure, but to seek a mountain top as the theatre for the bribery of One purer than the element he breathed, only goes to show that the devil, with all his accredited intelligence, was a very great ass. The only mystery to me is that he himself was not then and there led captive and future generations saved from his machinations. The solution may be, that being already condemned, he was beyond the pale of Divine influence. I would, however, give the devil his due, and should be glad to surmise that he longed to be clean, but was so much of a dolt as not to be worth regenerating.

The first man to climb a mountain peak may be pardoned exultation at the accomplishment of his feat. The gallant officer, whose name this mountain bears, essayed the exploit and failed, though history says he wrought valiantly. Grand monuments are not unfrequently erected to the undeserv-

MANITOU SPRINGS AND PIKE'S PEAK, COLORADO.



ing. We have other mountains with titles a little more satirical; there can be no objection to commemorating the memory of a dead hero, for a man is rarely a hero until he is dead—and this is no paradox. But except in a very few instances, it were well to leave the erection of memorials to the intimate friends of the dear departed, rather than to appropriate, without permission, the works of the Almighty. Mountains, however, are abundant, and we, not being the owners, can afford to give them away; it were better, though, to reward our live friends out of our own earnings. We know in such a case that they would have the chance at least to appreciate our acknowledgment of their merits.

He who goes up a mountain by trail may exult in a lesser degree than the first explorer. But all may not surmount unexplored mountains; many cannot do so even by trail. To him, then, who makes the happiness of conversion from the ills of this life possible to all, if only for an hour, great credit is due, and he may, with an easy conscience no doubt, exact toll for his achievement.

To the æsthetic it may seem like a sacrilege to disfigure a great mountain with a road; but a road for human needs is so slight a scratch here on the earth's surface that it does not mar the surroundings. The good that it does outweighs the apparent desecration. As the Major and myself aspire to that which is high, and as neither of us might reach the summit of the Peak by

the primitive methods any more than office may now be reached, the opportunity to gratify our ambition by carriage was a blessing. The novelty must be considered as adding to the zest.

The mountain is not visible from Cascade, the initial point of the road; the intervening hills shut it out. Starting thence we follow the Fountain up a very little distance, then turn to the left along the face of the first hill, then to the right, and so, winding our way for two miles, we reach the vicinity of the Grotto in Cascade Canon. In a direct line we are half a mile from the starting point. Over and through the pines that sparsely cover the mountain side, and over beds of wild flowers that carpet the slope, we can, before this distance is accomplished, obtain a fair view of the valley of the Fountain, Cascade and Manitou, thence out on the broad plains, rising blue and dim until they kiss the horizon. One does not look for valleys in the mountain tops, but a mountain top reached is still further surmounted, and the road winds through aspen glades and the air is freighted with the odor of pines.

The four horses trundle the light Beach wagon along most of the way at a trot. The driver tells you that after a little while the horses must be brought down to a walk. The grade is not steep, but "in the light air a fast gait would be a little hard on the stock."

Eight and a half miles we have come in a little less than two hours. "A pretty good road," that allows the making of such time to an elevation of

over 3,000 feet, at a guess. We are half way and are still in the timber. "The horses are changed to mules here"—an extraordinary metamorphosis, certainly—that is the way the driver put it, but there was no mystery in his language, except to a Boston lady, who was anxious to witness the process. Verily one must speak by the card in such a presence, or "equivocation will undo us." The four mules seemed to consider their load a trifle, and they moved as jauntily as if out for a holiday.

To beguile the tediousness of the way we were assured that on returning we should "come in a whirl." The motive that prompted the information was commendable, and the driver to be excused—he traveled that road every day and his early pleasure had simply turned into an attractive matter of business. We told him not to hurry on our account, as it was our desire to miss no part of the scenery. He said he should come back in two hours and a half. I had ridden behind mules before—I mean in period of time—and was doubtful touching the prospective gloriousness of the journey, but he assured me that it was perfectly safe. He spoke of a "switch-back," and there was intimation of occult peril in his manner. When we reached the vicinity of the timber line he pointed out the mystery. From the point of vision the zig-zag scratches away up on the steep mountain side reminded me of old times. I was having a longitudinal view of a few sections of worm

fence running up a hill at an angle of seventy degrees; at least a man under the influence of spirits would say it was a longitudinal view. Considered as a fence, from an economical basis, the angles were unnecessarily acute; it might fairly have represented five miles of fence and half a mile of ground in a straight line, or it looked as if unknown powers at each end were trying to jam the thing together and make it double up on itself.

I was very much interested in it. As a line from an irrigating ditch it might be pronounced a success. As nothing goes down a ditch except water, and very little of that in a dry season, nobody is put in jeopardy.

"And you come down there at the rate of eight or nine miles an hour?" I asked.

"Yes; oh, yes, easy enough."

"I should think it would be easy, especially if you went off one of these corners."

"You wouldn't know the difference."

"No, I suppose not. It must be a glorious ride, coming down at the rate of—eight or nine miles an hour, I think you said?"

"Yes, eight or nine; mebbe less, dependen'."

"You can make it in less time, then?"

"Certainly."

"And turn round those corners?"

"'Course, how else? You don't 'spose I'm thinkin' 'bout rollin' down the mountain side?"

I wondered what else it would be without snow on the ground; but the driver seemed to be a little short of breath to answer. I accounted for his deficiency in this regard because of the altitude; we were above timber line, 11,000 feet and over from sea-level. The pines had become dwarfed, were naked to one side, and leaning towards the rocks above them; or, in their sturdy struggle for existence, they clung to the precipitous mountain side like matted vines. Looking down from a certain point I observed a large quantity of the road resembling a corpulent angle worm in several stages of colic. I could not resist appealing to the driver again; I don't think anybody could.

"Do you go 'round all those places at the rate of eight or nine miles an hour?"

"Of course."

"And you don't slow up?"

"What should I slow up for?"

"So as not to turn over, you know."

"I never turned over in my life, and I drove stage in California twenty years."

I believed he was a liar, but deemed it inexpedient to tell him so although he was a small man.

"Never had a runaway either, I suppose?" and sitting behind him I casually—it being convenient—put my hand on his biceps; the arm was not large, but assuring.

"No."

My opinion of his veracity was not augmented.

"I hardly think you can make the time you say you can."

"Just wait and see."

"I'm sure it will be grand; I've been suffering for such an experience."

"I didn't know but you was gettin' a little nervous—they sometimes do."

"Nervous! I'm an old stager. I have ridden with Bill Updyke and Jake Hawks many a mile in these mountains. Take it in the winter time, down hill, for instance, the road covered with ice and the driver obliged to whip his horses into a dead run to keep the coach from sliding and swinging off such a place as that," and I pointed to a precipice several hundred feet perpendicular at our left. "That's coaching!" and I placed my hand upon his shoulder affectionately. During the colloquy the Major had not opened his head.

The vicinity is the dwelling place of desolation; nothing but rocks about us. What had once perhaps been a solid mass of trachyte is split to fragments in the mill of the centuries, and bits from as big as one's fist to the size of one's body or a small house lay tumbled in a confused and monstrous heap, as though there might have been in the remote ages a great temple here dedicated to the gods of old, and now in shapeless ruins.

Of the view from this great mountain peak, what shall I or anyone say? Nothing! It does not admit of description; upon it, you can understand why the Indian never mounts so high. It is one of the places whence comes

his inspiration of deity, the temple of his god, and he may not desecrate it with his unhallowed feet; it gathers the storm, and the sun caresses it into a smile and crowns it with glory, as he views it reverently from the valley. But we, the civilized, penetrate the mysteries of these heights and find, what? humility! and feel as though we should have worshipped from afar. We have risen to receive the divine inspiration, our brother has remained below to kiss submissively the nether threshold of the sanctuary. Which is nearest to the Father?

It is very still to-day, no sound greets you save the gentlest murmur of the summer wind brushing lightly across the uninviting rocks. The wide plains checkered with green and gold, stretching away out below you, give you no sign. The city you see there, bustling with the ambition of youthful vigor, is silent as death; you recognize it as a townplat on paper, that is all, except that it adds to the sense of your own insignificance; it may make you wonder, perhaps, why you were ever a part of the life there; it may be a shadow that you look down upon, as you would recall an almost faded dream. You turn.

“And the mountain world stands present;
And behold a wond'rous corps—
Well I knew them each, though never
Had we met in life before—
Knew them by that dream-world knowledge
All unknown to earthly lore.”

Just below you a vast ocean of bilowy hills, with its stately pines dwarfed to shrubs, its shores looming up in

the dim distance through their dainty veil of gray, and brooding over all that

“Awful voice of stilness,
Which the Seer discerned in Horeb,
That which hallowed Beth El's ground.”

It seems like sacrilege, but the interest in that townplat down there, or in one like it, begins tugging at the skirts of one's adoration. The sun is going down and we also must go.

I had an interview with the driver, out behind the barn. (There is a signal station on the summit and the barn is a necessity.)

“You are sure you can go to Cascade from here in two hours and a half?” I inquired.

“Certain.”

“Take something?” and I made a feint of reaching into the inside pocket of my coat for “something” I did not have.

“Can't! that's agin the rules—I'm a man of family and I don't care to lose my job.”

“So am I a man of family, and my friend, the Major there, he has a family—a wife and nine children, all young. You love your family?”

“What do you ask that for? ‘Course I do.”

“So does the Major love his—the eldest only ten years old. You noticed, perhaps, on coming up, when we were talking about making time, going down in a whirl, I think you expressed it so? Yes, he said not a word—just sat and listened. He was thinking about the seventeen miles down hill, round those short curves, in two

hours and a-half. The Major has a slight heart trouble and any little excitement, like rolling down the mountain side, or getting upset, might be injurious to him. Being a man with a large family I desire to avoid his running any risk—you understand? This family is dependent on him and he has no life insurance. Now the making of this trip in two hours and a-half might be well enough for me, because I am use to it, you know; I haven't so much of a family, and I've ridden with Bill Updike and Jake Hawks, and there is nothing I should like better than such a ride as you proposed—I'd glory in it, but I'm a little uneasy about the Major. The doctor has already warned him against any undue excitement—Hold on a minute—there is another matter: he'd never hint that he is nervous, he is very averse to having it thought that he is troubled that way—see? And just as like as not, to show you that he is not nervous, he would tell you to 'Let 'em out!' Now—hold on a minute—if he should tell you so, don't you do it; you just go round those curves quietly, and trot along easy-like, or walk. He's a very close friend of mine, you can understand. Take this," and I slipped a half dollar into the driver's hand. Just then I heard the Major yelling to me with the voice of a strong man in enviable health, to "hurry up."

The driver accepted the half dollar and went round one end of the barn to the carriage, while I took the other way. When we were seated he touched

the off leader gently, the team started, and then he twirled the long lash of his whip with a graceful and fancy curve that rounded up with a report like that of a pistol. The mules struck into a gallop, and I concluded that my half dollar was wasted, literally thrown away, to say nothing of my other appeal. The loss of the latter caused me the more chagrin—the money was a trifle. But think of that blessed stage-driver ignoring my eloquence! By the great horn spoon! if I had a gun and was not deterred by the thought of consequences, I'd leave the wretch as food for the eagles—he'd never be missed. Just about the time I had him fairly killed and the body comfortably rolled over a precipice where it would never be discovered, he came to the first turn. The mules were on a dead run, and what did that blessed driver do? He just let that silk out again, gave a yell like a Comanche and whirled around that bend without so much as allowing the wheels to slide a quarter of an inch, and away he went, down the short, straight stretch as though he had been paid to go somewhere in a hurry. When he made the next turn I leaned over and said quietly: "Let me see that half dollar I gave you, perhaps it is plugged."

He changed his lines and whip into his left hand and passed over the suspected coin with his right. I substituted a silver dollar, which he slipped into his pocket, straightened out his lines and brought the mules down to a trot.

"Why don't you let 'em out, driver?" inquired the Major.

The driver looked around as if he thought I had addressed him.

"I think you can let 'em go," I said, and he did! Along the straight chutes! around the bends! away and down! with a merry jingle of the harness, the cool air turned into a breeze that caressed our cheeks as lovingly as the kiss of a child! Away and down! with the gleeful "hi! he! g'lang there!" of the driver, the mountains began to tower above us. Away and down! with the sharp reports of the curling lash, the cold granite and dwarfed shrubs changed, and we sped in among the stately pines! Away and down!

with hearts as light as the perfumed air, the flashes of the sun stealing in through the trees saluted our flushed faces, and every moment a *Te Deum Laudamus* whispered in ecstasy from our half closed lips. Eight miles and a half in thirty-five minutes! Was there ever before such a ride vouchsafed to mortal?

We sighed for four fresh mules to take us the remainder of the way. The exhilaration was not lost behind the horses, it was only toned down. As the evening shades began to touch the valley and while the sun yet kissed the mountains above us, we brought up at the starting place, happy.

L. B. FRANCE.

DAVID H. ARMSTRONG.

Few men who are now counted among the honored pioneers of St. Louis, have done so much useful service, in a modest way, for the city and state as Col. David H. Armstrong; and certainly none stand higher in the general regard. This confidence and respect have been won by a half century of service in various fields, where his talents and industry have been freely given for the use of all. He came to St. Louis when it was one of the pioneer settlements of the middle West, and he has watched it grow to its present grand proportions, against opposition, forebodings, years of apathy, the fluctuating tide of civil war, and the rival influence of envious neighbors. He has

rejoiced in that growth, and has used all his power and influence in its aid. And those efforts and that endeavor have been appreciated; and although Col. Armstrong has never been a seeker for office, he has been called again and again to the administration of public trusts, among which was that of United States Senator from Missouri—the highest office within the gift of the state.

David Hartley Armstrong is by birth a native of Nova Scotia, where he was born on October 21, 1812, but he came into the United States at an early age, and from boyhood was a firm believer in the doctrine of self-government by the popular will. He entered the

Wesleyan Seminary at Readfield, Kennebec county, Maine, where he received an academic education, preparatory to a collegiate career. He sustained himself while at school, by his own exertions, and had chosen civil engineering as a profession; but as employment in that line did not present itself when he must have employment of some character, he accepted the charge of a school in New Bedford, Massachusetts, where he was engaged from 1833 to 1837. In the year last named he became one of the thousands who were riding upon the tidal wave of emigration to the new and opening West, and arrived at St. Louis on September 16th. Congenial work not offering itself at that point at the time, he accepted a position as principal in the preparatory department of McKendree College, at Lebanon, Illinois; from whence he returned to St. Louis to fill the position of principal of one of the city public schools, the first schools of that character in Missouri. This honorable labor began on the first Monday in April, 1838, and continued without interruption until June, 1847.

"Col. Armstrong looks back upon no portion of his career," says a recent writer, "with more satisfaction than that during which he was employed as a public school teacher, and he regards it as a high honor to have been associated so prominently with the school system of the state at its inception. He possessed many qualifications of the good teacher, and his counsels were freely drawn upon to aid in the exten-

sion of the system as required by the growing needs of the city. As a teacher he was very successful, and among his pupils were many who afterwards became conspicuous and are numbered among the representative wealthy citizens of St. Louis. These all cherish the highest regard and the warmest affection for their faithful instructor."

While, as has been said, Col. Armstrong has never been anxious as a seeker after office, he has been called to the discharge of various trusts of a public nature. Since early manhood he has taken a deep interest in political affairs, and has ever been an active worker in the ranks of the Democratic party. For many years he was a member of the Democratic State Central Committee, and for much of the period was chairman of that body and a leader in its deliberations. In this capacity he directed the fusion of the Democrats and Liberal Republicans in the memorable campaign of 1870; a movement which resulted in the election of the first Democratic state administration since the war, and which had consequences far more important than the mere victory of a political party, for it led to the revision of the notorious "Drake Constitution," and the reinstatement of the people of Missouri in the full employment of their political rights, besides leading to the great Liberal Republican movement in the presidential contest of 1872.

When Mr. Armstrong resigned the

charge of the St. Louis public schools on June 8, 1847, it was to accept the office of city comptroller, which important position he held for three years. In 1853 he was appointed by Sterling Price, Governor of Missouri, as aide-de-camp upon his military staff, with the rank of colonel. In April, 1854, he was appointed postmaster of St. Louis by President Pierce, which office he held until the spring of 1858. In June, 1873, he was appointed police commissioner for the city of St. Louis by Gov. Woodson, and in 1877 was reappointed to the same office by Gov. Phelps. In 1876 he was a member of the board of freeholders by which the present city charter was framed.

Yet a higher public honor was, however, reserved for Col. Armstrong when, in 1877, upon the death of Hon. Lewis V. Bogy, he was appointed by Gov. Phelps as United States Senator, to fill the vacancy thus caused. He served in that position until the meeting of the legislature in 1879. While

he contented himself in the Senate with the modesty natural to him and expected of a new member, he made his mark upon the legislation of the time, performed all his duties with a conscientious regard to the best interests of the people, and proved in many ways his fitness for the higher fields of statesmanship.

In all his many relations of life, Col. Armstrong has been guided by the dictates of conscience, and in retaining his self-respect by honorable methods, has won the confidence of others. No attack has ever been made upon his integrity, even in the fiercest heat of political discussion. Of a frank, positive and somewhat aggressive nature, he has ever stood up manfully for what he believed to be the right, and even the enemies he has made—as all men who amount to anything in this world must make them—have granted him their respect for his honesty of purpose and the manliness of his methods.

THE PACIFIC RAILROADS: HISTORY OF THE PROJECT.

IF we were to start from the very commencement of the Pacific Railroad project and trace its gradual development, we should glance in succession over all the great events which have crowded so thickly upon each other during the fifth and sixth decades of North America history. All influenced it one way or another, some retarding

and others hastening it towards maturity.

At the close of the Mexican War in 1848 the people of the United States found themselves possessed of the whole country lying between the Mississippi and the Pacific ocean, California, New Mexico (now New Mexico and Arizona), and Texas were then

united under the one flag; and not long after this event the Pacific Railroad question became a pet subject for speculation amongst the most advanced promoters of railway enterprises.

The first printed notice of such a scheme, however, dates much further back, for in the *New York Courier* of 1837, an article was written by Dr. Hartley Carver advocating a Pacific Railway. As is usual in such a case, the doctor had his reward; by some he was considered a wild enthusiast, by others a madman.

One year only after the conclusion of the Mexican War came the cry of gold, which sent thousands of miners from every quarter of the globe, by every route, to California and the Pacific coast. While the greater number went by sea, around the Cape and across Panama, thousands boldly set out from the Eastern States by land unto the unknown regions of the Far West, and crossed the continent by different routes on different parallels of latitude.

Under the stimulus of this fresh necessity for a transcontinental highway, the Pacific Railroad enterprise could no longer be kept out of Congress; and early in the decade of 1850 it received the cordial support of both branches of the legislature. By an act passed March 31, 1853, the War Department was entrusted with the task of making such explorations and surveys as it might deem advisable in order to ascertain the most practicable and economical route for a railroad

from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean, and the necessary appropriations were duly granted. The Secretary of War at that time was none other than Mr. Jefferson Davis, and the results of the explorations made under his direction between 1854 and 1857 are comprised in three bulky volumes of Pacific Railroad Reports, which are as well known to botanists, naturalists and geologists as to geographers and engineers.

Two-thirds of the territory of the United States lies to the west of the Mississippi, and crouched along the centre of this vast tract, barring off as was supposed the westward wave of population, stretch the Rocky Mountains—that great Grizzly Bear over whose body it was thought impossible to step; but these Pacific surveys threw great light upon the anatomy of the Grizzly Bear. They proved that his back was very broad, that the slope on his side was very gradual, that his spine did not extrude unpleasantly in the centre, but lay on the contrary rather sunk between the two rows of muscles or mountains on either side. They found depressions along the spine—such as the North, Middle, South and St. Louis Parks—shut in on each side by the rows of muscles which made the animal so formidable. They showed, moreover, that, although he had a hump on his back (the centre of Colorado), from which his muscular frame sloped down on all sides, yet that this was flat also, and could be surmounted, if necessary, even by rail-

road; that his body ended about the 35th parallel, only leaving an insignificant tail in the way south of the line; and also that his broad shoulders (the Laramie plains), although exceeding 7,000 feet in height, were so smooth and rounded off that they almost invited the pathfinder to choose this place for crossing in preference to any other.

The chief routes examined and reported upon were the following:

1st. Between the forty-sixth and forty-eighth parallels, to unite Lake Superior and the head of navigation on the Mississippi with Puget Sound and the Columbia river. This has developed into the North Pacific Railroad route.

2nd. Between the forty-first and forty-second parallels, to unite the Missouri river, at Council Bluffs (Omaha) with the harbor of San Francisco. This has developed into the Union Pacific Railroad.

3rd. Between the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth parallels, from Westport (Kansas City) at the great bend of the Missouri, due west across the continent. This was an attempt to run an "air-line" straight over to the hump in the bear's back, through the centre of Colorado, and thence in a direct line to San Francisco. The muscles on the eastern side were found to present no insurmountable obstacles, and one of the depressions (the St. Louis Park) along the spine was easily crossed; but the muscles on the other side, and the furrows or

gorges, between the ribs made this route quite impracticable.

4th. Near the thirty-fifth parallel from Fort Smith, on the Arkansas River, to the border of San Pedro (Los Angeles), on the Pacific Coast. This route, with the important modification of changing the starting point to Kansas City on the Missouri, and the Pacific terminus to San Francisco, is the one proposed by the Kansas Pacific, which stands in the same relation to St. Louis that the Omaha line does to Chicago.

5th. Near the thirty-second parallel, uniting Preston on the Red River in eastern Texas with the Pacific at San Diego, San Pedro, or San Francisco.

When all these surveys had been completed, and Mr. Davis had carefully weighed and examined the results, this last route was the one to which he gave the preference, strongly urging its adoption by Congress. It was said with perfect truth, that if the Atlantic and Pacific oceans were to rise to the height of 4,000 feet they would meet about the thirty-second parallel of latitude over the vast plateau south of the Rocky Mountains—the Madre Plateau; while the greater part of the continent to the northward, as well as the lofty plateaux of Mexico to the south, would form huge islands, separated by this strait. Although the surveys across other sections of the continent had almost swept away the conventional idea of Alpine grandeur of the Rocky Mountains, yet they were too rapidly conducted, and the task was too great to remove minor ob-

stacles, which swelled the estimates of the cost of a trans-continental railway to sums which made such an undertaking appear all but hopeless. The level route by the thirty-second parallel shone out in striking economic contrast to all the rest, and the result was that \$10,000,000 were immediately given to Mexico in payment for shifting her boundary line a little farther south to make way for the railway.

Between 1853 and 1860 the political horizon was gradually assuming a lowering aspect. The storm was gathering which ultimately revolutionised the Pacific Railway question, as it did almost every other great question throughout the states. Whilst Southern influence appeared to be as usual, carrying everything before it at Washington, and the truce brought about by the Missouri compromise, was being respected in the East, the vital questions of slavery, state rights and the rest, were being solved in the Far West throughout "bleeding" Kansas, Arkansas and Missouri, and the surrounding territories with a freedom and rough rapidity natural to the condition of the inhabitants. The climate influences were adverse to slavery and weighed heavily on the side of those emigrants who poured in from the Free States with an ever-increasing majority, bringing with them political emotions verging on fanaticism, and a fixed determination to uphold the laws of equal justice to all men at any sacrifice. The pro-slavery platform was defeated in the West, war followed as a direct

consequence, and the almost matured project of constructing a Southern Pacific Railroad by the 32d parallel fell through as a matter of course.

The Pacific Railway question soon took another form. Statesmen whisperingly asked each other, what if the Pacific States were to waver in their loyalty to the Union? Their isolated position was for the first time keenly felt, and thus the necessity of binding California closely to the North, by iron ways laid across the continent, became the highest card held by those who made it their business to agitate for a Pacific Railroad. Again the question came prominently before Congress; but, before watching the result of this political contest at Washington in 1862, we must glance for a moment at the hands of the players.

California held some great cards. The production of gold had been enormous; agriculture had developed into an interest rivalling that of mining; cereals were raised in quantities far exceeding the local demand; southern California had added grape culture to stock raising, and was striving to export wine as well as hides and tallow; trade had sprung up with Oregon, the Sandwich Islands, and, most important of all, with China; quicksilver was almost flowing from the mines of Almaden, and the strong desire felt by the Californians for a Pacific Railroad was brought to a climax by the discovery that a practical route across the snow-clad Sierra did exist through Donner Pass, midway between San

Francisco and Virginia City. Some of the richest merchants pledged their entire fortunes to the scheme; the state legislature liberally gave its sanction and aid; and it only remained for Congress to grant a fitting subsidy. Nevada had one high trump to play in support of California. The Comstock lode had been discovered, and the wealth of silver which poured from it had already raised that territory into the council of the states.

Chicago and the Northwest backed by New York, and St. Louis and the middle States supported by Philadelphia, carried with them to Congress most powerful but antagonistic influences. The railways of the eastern states and their prolongations westward may be said to form two separate railway systems, the one having Chicago in the northwest as its western terminus; the other, St. Louis, the most central point in the Mississippi valley. The capitalists of both these cities, fully alive to the importance of directing the Pacific trade through their own commercial centres, came forward eager for the contest, which would bring so much triumph and profit to the winning side. The men of Chicago urged that they had already projected three lines across the state of Iowa, to meet at Council Bluffs (Omaha) where they were bridging the muddy Missouri; that from this point to the Rocky Mountains, Nature herself had graded a line for them up to the very summit of the continental watershed; that here only a few hills

had to be crossed; that another five hundred miles would take them to the great Mormon settlement at Salt Lake, and that their California friends assured them that the Sierra Nevada might be crossed at the back of Virginia City, and San Francisco reached without any insurmountable difficulty.

St. Louis, on the other hand, pleaded that she had passed from words to deeds; that lines westward had not only been projected but built; that the Missouri Pacific Railroad, commenced in 1850 with aid from the state, already ran straight as an arrow westward across Missouri to Kansas City, and that lastly, as Kansas (not Nebraska) was the "mediterranean" state, and St. Louis more central than Chicago, Kansas City and not Council Bluffs should be the starting point of the grand route westward. Money was spent like water in the contest. I remember seeing it stated in an American journal that one company alone "employed the element of influence" to the extent of three millions of dollars. The civil war was hotly raging on all sides and the whole nation was in a ferment. Five hundred thousand pounds sterling were leaving the treasury daily to meet the current expenses of the Northern armies; even Washington was threatened; but for all that the Pacific Railroad bill was carried triumphantly. Grants of land and a large subsidy increasing in amount as the road advanced westward, were granted, but no definite conclusion was arrived at as to the eastern starting point of the route.

The great precedent, however, was established—that Government aid, to the extent of about half the total amount necessary, would be provided out of the national treasury to assist a Pacific railroad enterprise. Bills succeeded each other in rapid succession, and party contests raged hotly at every session; until finally, the following programme was definitely adopted, and the undertaking was actually commenced.

The main line was to extend from Omaha, on the Missouri river, to Sacramento, in California, 1,721 miles. St. Louis was to be provided for by a subsidised branch line, to connect with the main line on or about the 100th meridian of longitude east of the Rocky Mountains. Three companies were to prosecute these works, and to stand on an equal footing as regards land grants, loans, mortgages, etc.

First: The Union Pacific Railway Company, constructing the line westward from Omaha.

Second: The Central Pacific Railway of California, proceeding eastward from Sacramento. These companies were to make their roads as quickly as possible from either end, and to meet

at an intermediate point not fixed. Thus it was to the advantage of each to lay as much track as possible; for the amount of Government subsidy, as well as the share of managerial influence, depended upon the proportion of line laid.

Third: The Union Pacific Railway Company (Eastern Division) obtained the Government subsidy for a distance of 400 miles west of Kansas City. Thus it is evident that Chicago had gained the day. If the civil war had not intervened I think it more than probable that although 1869 might not have seen the locomotive plying between New York and the Pacific we should have had an iron road laid across the Black Hills. Chicago would have built the branch line, and the main trunk would have been laid further south, below the barrier of winter snows; it would have passed round the Rocky Mountains, not over them; across productive valleys, instead of through worthless deserts; and along the rich central trough of California, instead of climbing an Alpine pass more than 7,000 feet above the Pacific. WILLIAM A. BELL.

Manitou Springs, Colorado.

EARLY FRENCH SOCIETY IN ILLINOIS.

THE early history of the French settlements in Southern Illinois reads, in these days of higher civilization and broader culture, like a romance of Arcadia. The wants of these primitive

denizens of a new territory were as simple as they were few. Subsequent historians have called these the "halcyon days of Illinois," and alluded to this period as the date at which was

established the fact that "an honest, virtuous people need no government."*

The growth and prosperity of the five French villages in the district had been uniform and substantial. Extending along the American Bottom from Kaskaskia to Cahokia, frequent and friendly communication was maintained among their inhabitants along a line sixty miles in length. At peace with each other, they established and cultivated amicable relations with their Indian neighbors. Religious dissensions were unknown. The settlers recognized but one church, and to dispute her will in matters of faith never entered their minds. In each hamlet was a rude chapel with its attendant priest, who was, not only in matters of religion but in all the affairs of everyday life, the "guide, philosopher and friend" of his illiterate parishioners. The architecture of their houses partook of the simplicity of those who dwelt within them—a single story, surmounted by thatch of prairie grass, rested upon four posts, whose roughly-hewn sides were concealed by horizontal cross-ties, and whose interstices were filled in with clay and straw in lieu of mortar. The main entrance was protected by a primitive porch or shed. The floors were made of puncheons. The substantial furnishing of these plain homes was designed with an eye to utility rather than ornament;

* See Reynolds' "Pioneer History of Illinois," and Breese's "Early History of Illinois."

articles of mere luxury were unknown, and she was a proud dame who could adorn her dwelling with a silver heirlloom brought from her native land, to which she had bid a long farewell.

The demands of dress were not at all exacting. Coarse, blue cotton sufficed for summer wear, which was sometimes covered by a capot made of a Mackinac blanket. In winter cotton was replaced by bear-skin. Blue handkerchiefs formed the head-gear of both men and women alike, while both sexes were content to cover their feet with loosely-fitting deer-skin moccasins. Their agricultural implements were of the most primitive kind—wooden plows without a colter, and carts without iron. They usually plowed with oxen, which were yoked by the horns rather than by the neck. Their horses were driven tandem, with halters made of raw hide, which were strong and neat. With such implements and outfits thousands of acres were cultivated on the American Bottom, yielding large and remunerative crops.

They raised chiefly wheat, oats, hops, and tobacco—Indian corn only for hogs and hominy; against its use for bread they were prejudiced. Their bags were made of dry elk-skins. They had neither spinning-wheels, looms, nor churns—butter being made by shaking the cream in a bottle, or by breaking it in a bowl with a spoon, and very little used. There commerce was chiefly with New Orleans, the people of which port depended mainly on Illinois for supplies of various kinds. Regular

cargoes of flour—as many as four thousand sacks in 1745*—bacon, pork, hides, tallow, leather, lumber, wine, lead, and peltries were annually, and sometimes more frequently, transported in keel-boats and barges, or batteaux as they were called, to New Orleans, where was found an excellent market. For cargo on their homeward voyage, the little vessels brought to the northern settlements sugar, rice, manufactured tobacco, indigo, cotton, and such other goods as the simple wants of the inhabitants required.

The Frenchmen in Illinois were excellent boatmen, and although the work of ascending the river was difficult and at some places perilous, they so mingled their amusements with the excitements of the voyage as to make this kind of life not only tolerable but enjoyable. The manner of navigating the Mississippi, as conducted then and for over half a century thereafter, was by towing, sailing, and, as it was called, cordelling, which consisted in pulling the boat up stream by a long rope, one end of which was fastened to a tree, the other being in the hands of the men on board. When creeks or rivers impeded their progress, they swam them, or were ferried over in canoes. The crews numbered, according to the size of the vessel, from ten to fifty hands, and with large boats heavily laden, four or five months' time was consumed in making the round trip from Kaskaskia to New Or-

leans. Besides coin, good peltries were an acknowledged measure of value, and passed freely in commercial transactions.

The government of the commandant was mild and conservative, interfering but little with the every-day pursuits of the people, excepting in matters of commerce, over which he maintained absolute control. Having extensive patronage and unlimited power over trade, as well as over all contracts for supplies, repairs, and stores for his majesty's magazine, ample opportunities were afforded him not only to secure the good-will of the inhabitants, but also to add very largely to his legitimate income.

“The Court of the Audience of the royal jurisdiction of the Illinois,” as Judge Breese calls it, which came to be established, had but little difficulty in settling the few matters of dispute which arose, or in enforcing its judgments and decrees, through the provost marshal.* Each village had its own local commandant, who was usually the captain of the militia.

The burdens of the people were light; and their being but few social distinctions, there were no rivalries. Care was a stranger, and amusement always in order. Paying strict attention to the public duties of religion, they regarded the close of the mass on Sunday as the signal for the commencement of festivities. On this gala day

*See interesting address before Illinois State Bar Association, on the “Beginning of Law in Illinois,” by Edward G. Mason. 1887.

*Reynolds.

of the week, games, visiting and gossip were the order of the day; but their chief delight was in dancing, in which old and young engaged alike.

Ignorant of the expensive demands of fashion, their artificial wants were few and easily satisfied. All it cost for a year's board and lodging was two months' work—one plowing and one harvesting. Thus lived in their border villages this primitive, detached people, apparently contented with their situation, their government and their religion.

But there is a reverse side to this picture. The highest product of any country—the outgrowth which surpasses in value all the combined harvests of the soil and the aggregate yield from its mines, however great—consists of the men and women who not only acknowledge that soil as their mother, but who owe their character and its development to the circumstances and institutions surrounding their birth, and among which they are reared.

“Ill fares the land, to gathering ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates, and men decay.”

In vain do fertile fields respond to labor, when those who cultivate them are themselves the stunted product of a warped, incomplete, or degenerate civilization.

These early colonists, in a very considerable proportion, were the product of the lower, while not a few of them had belonged to or descended from the criminal, classes. The higher qualities of mind and heart which often distin-

guished the national character, and which were repeatedly displayed by the enterprising and loyal French who came to this country after 1780, they apparently left behind them or never possessed.

Having no educational system, they were ignorant alike of their rights, duties and responsibilities as citizens. It was not for the interest of their rulers that they should learn either, and they were as destitute of ambition as the animals with which they plowed. Like children, they cheerfully performed the tasks assigned them, stimulated by the hope of the promised play-time, which was sure to follow. In return for the permission to indulge in their chosen pastimes without restraint, they willingly confided their government to others. While they were light-hearted, they were light-headed as well, and thriftless; the poorer portions laboring only long enough to gain a bare subsistence each passing day, the rest of the time being spent in sporting, hunting and wine drinking. Those who had slaves compelled them to labor to support their drunken masters in idleness and debauchery.

They are represented as hard masters, and overreaching and profligate in their intercourse with the Indians.

Their connection with the latter, indeed, was a source of injury and degradation to both races. It was found that it was easier for the French to descend to the lower plane of savage life than it was for the native to improve by the specimen of civilization presented

him by the French, while the bad qualities of the latter were adopted naturally and without an effort. The result was the demoralization and decay of both, so that in the end one was exterminated and the other compelled to give way to the sterner and more elevating civilization of the Anglo-Saxon.

As remarked by a close observor of these early times, we look in vain for

the monuments of this ancient population. Their memorials may be counted upon less than the fingers of one hand. With not one single important work of education, art, science, culture, benevolence, or religion are they associated.*

JOHN MOSES.

* O. W. Collet, Magazine of Western History, I, 95.

INCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF ORLANDO METCALF.

PITTSBURG—COLORADO SPRINGS—MANITOU PARK.

That touch of nature which "makes the whole world kin" prompted Edward Everett to say—"The sacred tie of family, reaching backward and forward, binds the generations of men together and draws out the plaintive music of our being from the solemn alternation of the cradle and the grave."

Some time, in the history of every human family, this plaintive music has been heard. Vicissitude and misfortune are words engraved upon every stone marking the coming of one generation after another. This is emphatically true of the American family of Anglo-Norman descent. Whatever of prosperity and domestic tranquillity they may enjoy to-day has been the result of wars in past ages—perhaps during the period of the Stuarts and Cromwell; the wars of the Roses, or the wars between Saxon and Norman.

God set mankind in families. Therefore their history is the history of the

human race, dark and warful as it is, while biography, as the soul of history, imparts to its pages both tragedy and comedy.

There is many an American family with more or less of Norman, Plantagenet, Tudor, or Stuart blood in their veins.

They may not know, and may not care for the admixture. The want of ancestral pride carries its own comment; but pride of ancestry is hereditary and is peculiarly a Norman characteristic. The family of which I now write is of Norman origin.

Orlando Metcalf was born July 31, 1840, at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. His father, Orlando Williams Metcalf, was a graduate of Union College, and a lawyer of reputation. Arunah Metcalf, his grandfather, of Cooperstown, New York, was a member of the assembly of that state in 1806-10, and also a representative in Congress in 1811-13.

The latter was the son of Zebulon Metcalf, of Lebanon, Connecticut—himself a descendant of the Metcalf family of England, recently represented in the British Peerage by Sir Charles Herbert Theophilus Metcalf, Baronet, of Fern Hill, Berkshire. The old family crest is a talbot (mastiff) the dexter paw supporting a golden escutcheon: the motto is Conquiesco—"I am at rest."

Arunah Metcalf married Eunice Williams, whose father, Capt. Veatch Williams, married Lucy Walsworth. Capt. Williams was of the fifth generation from Robert Williams, born in 1563 in Norfolk, England, who came to this country in 1637 and settled in Roxbury, Massachusetts. He was "a staunch and typical Puritan whose scruples forbade his conformity with the tenets of the Established Church of England during the intolerable reign of Charles I."

Eunice Williams Metcalf (the paternal grandmother of Orlando Metcalf), as the daughter of Lucy Walsworth Williams, had in her veins the blood of Margaret Plantagenet, daughter of George, Duke of Clarence and Lady Isabel, daughter and heir of Richard, Earl of Salisbury and Warwick, in 1499. This lady was (October 14, 1513) advanced to the dignity of Countess of Salisbury, and received letters patent establishing her in the castles, manors and lands of Richard, late Earl of Salisbury, her grandfather. Notwithstanding these marks of royal favor, an opportunity was seized upon

several years afterwards to destroy the only remaining branch of the Plantagenets in this illustrious lady. At the advanced age of seventy years (31 Henry VIII.) she was condemned to death, unheard by Parliament, and beheaded on Tower Hill, May 25, 1541, when her dignity as Countess of Salisbury, fell under attainder. She married Sir Richard Pole, K. G., and had issue Henry, Baron Montague, from whom lineally descended Lucy (Walsworth) Williams.

Orlando Williams Metcalf (her grandson) married Mary Mehitable Knap, May 17, 1826, sister of Charles Knap, founder of the Fort Pitt Cannon Foundry, Pittsburg. These were the parents of Orlando Metcalf of Colorado Springs.

Mr. Metcalf had the advantages of a liberal education. His closing days in its pursuit were spent at Kenyon College, Ohio, where, however, he did not graduate. His ambition was to be a business man. He sought employment in 1858 under his uncle, then engaged in the manufacture of sugar and cotton machinery for the Southern trade. Beginning in the lowest capacity, as office boy, and doing all the work that position implies, he served one year for which he was paid seventy-five dollars, and *lived within his income*. This is a noteworthy fact; for it is a foundation stone in his business character which has never been disallowed, not to live beyond his income, therefore he owes no man anything to this day. Another article

(which will appear in an early number of this *MAGAZINE*), "A Chapter of War History: Where and How the Large Cannon Were Made," bears directly upon the personal history of Mr. Metcalf.

Mr. Knap in his field of labor was the perfect equation of Thomas A. Scott in his. In hastening the solution of the problem of war, Knap, moulding cannon, and Scott, as assistant secretary of war and vice-president of the Pennsylvania railroad, transporting it to the front, were powerful factors in the suppression of the Rebellion.

Mr. Metcalf has in his possession a telegram from Col. Scott saying: "If necessary, take possession of the Pennsylvania railroad in the name of the Government." This order, though never executed, was issued in view of a threatened emergency.

Two summers ago the writer sat upon the angle of the wall of Fortress Monroe which commands the entrance to Hampton Roads. His back rested against the mouth of a 20-inch Columbiad surnamed "Lincoln." He did not think then "with what a forge and what a heat" it had been cast, or that he should listen to the story of its Plutonic birth from the lips of Mr. Metcalf, two thousand miles from where it still keeps eternal vigilance.

From the close of the war until 1871 the foundry was managed by Charles Knap's nephews, of whom were still William and Orlando Metcalf. But its operations were enlarged. Its fiery furnaces were turned once more to

moulding peaceful as well as warlike implements.

One incident may be mentioned in its history before passing. The foundry was much visited by sight-seers. This included many distinguished foreigners. Every civilized government sent military officers to the Fort Pitt Foundry to take notes upon the casting of these cannon—the first of the size ever manufactured anywhere.

They attracted so much attention that Mr. Metcalf at last determined to charge an admission fee of twenty-five cents, the proceeds to be applied for the benefit of the United States Sanitary Commission. Mr. Knap then offered to give (and gave) a dollar for every dollar thus contributed.

The Columbiad, so befittingly named "Lincoln," thus accomplished in part the will of the martyred President in binding up the nation's wounds and caring for him who bore the battle, and for his widow and orphans.

Mr. Metcalf's next business relation was with the "Crescent Spring Company," of which he was manager and treasurer until 1873, when was started the "Verona Tool Works," as Metcalf, Paul & Co., of which he is still the head. This company is engaged in the manufacture of railroad track tools. One of its famous specialties is the "Verona Nut Lock," of which there are now more than fifty million in use.

In 1879 Mr. Metcalf came to Colorado to recover from nervous prostration, superinduced by the stress of

business cares. He soon realized the benefits of the climate, became interested in the vast natural resources of the state, and began to take part in their development. Entering energetically into the movement to build the Colorado Midland railroad, he was one of the first board of directors, a member of the executive committee, and second vice-president from 1885 to 1888.

He is president of the Pacific Coal and Coke Company, whose fields, located in Gunnison county, consisting of about three thousand acres, have also strong indications of silver ore, with slate and marble quarries of the rarest qualities. The anthracite coal deposits, now well developed, have been very favorably reported upon by Prof. Lawson of Dalhousie college; by Engineer Long of the Denver & Rio Grande railway; by Prof. J. W. Langley of the chair of Chemistry, Ann Arbor university; and recently very thoroughly and exhaustively by Prof. James T. Gardner of Albany, New York. The latest development shows up 2,250,000 tons of the very finest anthracite coal in an area of 210 acres, equal in every respect to the very best to be found anywhere.

William S. Maple, up to 1878, an artist of note in San Francisco, since extensively engaged in mining at Aspen, is the superintendent of the company.

Mr. Metcalf is president of the Elk Mountain Railway, the line of which has been surveyed and permanently located. It extends from Carbondale

to these coal fields, a distance of thirty miles. The secretary and treasurer is Mr. H. D. Fisher, who was one of the projectors of the Colorado Midland—suggested its felicitous name; was president of the Midland Construction Company, and is identified with the inception and building of that road, so remarkable for the beautiful mountain region it has opened up to travel and tourists and for settlement.

The engineer is Mr. Thomas H. Wigglesworth, of thirty-five years experience upon the railroads of the East and West, viz :—The Cincinnati Southern; the Newport News and Mississippi; the Louisville and Nashville; the Denver and Rio Grande, and the Colorado Midland. To him, more than to any other man, the locomotive owes its triumphs in scaling the Rocky mountains.

Mr. Metcalf married, in 1863, Agnes McElroy, daughter of Mr. James McElroy, of Pittsburg—whose surname carries the name backward to romantic Scotland—land of the covenanters and martyrs. Intervening generations have not sufficed to remove from her forceful yet kindly face the lineaments of a heroic ancestry.

Mr. and Mrs. Metcalf are at the head of a happy household, consisting now of nine, including their seven children. Apart from their Colorado Springs residence, upon the same lot stands a cottage, half hidden and half revealed, in shrubbery and trees. It is the art-and-music study of their daughters.

Mary Knap, the eldest, is an artist by nature and education, whose paintings have attracted attention and sale chiefly in New York, where for several years she studied at the school of the eminent Mrs. Sylvanus Reed. Agnes and Edith Leila devote their time to music. Two years were spent at Leipsic, rendering their musical accomplishments exceptional. The only son, Orlando, Jr., just completed a five years' course at Shattuck's School at Faribault, Minnesota. He enters this fall the Boston School of Technology. The remaining three are daughters, Elizabeth Knap, now at Mrs. Reed's School; Lois, nine years of age, and Emma Elsie, seven.

Their summer residence—not the home in Colorado Springs—is Camp Duquesne, at Manitou Park, on the line of the Colorado Midland. This

name was chosen in remembrance of the place of his nativity. It also recalls the days of the French occupation; the defeat and death of Braddock; the name of Washington when it rose resplendent upon the horizon of American history, and the change of name, with change of dominion, from Duquesne to Fort Pitt, and finally to Pittsburg.

The family now gathered at Camp Duquesne has exemption from some of the political ills, at least, which befell their remoter ancestors, whether Puritan or Cavalier; while they affectionately ascribe much of their prosperity and all of their domestic tranquility to the trials some of them endured, even to death of the body and the confiscation of estates.

HENRY DUDLEY TEETOR.

VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE MORE IMPORTANT VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE BEFORE THE DISCOVERY OF PRINTING.

II.

REV. DR. ABBOTT thinks that the first attempt to convey ideas by signs addressed to the eye was by pictures and in this first stage a single picture represented an entire word. The next stage was the syllable when the picture became merely a conventional sign, drawn with the fewest possible lines until it often merely suggested, or even ceased to suggest the

object which it had represented. The best examples of these two stages are in these Egyptian hieroglyphics, which represent frequently the first syllables of the words, and even the first letter.

In the cuneiform alphabet of Assyria there are several hundred known characters which also indicate words, as many more which represent simple and compound syllables. The cuneiform

alphabet, or syllabary, the origin of which is unknown, has lost nearly all resemblance to the original pictures from which it degenerated, and the same is true of the Egyptian hieratic chirography, which was a sort of running hand, used in writing on papyrus. The Egyptians possessed the hieroglyphic system at the earliest period at which we meet their monuments, and we have in the Papyrus Prisse a specimen of hieratic writing going back as far as the Exodus.

The old Phœnician, to which reference has already been made, or more properly the Shemitic alphabet, as it first appeared about 1000 B. C., was extended over the west coast of Asia, from Arabia to the central portion of Asia Minor, and it may have had its origin with the Canaanites at the time when the shepherd kings ruled over Egypt.

A letter from Prof. Rafinesque corroborates our supposition that the ancient Punic, Phœnician, or Carthaginian language is quite identical. A stone was found in a cave on the Island of Malta, in the year 1761, upon which Phœnician characters of a very ancient date were inscribed. This island, at an early period of time, was inhabited by the Phœnicians, long before the Romans existed as a nation, and this sepulchral cave bore evidence of having been used by the primitive inhabitants. These characters found in the ancient repository of the dead, are thought to mark the place where the famous Carthaginian, Han-

nibal was buried, as they explicitly allude to that general. The reading in the original is as follows: "Chadar Betholam kabar Chanibaal Nakeh becaleth haveh, rachm dach Am beshuth Chanibaal ben Oar melec." The interpretation reads thus: "The inner chamber of the sanctuary of the sepulchre of Hannibal, illustrious in the consummation of calamity. He was beloved. The people lament, when arrayed in order of battle, Hannibal the son of Bar-melec."

Humboldt, in his volume entitled "Researches in South America," describes a chain of mountains between the rivers Oronoço and Amazon where were found in a cavern characters supposed to be the Punic letters, engraved on a block of granite. Other nations having presented their claims to the inventors of language, why then should not America also endeavor to establish its right? Prof. Vater assures us that the alphabet of the two continents, with the American glyphs, or groups of letters had their origin in a remote period, when one original tribe existed, whose ingenuity and judgment enabled them to invent such intricate formations of language as could not be effaced by thousands of years, nor by the influence of zones and climates. To unravel the mysteries of language as connected with the new and old continents and to unite the whole human race in one origin is not an impracticable theory.

Winthrop's description of the curious characters inscribed upon a rock at

Dighton, Massachusetts tends to show that they originated with the inhabitants of the ancient Atlantic island of Plato, called by him Atlantis. Mathien not only gives the sense of the inscription, but he proves that the tongues spoken by the Mexicans, Peruvians and other occidental or western people, as well as the Greek itself, with all its dialects were but derivations from the language of the primitive Atlantians. Dr. Robertson, the historian, conjectures that this bridge which reached from America to Europe was destroyed by the ocean very far back in the ages of antiquity. Plato says, "there was a tremendous overflowing of the sea, which continued a day and a night, in the course of which the vast island of Atalantis, and all its splendid cities, were sunk in the ocean, which spreading its waters over it added a vast region to the Atlantic." If the tradition be true, this occurrence happened about twelve hundred years before Christ, and seven hundred and fifty years after the flood. At this period it is possible that a land passage may have existed from Europe and Africa to America; also by other islands, some of which are still situated in the same direction—the Azores, Madeiras and Teneriffe islands. An allusion to this same island, Atalantis, is made by Euclid, in a conversation which he had with a Scythian philosopher of the same age, who had traversed the wilds of his own northern regions to Athens, where he made the acquaintance of Euclid. Their subject was the

convulsions of the globe. The sea, according to every appearance, said Euclid, has separated Sicily from Italy, Eubœa from Bœotia, and a number of other islands from the continent of Europe. We are informed that the waters of the Black sea having been long enclosed in a lake, rose at length above the lands which surrounded it, forced open the passage of Bosphorus and Hellespont, and rushing into the Ægean sea, extended its limits to the surrounding shores. Beyond the isthmus which once united Europe and Africa, said Euclid, there existed an island as large as Africa which, with all its wretched inhabitants, was swallowed up by an earthquake. The evidences of an ancient population in this country, anterior to that of the Indians is shown in the discovery of mounds, tumuli, and the researches of the Historical Societies of Ohio and elsewhere. In a deep valley in the Alleghany mountains is one of those solitary memorials of an exterminated race. It is hidden amidst the profoundest gloom of the woods, and consists of a regular circle, a hundred paces in diameter. The plot is raised above the common level of the earth around to a height of about four feet, which may have been done to carry off the water when the snows melted, or when violent rains would otherwise have inundated the dwellings of the inhabitants. The whole country abounds with monuments of antiquity, and there is every reason to believe that the Americans were equal in antiquity, civiliza-

tion and sciences, to the nations of Africa and Europe; and like them the children of Asiatic nations. It is absurd to suppose that no American nations had systems of writing, glyphs and letters, and undoubtedly they had various modes of perpetuating ideas. Rafinesque in a letter to Champollion states that the graphic systems in America to express thought may be arranged in twelve series:

1st. Pictured symbols of the Toltecas, Aztecas, Huaztecas, Skeres, and Panos.

2d. Outlines of figures expressing words or ideas, used by the nations of North and South America.

3d. Quipos, or knots on strings used by the Peruvians, and several other South American nations.

4th. Wampums, or strings of shells and beads, used by many nations of North America.

5th. Runic glyphs, or marks and notches on twigs or lines, used by several nations of North America.

6th. Runic marks and dots, or graphic symbols, not on strings or lines, but in rows; expressing words or ideas, used by the ancient nations of North America or Mexico; the Taltegas, Aztecas, Natchez, Powhatans, Tuscaroras, and the Muhizcas of South America.

7th. Alphabetical symbols, expressing syllables or sounds, not words, but grouped, and the groups disposed in rows; such is the graphic system of the monuments of Otolum, near Palenque, the American Thebes.

8th. Cursive symbols, in groups and the groups in parallel rows, derived from the last (which are chiefly monumental) and used in the manuscripts of the Mayans, Guatamalans.

9th. Syllabic letters, expressing syllables, not simple sounds, and disposed in rows. Such is the late alphabet of the Cherokees, and many graphic inscriptions found in North and South America.

10th. Alphabets or graphic letters expressing simple sounds and disposed in rows; found in numerous inscriptions, medals and coins in North and South America.

11th. Abbreviations or letters standing for whole words, or part of a glyph and graphic delineation expressive of the whole.

12th. Numeric system of graphic signs, to express numbers. All the various kinds of signs, such as dots, lines, strokes, circles, glyphs, letters, etc., used by some nations of North and South America as well as in the eastern continent.

Thus it is shown that America, in its earliest history, was not without its literati, and means of improvement by the use of letters, but was lost by means of revolutions as once was the fate of the Roman empire.

In the humble opinion of the writer, the Atlantes were not only the primitive colonists of America, but they were the most conspicuous and civilized. They may have been the founders of Otolum that ruined city which ranks among the most remarkable of the an-

tiquities of Yucatan and Chiapa, and which is described by Del Rio as having a circuit of thirty-two and a breadth of twelve English miles. The descendants of the builders of this city are the Tolas or Torascos, Atalalos, Matalans, Talegawis, Otalis or Tsulukis, Tala-luicas, Chontalas or Tsendalas.

The similarity between the languages of our American Indians and their African brethren the Taurics and the Guanches, even after a separation of several thousand years attracted the attention of early navigators, and when Columbus discovered America history tells us he was struck with the similarity in features, manners and speech. From Vater and other Spanish writers we learn that the Tarascos formed in West Mexico a powerful and civilized kingdom, and by their language is traced their origin to a remote period of time. As for the modern English it has really only one immediate parent. The old English, such as it was spoken and written in England, between the years 1000 and 1500, lasting about five hundred years, which is considered to be the usual duration of fluctuating languages. According to Priest informs us that the old English had several contemporaneous dialects, and it is supposed to have sprung from the amalgamation of the British-Celtic, the Anglo-Saxon and the Norman-French. These three parents of the English, instead of being remote and different languages were themselves brothers; they sprang from a common primitive source having undergone fluctuations and changes

every five hundred or one thousand years. For instance, the Latin of the time of Romulus, was quite a different language from that spoken in the time of Augustus, although this was the child of the former. Tracing backward the old English which sprung partly from the British-Celtic, we find that the British-Celtic of Great Britain sprung from the Celtic of West Europe—the Cumbric from the Gomerian of Western Asia—the Gomerian from the Yavana of Central Asia. The Yavana was a dialect of the Sanscrit. The Sanscrit alphabet, and all its derived branches, including even the Hebrew, Phœnician, Pelagic, Celtic and Cantabrian alphabets, were totally unlike in forms and combinations of grouping, but in the great variety of Egyptian form of the same letters a resemblance with our American glyphs has been traced. In an old Lybian alphabet, which has been copied by Purchas, in his collection of old alphabets a close connection is shown between the hieroglyphics of Egypt and the glyphs of Otolum, the ruined stone city of America.

In "Denham's Travels in Africa" is described another old and obsolete Lybian alphabet found in old inscriptions among the Tuarics of Targih and Ghraat, west of Fezan, which although unlike the first, had many analogies, and also with the American glyphs.

The old English which partly sprung from the Norman French may thus be traced backward. The Norman French was sprung from the Romanic

of France. The Romanic from the Celtic, Teutonic and Roman Latin. Roman Latin from the Latin of Romulus. The Latin from the Ansonian of Italy. The Ansonian from the Pelagic of Greece and West Asia. The Pelagic from the Palangsha or Pali of Central Asia. The Pali was a branch of the Sanscrit.

Thus we see all the sources of the English language concentrating by gradual steps into the Sanscrit, one of the oldest languages of Central Asia, which has spread its branches throughout the whole world. All the affinities between English and Sanscrit are direct and striking, notwithstanding many deviations and the lapse of ages. All the European nations came from the east or the west of the Imaus table land of Asia, and the order of time in which the Asiatic nations entered Europe to colonize it was as follows:

1. Esquas or Oscans or Cantabrians.
2. Gomorians or Cumras or Celts or Gaels.
3. Getes or Goths or Scutans or Scythians.
4. Finns or Laps or Sames.
5. Tiras or Thracians or Illyrians or Slaves.
6. Pollis or Pelasgians or Hellenes or Greeks.

The settlement in Europe of the last is so remote, says Rafinesque, as to be involved in obscurity, but their languages and traditions prove their relative antiquity.

The sacred writers composed their works under so plenary an influence of

the Holy Spirit, that God may be said to speak by those writers to men; not merely that they spoke to men in the name of God. According to Buck there is a difference between the two propositions; each supposes an authentic revelation from God, but the former secures the Scriptures from all error, but as to the subjects spoken, and the manner of expressing them.

The inspiration of the Old Testament Scriptures is so expressly attested by our Lord and his apostles, and the evidences brought forward in the New Testament by the apostles so thoroughly establish the truth of the facts to which they testified; that there should be no doubt of their inspiration. The ancient authors seldom wrote their treatises with their own hands but dictated them to their freedmen or slaves. These were of three classes, the tachographoi amanuenses notarii, or hasty writers; the kalligraphoi librarii, or fair writers; and the bibliographio bibrarii, or copyists.

It devolved upon the class last named to transcribe with great care and clearness the text which the former had written from dictation.

The correcting of the copies was under the care of an emendator corrector, and most of the books of the New Testament were dictated after this method.

In the epistle of Galatians, chapter VI., St. Paul noted it as a particular circumstance that he had written it with his own hand. The *recitatis* preceded the publication, which recital

took place before many persons who were specially invited to be present.

Thus the works of the first founders of the Christian church made their appearance, and these epistles were read in those congregations to which they were directed. The historical works were made known by the authors in the congregations of the Christians *per recitationem* and the general interest manifested procured for them transcribers and readers. Records were also inscribed on the walls and columns of temples, tombs, etc. Porphyry makes mention of some pillars preserved in Crete on which the ceremonies observed by the Corybantes in their sacrifices were recorded. The works of Hesiod were originally written on tables of lead and deposited in the temple of the Muses in Bœotia. The laws of Solon were cut on wooden planks, and tables of wood and ivory were not uncommon among the ancients. Those of wood were frequently covered with wax, so that writings could be made or blotted out with facility. Subsequently the leaves of the palm trees were used, and the thin bark was also selected. Hence came the word *liber*, which signifies the inner bark of the trees. As this bark was rolled up in order to be removed with greater ease, each roll was called *volumen*, a volume; a name afterwards given to similar rolls of paper or parchment. From the Egyptian papyrus, the word paper is derived.

After this, leather was introduced, and history informs us that Altarus,

the king of the Pergamus, was the inventor of parchment made from the skins of sheep and goats. The ancients also wrote upon linen, and Pliny assures us that the Parthians, even in his time, wrote upon their clothing. Livy speaks of certain books, *lintei libri*, upon which the names of the magistrates were preserved in the temple of the goddess Moneta.

The Assyrians have been competitors with the Egyptians for the honor of having invented alphabetic writing, and it appears, from the remains now extant of the writing of these ancient nations, that their letters had a great affinity with each other. They much resembled one another in shape, and they ranged them in the same manner, from right to left. The Grecians followed both directions alternately, going in the one direction and returning in the other. It was called *boustrophedon*, because it was after the manner of oxen while at work with the plough. In Chinese books the lines run from top to bottom, and probably the Chinese is the only system now in common use that is not lineally descended from the alphabet used by Moses in writing the Pentateuch.

Few subjects have given rise to more discussion than the origin of alphabetical characters, which, as Calmet truly says must be considered one of the most admirable efforts of the ingenuity of man. So wonderful is the facility which it affords for recording human thought; so ingenious is the

analysis which it furnishes for the sounds of articulate speech, that the authors of this invention should receive the grateful homage of all ages. Unfortunately the author, and the era of this discovery, are both lost in the darkness of remote antiquity, and even the nations to which the invention is due cannot now be named with certainty.

The Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Phœnicians, the Persians, the natives of India have vied with each other for this honor, and each has claimed its inventor among the remote, and probably fabulous personages that figure in the earlier ages of their history. Lucan affirms that the Phœnicians invented the common letters before the Egyptians were acquainted with the use of paper, or the art of writing in hieroglyphical characters, and it was probably in imitation of the Phœnicians that the Egyptians used letters in their writing. Of this we cannot be certain, but we are aware of the fact that the resemblances were great in the ancient alphabets of these people; and we know that Moses, who was familiar with both hieroglyphic and Phœnician letters, wrote in the last named characters. The Egyptians lost the use of their writing when under the dominion of the Greeks, and the Coptic or modern Egyptian character is formed from the Greek. The characters of the oldest known form of the Shemitic alphabet taken from the Moabite stone, nearly 900 B. C., and from other monuments, were followed by the earlier forms of

the Greek and Latin alphabets, which as may easily be seen are almost pure Phœnician, when written from right to left, as in the case of the most ancient Greek monuments, the letters are not distinguishable from the Phœnician.

The Phœnician alphabet in which the Old Testament was originally written, according to the Greek legend was introduced by Cadmus through all the Phœnician colonies, and through the Cadmus of mythology the Greeks took their alphabet from the Phœnicians, while from the Greek is derived the Russian. From the Latins, whose Phœnician origin is equally evident, came the alphabets of the rest of Europe and America.

Brinsep has shown that the ancient Sanscrit alphabet probably came from the Phœnician, and from the Sanscrit are derived the alphabets of India, Burmah, Thibet and Java. The old Persian is also shown by Spiegel to have a similar origin, and Klaproth has proved that the Mongolian, Tungusian and Manchu alphabets are from the Phœnician, through the Syriac, though modified by the perpendicular columnar arrangement of the Chinese. Add to these the Samaritan, Ethiopic, and Syriac; the Arabic, with its characters modified or unmodified, as accepted by Turks, Persians, Malays, Hindoostanees and Touareks, and we have only the Chinese remaining that can claim, as has already been intimated, an independent origin.

The Phœnician writing would prob-

ably have been forgotten had not the Samaritans preserved the Pentateuch of Moses, written in the old Canaanite or Hebrew character, by the help of which many medals, coins and the remains of Phœnician monuments have been deciphered. Some learned men maintain that the square Hebrew character still in use is the same as was used by Moses; but the prevailing opinion seems to be that the Jews gradually abandoned the original character while in captivity at Babylon, and that ultimately Ezra substituted the Chaldee, while the Samaritan preserved their Pentateuch written in old Hebrew and Phœnician characters. Prideaux shows that in the Hebrew language the vowel points, ten in number, are the invention of the Massorets, and date back to about the end of the ninth, or the beginning of the tenth century. They are said to have originated with the rabbins Asher and Naphtali, but the necessity for a system of vowel signs was not felt until the Hebrew has ceased to become a colloquial language.

The most ancient Assyrian seals usually have no writing upon them, although some of the cylinders bear upon them curious inscriptions.

The royal scarabalu of the Egyptian dynasties have the hieroglyphics within the cartouche. One, in possession of the writer, has upon it the name of Thotmes II.

The writing materials of the ancients were various, and beside those already named may be mentioned bricks,

metals and gems, all of which were brought into requisition. In Job XIX, 24, allusion is made to an iron pen and lead, which metal is supposed to have been poured when melted into the cavities in the stone made by the engraved letters to insure greater durability. The pen used for harder surfaces was of iron, and a reed was chosen for writing on parchment. The ink was made from lamp black, vitrol mixed with gall-juice, or cuttle fish. The Romans wrote their books either on parchment or on paper made of the Egyptian papyrus.

After the Saracens conquered Egypt, in the seventh century, the communication between that country and the people settled in Italy was broken off and the use of papyrus was discontinued. They were then obliged to write all their books upon parchment and as the price of that material was high, books became extremely rare and of great value. Erasures were therefore often made from manuscripts and new composition substituted in the place of older writings.

Thus many valuable works of the ancients perished, and doubtless Livy or Tacitus was forced to give place occasionally to some superstitious old monk who would prepare a missal. It is said that copies of the Holy Scriptures were occasionally obliterated to make room for the lucubrations of aspiring fathers in the church. These "palimpsests," or twice scraped documents serve to account for the loss of valuable manuscripts, which existed

prior to the eleventh century. Evidence exists that in 1299 John de Pontissara, Bishop of Winchester, borrowed from his cathedral convent the "bibliam bene glossatam," and gave a bond for its return.

In the eleventh century, when the art of making paper was invented, the number of manuscripts increased, and biblical study was greatly facilitated.

If the ancient books or flying rolls were large they were formed of a number of skins connected together, and in Zachariah V., 1, 2, we read of a flying roll the length of which was twenty cubits and the breadth ten cubits. By this rolling process a *sepher* of great length could rapidly be closed. The word book in Hebrew (*sepher*) is much more extensive in its meaning than the Latin word *liber*. The English translation reads *letter*, the Septuagint has *biblion*, and the Hebrew text *sepherim*.

The love of the word of God, and a desire to disseminate it among their people prompted the ecclesiastics of the Norman-French nation to translate the Bible into the language, and in 1260 such a translation was made. In 1384 Wyckliffe finished his translation of the entire Bible from the Vulgate into the English language, and in the preface to his version he thus states his purpose. "Yt pore Cristen men may some dele know the text of ye Gospells with the comyn sentence of holie doctores." In other, and more modern words, this open declaration shows that his object was to enable the lower classes to read

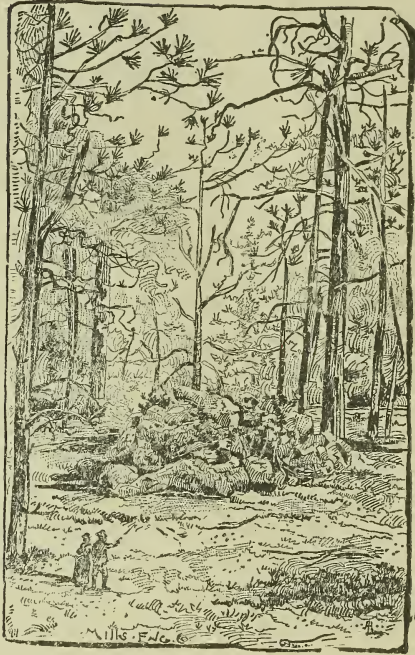
the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue. The number of copies made of this translation must have been very great, for not only are copies in many of the libraries, but they are in the possession of private collectors in various parts of Christendom. Some of them are beautifully written, with regularity and finish equal to copper-plate, and they are adorned with exquisite pictures; even the initial letters evince the highest artistic talent, but it is a remarkable fact that the most elegant illuminations are not in the perfectly written copies. Just in proportion as the illustrations improve the writings deteriorate. To Wyckliffe belongs the high honor of having given the English Bible to England, but the mediæval churchmen had a strong objection to granting it to the poor, and only the rich were able to possess it. The Roman clergy were opposed to the wishes of Wyckliffe, and were horrified at the idea of imparting knowledge to the ignorant whom they wished to keep in blind subjection to themselves. They therefore assembled in council at Lambeth, and archbishop Sudbury commanded Wyckliffe to appear before the council and explain his doctrines. He presented himself, accompanied by the duke of Lancaster, then in power; and he made so able a defence that he was dismissed without condemnation. His acquittal displeased pope Gregory XI., who cited him to appear at Rome and answer in person before the sovereign pontiff. A second council was therefore held at Lambeth, where again Wyckliffe elo-

quently defended himself, and was permitted to depart in safety. With untiring zeal and unflinching energy he continued to preach his doctrines, until he was prevented by a third council assembled under Courtney. This time the reformer was condemned as a heretic, by command of the pope, and with the concurrence of the weak Richard II. The first attempt to proscribe the Wyckliffe translation was made in parliament 1390, but was defeated through the influence of the duke of Gaunt. Eighteen years later, the clergy under bishop Arundel succeeded in their object, and all translations of the Bible into English were prohibited by an act of Convocation; and those who were known to read it were subjected to bitter persecution, which continued until Henry VIII. ascended the throne. Arundel was made bishop of Ely at the age of twenty-one, under Edward III., and afterwards was transferred to York, and from thence to Canterbury. His quarrel with Richard II. forced him to fly to Rome, and to his resentment may in some degree be attributed the success with which Henry IV. invaded England, and seized the crown.

Passing over a number of intermediate translations of the Bible which will be noticed in the private print to appear after answers to communications sent the many libraries of Europe have been received, an allusion in closing will be made to the "*Biblia Pauperum*." This was one of the ten "*Block-Books*" which were the precursors of printing, and followed manuscripts. Their origin

and date are not positively known, but they probably belonged to the first half of the fifteenth century, and originated in Germany or Holland. They were volumes of rude pictures with Latin inscriptions designed more particularly for the edification of the poor. It is difficult to comprehend how uneducated people could be interested in the text of a book which was in a language foreign to their own, although the pictures may have proved attractive. As the Franciscan friars were the teachers of those days, doubtless these books were used by them to facilitate the instruction which they desired to impart, in a very limited degree. The make up of the volume consisted of a series of forty leaves, printed on one side, on which forty scenes from the history of our Lord were depicted; beneath were inscriptions in the abbreviated Latin of the period. The work was executed from wooden blocks, like ordinary wood-cuts, and some idea of their appearance may be obtained by a visit to the Lenox Library, New York, where several of them are on exhibition. "*Block-Books*" were the glimmering light that gave promise of daybreak, and it soon became evident that something more than these was necessary in order to multiply copies with rapidity, and reduce their price, so as to bring them into common use. In this emergency Gutenberg came to the front, and his great improvement from blocks to movable metal types quickly became known to the civilized world.

CHARLES W. DARLING.



THE GRAVE OF HELEN HUNT JACKSON, (H. H.) UPON CHEYENNE MOUNTAIN,
COLORADO SPRINGS, COLORADO.

IN CHEYENNE PASS.*

[In memory of Helen Hunt Jackson, buried, according to her request, in Cheyenne Pass, high up on Cheyenne Mountain.]

To Cheyenne Pass, she, dying, whispered—
Take me there, where the strong sun will find
Me in the morns, and in the silent nights
The stars bend over me, as if aware
Their friend is kindred with their fires who watched
Them long.

The soaring mountain birds will scream
Above me, flying towards the light. Unscared,
Free things will trample round the lonely spot
Where rests my heart, of old untamed as they,
But quiet with Death's quietness, at last.

*Mrs. Moulton's Poem—written some time ago, and universally recognized as the true-hearted tribute of one poet to another—seems so fitting in connection with the various articles recently published in these pages upon the greatness and beauty of the mountains of the West, that we have taken the liberty of reproducing it here.

Perchance my strange, wild friends of dusky face
 Will linger by my grave, sometimes, and say—
 “She lies here, *she*, who bore our heavy sorrow
 As her own,” and I shall know. Shall I *not* know?
 Each step that rings upon the rock, each voice
 That cries from living lips to my ears, deaf
 With dying? And my mouth that Death has sealed
 Will it not thirst to answer?

Will you come—

You whom I loved, who loved me—come and wait
 To hear if from my grave a whisper steal
 And mind you of some old time joy or grief,
 Some rapture only known to you and me,
 Or some wild woe you shared, and sharing eased?
 Or shall I—she you knew, loved, lived for—I,
 Be gone, beyond all echo of your call,
 To some far world, where I shall know the whole
 Great sum of loving and be glad—where I
 Can rest and wait till you, too, come to learn
 The heavenly secret?

Now, meantime,

Take me to Cheyenne Pass, and lay me there,
 Within the mountain's steadfast heart, and leave me
 Neighbored by the wild things and the clouds,
 And still in Death beneath the deathless sky.

LOUISE CHANDLER MOULTON

EDITORIAL NOTES.

A MODEST and appropriate monument to the late Roscoe Conkling has been completed and erected over his grave in Forest Hill Cemetery, in his home city of Utica, New York. It stands in the Conkling family plot, a few yards north of the monument of Horatio Seymour, and is of Quincy granite, and is in the form of a sarcophagus, with two heavy bases of cut, unpolished granite, a cubical die, with polished columns at each corner, and a massive cap surmounting the whole. The die is polished, and bears on the east side the simple inscription "Roscoe Conkling," and on the west side, in addition to the name, the inscription, "Born October 30, 1829. Died April 16, 1888." The design was selected by Mrs. Conkling about a year ago, and work on the monument was at once begun. The monument is not over nine feet in height and weighs about twenty-five tons. It is imposing in its simplicity, and is in thorough keeping with the character of the man in whose memory it was erected.

R. P. CROCKETT, a son of the famous Davy Crockett, now living in Granbury, Hood county, Texas, in a recent letter to the present keeper of the Alamo in San Antonio, says: "My father, Davy Crockett, was born in Hawkins county, Tennessee, 1786. He was married twice, had three children by his first wife and three by his last, three boys and three girls. I am the oldest child by the last wife, and was the youngest son. I am now seventy-three years old. My father was a fraction over six feet tall, and weighed over two hundred pounds in good health and was not fleshy. My father was first justice of the peace, next Colonel of a regiment of militia, then a member of the Legislature of Tennessee and twice was elected to Congress. My brother succeeded him in Congress in 1837 for six years.

My youngest sister is living in Gibson county, Tennessee. My mother and one sister are buried here in Hood county, Texas."

DR. WILLIAM A. BELL of Manitou Springs, Colorado, contributes an article of historic interest and value to this number of the MAGAZINE, upon the origin of our transcontinental railroads. Dr. Bell is the author of "Tracks in North America: A Journal of Travel and Adventure Whilst Engaged in the Survey for a Southern Pacific Railroad to the Pacific Ocean." This well-known work was published in London in 1870. Perhaps no single publication has exerted a greater influence, especially in England, in imparting information concerning our Western country, and inducing investment by foreign capitalists in the railroads and mining interests of that region. As a Fellow of the Royal Geographical and Geological Society, and a belle-lettres scholar, Dr. Bell brought both scientific and literary ability of a high order to the task of writing a book which is a standard work upon early Western history.

THE death of Prof. Alexander Johnston of Princeton college, cut off in his prime of life, one of the best known and ablest of American historical writers. While yet a young man, comparatively speaking, he had won an enduring name and supplied the world with results of years of the most severe labor. He was born on April 29, 1849, and was graduated at Rutgers college in 1870. He was admitted to the bar at New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1876, and taught in the Rutgers college grammar school until 1879, when he became the principal of the Norwalk Latin school. He was appointed professor of jurisprudence and political economy in Princeton college in 1883, and held that

post at the time of his death on July 20. He published a "History of American Politics," "The Genesis of a New England state," "Representative American Orations," a "History of Connecticut," and a "History of the United States for Schools." He also left in the hands of Henry Holt & Co., in readiness for the press, a second "History of the United States," written on a plan somewhat similar to that of his text-book, "but suited to a shorter course, and perhaps to less mature minds." A writer in *The Critic*, C. A. Young of Princeton, who enjoyed a close acquaintance with Prof. Johnston, has this to say of him: The death of Prof. Johnston after a year's hard fight for life was not only a very sad thing in itself, but is a heavy blow to Princeton college. There is probably no member of the corps of professors whose loss would be more keenly felt or harder to repair: certainly no one more generally loved and admired, not only by his colleagues, but by the undergraduates, with whom for the best of reasons he was a peculiar favorite. He was essentially a specialist; and in his special department of American political history stood in the very first rank. Prof. Bryce is reported to have said of him, in reply to an inquiry, that Prof. Johnston was asked to write the article upon United States History in "The Encyclopædia Britannica," simply "because he was the only man in America who could do it." However that may be, no one certainly could have done it better. But he was not a narrow man, and in many other lines he was a teacher of no mean authority,—in constitutional and international law, for instance, and in political economy, subjects which fell to him in the college curriculum. He knew the fundamental facts that underlie all sound theories in these departments; he grasped general principles firmly, and was keen, clear-sighted and logical in drawing conclusions; above all, he had an almost unrivalled power of exciting an enthusiastic interest among his pupils, and in setting them to think and investigate for themselves. In the classroom, too, he never allowed anything like partisanship to appear, but was carefully just and courteous in the treatment of

opinions at variance with his own. This was not because his mind was essentially judicial rather than partisan. Out of the class-room he could be, and sometimes was, even a little rough in characterizing the "nonsense" or "silliness" of ideas he opposed. But his pupils liked him none the less for such positiveness; and his warm and unfeigned interest in them and their affairs, especially in their athletic sports, made him extremely popular, and gave him a great power and influence among them. He attracted them, liked to have them about him, and always did them good.

IN the Faculty of the College he was progressive rather than conservative—a "prime-mover" rather than "anchor;" quick to see the changes that new times are always calling for, and urgent in their advocacy. He was especially interested in the extension of the curriculum by the introduction of new studies, even when it involved some sacrifice of the old "standbys" of the college course. Here naturally he often came into opposition with some of his colleagues; but he always so conducted his side of the controversy as to avoid angry feeling; he was ardent, but not unreasonable or offensive; keen, with a Western raciness and directness of speech, but good-tempered always—and very apt to carry his point. He was universally respected, admired and liked even by those who differed with him; and to his more intimate friends he was a companion whose going away has left a most sorrowful sense of loss and bereavement. The general community also feels his loss deeply, for he had a genius for affairs, and far more than most college men was active and efficient in the public business of the borough. One thing farther must be added to convey a just idea of the man: he was a sincere, faithful and earnest Christian, and an officer in the Presbyterian church. He was not much given to religious talking, but until failing health prevented, he conducted a student's voluntary Bible-class, and he sometimes spoke at the Sunday chapel service—always with great effect. His Bible, "read literally to pieces,"

as Dr. Patton told us at his funeral, testified more eloquently than words to the fidelity of his inner Christian life.

SOME months ago a silk flag, supposed to be the one that draped the casket of Abraham Lincoln during the journey from Washington to Springfield, was placed in a glass covered frame and given a prominent position in the office of the Secretary of War. Department officials were not certain, however, that the flag was the one it was supposed to be, and an element of uncertainty surrounded its position in the Secretary's office. Recently the uncertainty was set at rest by the discovery in the folds of the flag of a card signed by Adjutant-General Townsend stating that it was the identical flag used to drape President Lincoln's casket.

THE old historic houses of Washington are rapidly passing away. The march of improvement requires that more modern dwellings with greater conveniences shall take their place. There still exists, on the corner of Eighteenth street and New York avenue, a house that in its day was one of the most famous in the city. It has, because of its peculiar build, always been known as the "octagon house." It was built by John Tayloe, a rich Virginian, and the father of Benjamin Ogle Tayloe, whose residence is now occupied by Senator Don Cameron on Lafayette square. When the British burned the White House in 1814, the Tayloe property was rented by the Government for an executive mansion, and here it was that Mistress "Dolly" Madison gave her dinners and receptions until the White House was made habitable again. The Right Honorable Charles Bagot, a diplomat of large experience, was the English Minister to this country for the most of the time that Mrs. Madison resided in this house, and he wrote to a friend in London that although he had been stationed in most of the capitals of Europe, and of course been handsomely entertained, he had never spent pleasanter evenings than in the comparatively plain dwelling-place of Mrs. Madison.

THE recent contest over the question of a new Constitution for Kentucky brought to light a number of interesting points in connection with the instrument under which the state was, for so many years, governed, which are discussed by a Louisville writer as follows: The Constitution was adopted in 1850. It recognizes slavery, denies to negroes the right of suffrage, and, to prevent any amendment looking to abolition, the mode of amendment involves a delay of at least seven years and is exceedingly difficult. It provides that a majority of all the members of both Houses of the legislature must, within twenty days after assembling, first vote in favor of submitting the question of a convention to the people; then a majority of all the qualified voters of the state must vote in favor of the convention; then the legislature must vote again to submit the question to the people, and a majority of all the qualified voters must again vote in favor of it. It is exceedingly cumbersome in many respects, and is as well suited to the needs and interests of the people of to-day as one of Lord Nelson's old war ships is suited for modern warfare. It prescribes no limit to the sessions of the legislature and imposes no restriction on the evils of local legislation, which is but another expression for local jobbery.

THE Early Settlers' Association of Cuyahoga county, Ohio, met on July 22d, the ninety-third anniversary of the arrival of Gen. Moses Cleaveland at the mouth of the Cuyahoga river. The meeting was presided over by Hon. Harvey Rice, who is now in his eighty-ninth year. In the course of his annual address, President Rice said: "This is the first decennial anniversary of our association, and it is therefore a landmark in our history, a day upon which we can exchange fraternal sympathy and congratulations. We have accomplished much that is of value during the ten years of our existence. I need refer only to the annual publications and the assistance they render to those who are interested in the early settlement of this section, and to the statue we have erected in memory of the founder of the city. To-day I wish to

give some reminiscences of the Cuyahoga river. It would seem that in primitive times the river was regarded as an Indian paradise. Hostile warriors were on opposite sides of the stream and the remains of forts and earthworks show that each tribe was prepared for warfare. The valley was what they fought for. It abounded with luxuriant vegetation, the river with fish and water fowl, and the forest with small game and deer. It is not known who was the first white man to discover the Cuyahoga. It is probable that it was a Frenchman, some member of a crew sent to explore the Atlantic coast in the sixteenth century, who were lost or strayed into the wilderness. That a Frenchman probably discovered the river is shown by a monument of stones found in Lorain county. Upon one stone was cut the picture of a ship, and upon another 'Louis Vangart, La France, 1563.' It is believed that this monument marked the grave of the captain of a coasting vessel. His crew probably erected the first storehouse on the west side of the Cuyahoga. It was found in 1770, and the remnants were afterwards utilized as a dwelling by a settler. On June 8, 1776, there arrived at the mouth of the Cuyahoga a delegation of Moravian missionaries from Sandusky with thirty converted Indians. They landed on open ground at Tinker's Creek, where a clearing had been made, and subsequently abandoned by Ottawa Indians. The missionaries called it Pilgrim's Rest and built a house and planted corn. They ran out of flour and prayed for relief. Relief came in the form of a pack train of one hundred horses loaded with flour *en route* from Pittsburg to Detroit. The missionaries, at first, held religious services in the open air. In the fall they built a church with split logs for seats. Plush cushions were not then in vogue. The Indian disciples were furnished with employment. The men hunted and the women did the household drudgery. The winter was a severe one, but was followed by a beautiful spring. But with leaves and song birds came rumors of war. The hostile Indians did not like missionaries, and it was deemed advisable to abandon Pilgrim's Rest and seek rest else-

where. They moved to other quarters and continued their philanthropic labors. After the Blackhawk War several chieftans were taken East for punishment, but instead of being shot, as they expected, they were lionized. On returning to their homes they stopped at Cleveland, and Blackhawk paddled in a canoe up the river to where Riverside Cemetery is now located, and visited the grave of his mother. He was one of the noblest of his race. Less than a century ago savages lived upon the banks of the Cuyahoga. As we look back today we see how it is that the superior replaces the inferior."

HON. A. J. WILLIAMS then read the report of the executive committee, in which the success of the association was alluded to in a few words. The report stated that the total contributions to the Moses Cleaveland statue amounted to \$4,507, and that the memorial cost \$4,436. The surplus of \$71 was donated to the Children's Aid Society. The first contribution was made by the late Judge R. P. Spalding, the largest contribution from a member of the association was \$300 from Hon. Harvey Rice, and the largest donation from all sources was \$500 from Mrs. S. S. Stone. The following officers of the society were re-elected by a unanimous vote: president, Hon. Harvey Rice; vice-presidents, Hon. John Hutchins and Mrs. J. A. Harris; secretary, Thomas Jones, Jr.; treasurer, Solon Burgess; chaplain, Rev. Thomas Corlett; marshal, H. M. Addison; executive committee, Hon. A. J. Williams, R. T. Lyon, Darius Adams, John H. Sargent, W. S. Kerruish, Wilson S. Dodge and Solon Burgess.

MENTION was made some months since, of the refusal of the town of Lebanon, Connecticut, to accept as a present the office of Jonathan Trumbull, because of the expense of keeping it in repair. A correspondent writing from Lebanon under a recent date, calls attention to the neglected condition of Gov. Trumbull's tomb. The writer describes the Lebanon cemetery as on a knoll that is bounded on

three sides by a low, dreary marsh, and in wet weather the yard is inaccessible to teams. A heavy stone wall encloses it. The headstones are old and lichened. Most of them have pitched forward or backward, and many lie on the ground, patched with moss and webbed under dead and growing grass. The Trumbull tomb is on the east side of the yard, near the wall. It is not so badly dilapidated as it was a few years ago. At that time frost and water had displaced the stones so that the whole front was in a ruin, earth and stones being commingled in an egg-shaped mound, and the town authorities caused the front to be rebuilt. But the tomb is still unsightly, and the surroundings are unkempt. The walls of the sepulchre are of Portland, Connecticut red sandstone, in blocks two feet long and wide, and ten inches deep; on them rests a white marble block 30 inches high and 22 inches square, and on the marble another block 22x6 inches in size, and on that a round plate, 18x6 inches in dimensions, which supports a broken column 36 inches tall and 14 inches in diameter. The entire fabric is seven feet high.

THE heavy frosts and gullying thaws of recent winters (the writer continues), have made bad work with the masonry, and the appearance of the structure is deplorable, while relic hunters have perpetrated even greater havoc. Corner pieces have been chipped off the base with hammers, chips of stone scooped out of the pedestal, and the top of the column has been almost wholly knocked to pieces. The woodchuck has made his home on the north side of the embankment, from which rises the stone work, having digged a deep, slanting hole into the hard, gravelly earth, and his home at the end of the shaft must be near the place where Gov. Trumbull and his family rest. The Trumbull tomb was erected in 1785, soon after the death of the great war Governor, by his three surviving sons, Jonathan, David and Joseph. Within the mausoleum are the ashes of more of the illustrious dead than are gathered in any other family burial place in the state, perhaps in the country. There are the remains

of Jonathan Trumbull, Sr., the bosom friend and most trusted counsellor of Washington; of his good wife, Edith Robinson; of his eldest son, Joseph, the first commissary-general under Washington; of his second son, Jonathan, Jr., paymaster-general of the same army, private secretary and first aide-de-camp to Gen. Washington, afterward Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, member of the United States Senate and Governor of his state; of Jonathan Trumbull Jr.'s good wife, Eunice Backus; of Jonathan Trumbull's third son, David, commissary of this colony in the Revolution, and assistant commissary-general under his brother in the army under Washington, and by his side, his good wife, Sarah Backus; of Jonathan Trumbull's second daughter, Mary, and by her side her illustrious husband, William Williams, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and of many others descended from the distinguished persons who have been described.

THE inscription on the monument is on four sides of it. The east tablet, which is the front one, has these words: "Sacred to the memory of Jonathan Trumbull, Esq., who, unaided by birth or powerful connections, but blessed with a noble and virtuous mind, arrived to the highest station in Government. His patriotism and firmness during fifty years' employment in public life, and particularly the very important part he acted in the American Revolution as Governor of Connecticut, the faithful page of history will record. Full of years and honors, rich in benevolence, and firm in the faith and hopes of Christianity, he died An. Dom. 1785. *Ætatis*, 75." On the south tablet are the words: "Sacred to the memory of Joseph Trumbull, eldest son of Governor Trumbull, and first commissary-general of the United States of America, a service to whose perpetual cares and fatigues he fell a sacrifice, A. D. 1778, *Æt.* 42. Full soon, indeed, may his person, his virtues, and even his extensive benevolence be forgotten by his friends and fellow men, but blessed be God for the hope that in His presence he shall be remembered forever."

The inscription on the west tablet is: "To the memory of Jonathan Trumbull, Esq., late Governor of the State of Connecticut. He was born March 26, 1740, and died August 7, 1809, aged 69 years. His remains are here deposited with those of his father." On the north tablet: "Sacred to the memory of Madam Trumbull, the amiable lady of Governor Trumbull, born at Duxbury, in Massachusetts, Anno 1718. Happy and beloved in her connubial state, she lived a virtuous, charitable and Christian life at

Lebanon, Connecticut, and died, lamented by her numerous friends, Anno 1780, *Ætatis* 62." An energetic effort is being made by wealthy citizens of Lebanon to form a private corporation which shall bind itself to accept the old war office as a gift in behalf of the town, and to keep it in good condition; and the same corporation, if it is organized, will, no doubt, assume the duty of taking care also of the Trumbull tomb.—Let us hope so at least.

JUDGE MOSES' HISTORY OF ILLINOIS.

"ILLINOIS, HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAL: COMPRISING THE ESSENTIAL FACTS OF ITS PLANTING AND GROWTH AS A PROVINCE, COUNTY, TERRITORY AND STATE. Derived from the most authentic Sources, including Original Documents and Papers. Together with carefully prepared Statistical Tables relating to Population, Financial Administration, Industrial Progress, Internal Growth, Political and Military Events." By John Moses, ex-county judge of Scott county; private secretary of Gov. Yates; member of the twenty-ninth general assembly of Illinois; secretary of the board of railroad and warehouse commissioners, 1880-83; secretary and librarian of the Chicago Historical Society, etc., etc. Illustrated. Published by the Fergus Printing Company, Chicago. Vol. I.

As Indiana has recently been fortunate in having both the letter and the spirit of her career depicted by Mr. Dunn, so her sister-state to the westward has been favored by the labor of an historian who has not only told us of outward events, but has looked into the inner life of the people of the early day, and revealed the causes of purpose that have worked onward to the results of deeds. Judge Moses has long been recognized as one of the foremost historical students and writers of the West. His trend of mind and habits of thought have trained him for judicial calmness in weighing facts, while his keen interest in all the themes to which his attention is given, preserves him from the dead dryness of the mere judicial or historical hair-splitter, and leads him to a

freshness and a crispness of style that makes the subject alive before the attention of the reader; a fact demonstrated in this present MAGAZINE in a chapter upon the Early French of Illinois. His whole active life has been spent in fields where the past of Illinois in one department or other of public work, has been kept before his view, while his relation to that great organization, the Chicago Historical Society, has long been such as to place him in possession of all the material at this generation's command. Thus trained and equipped we expect from Judge Moses a history in some regards out of the common run.

That expectation has been, in many ways, realized. The initial volume is devoted to the period most likely to challenge comparison, covering, as it does, the pre-historic and early-historic periods, concerning which so much has been written. We are brought, in this first stage of the journey, down to the administration of Gov. French and 1848—a point pregnant of suggestion of what the next decade is to produce in the fortunes of the Union; for Illinois, like Indiana, was one of the battle-grounds upon which the polemic portion of the battle of slavery was fought. The point at which the close of Volume I. was set, was natural in the drift of the narrative, but one better could hardly have been chosen for the purpose of keeping awake the desire and expectation for Volume II. Abraham Lincoln, the rising lawyer of the Sangamon district, had

just been elected to Congress over Peter Cartwright; Stephen A. Douglas, who "thirteen years before this had come to Illinois a beardless boy, without friends, fortune or profession," had been chosen by the assembly of the state to the high position of United States Senator; the Mexican war was a momentous factor in political events; the state, like the country everywhere, was upon the threshold of important events. Judge Moses has made some of the inner things of that stirring season wonderfully clear; and he certainly has been impartial in his discussion of them all.

For convenience of classification, the author has divided Volume I. into five periods: Period I., Under the French, 1682-1781. Period II., Under the British, 1761-1778. Period III., Under Virginia, 1778-1784. Period IV., Under the United States, 1784-1818. Period V., Under the First Constitution, 1818-1848. The preliminary chapter is devoted to the geography, soil, climate and productions of Illinois, followed by one upon the aborigines, their origin, location and habits; and yet others upon the early explorations and discoveries, the Catholic missionaries, and the first permanent settlements; after which comes the story of the province, territory and state along the chronological lines of development.

It is a history remarkable in many ways, that this broad prairie strip between Lake Michigan and the two great rivers to the South and West has made. A part of the French possessions of Louisiana as soon as it became anything but a corner of the dark and unknown wilderness, it has become one of the great and powerful states of the Union, with a future full of promise that widens as westward the star of commercial and political power takes its way. Judge Moses has himself seen the development of the fifty years past, and in various positions of judicial, legislative and administrative life, has had a closer view than most men, and has made good use of the material thus secured. We have in his own words a comprehensive view of the purpose he had in mind in the preparation of this work: "Histories of Illinois, paluable and interesting have already been

written. It is not because the author underestimates these or would detract from their importance that he has undertaken the same task, but for the purpose of connecting what in some respects are merely fragmentary accounts, contained in dusty volumes, the greater portion of which have been long since out of print; of correcting or modifying many previous statements in the light of later information; and of presenting new facts and recent events in such accessible form and manner that they may be readily consulted and employed in every field of labor, professional as well as mercantile, official as well as manual." The purpose is commendable, and the result has been its fulfillment in every respect. While the author has not indulged in much philosophy, nor wire-drawn his theories to the extent that some historians feel it necessary to commit themselves, he has certainly produced a history of Illinois that meets the general need, whether that of the statesman who would know how to make history by the study of that already made, or the school-master who desires to awaken ambition and endeavor in the young by the recital of the ambitious deeds of those who are gone. There is a copious citation of authorities upon almost every page, an example that ought to be followed whenever light can be thrown upon the text. While the illustrations and maps make no attempt to be works of high art, they are such as explain the text and give us a view of the men who were most eminent in that portion of Illinois history that lies in the first half of the present century—Abraham Lincoln, Stephen A. Douglas, Edward D. Baker, Thomas Carlin, Ninian Edwards, Thomas Ford, James Hall, with many of the older territorial days. Among the maps and pictures other than portraits may be mentioned Chicago in 1812; the first state house at Kaskaskia, Fort Chartres, Illinois in 1673, and again in 1771, 1812, 1818 and 1837; plan of Kaskaskia in 1765, the second state house at Vandalia, etc., etc. The appendix contains a number of valuable documents, among which may be mentioned the Ordinance of 1787, the treaty of Greenville, the act dividing Indiana terri-

tory, the Constitution of 1818, tables showing genesis and growth of counties, and other noted historical papers of like character.

One paragraph of Judge Moses' preface we quote with pleasure: "What was originally intended for one has grown into two volumes,

the second of which, now nearly completed, will bring the history down to the date of issue." This second volume will be even more welcome than the first, for historical readers now have a measure by which its value and usefulness can be understood.

AMONG THE BOOKS.

"HERNDON'S LINCOLN: THE TRUE STORY OF A GREAT LIFE. THE HISTORY AND PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN." By William H. Herndon, for twenty years his friend and law partner, and Jesse William Weik, A. M. Vols. I., II., III. Published by Belford, Clarke & Co., Chicago, New York and San Francisco.

Mr. Herndon is, naturally, recognized as one of the few living men who knew Abraham Lincoln as he really was, and certainly there never was one who enjoyed a more intimate personal acquaintance with that great man. A law partnership of twenty-five years, and close personal friendship, gave Mr. Herndon an opportunity for thorough knowledge of his subject, and, as he says in the preface to the work: "My long personal association with Mr. Lincoln gave me special facilities in the direction of obtaining materials for these volumes. Such were our relations during all that portion of his life when he was rising to distinction, that I had only to exercise a moderate vigilance in order to gather and preserve the real data of his personal career. Being strongly drawn to the man, and believing in his destiny, I was not unobservant or careless in this respect. It thus happened that I became the personal depository of the larger part of the most valuable *Lincolniانا* in existence. Out of this store the major portion of the material of the following volumes has been drawn." The work was commenced twenty years ago, but Mr. Herndon's active life at the bar has prevented its conclusion until now; a conclusion which would not even yet have been reached had it not been for the aid of Mr. Weik, of whom Mr. Herndon speaks in the highest praise. While

the work is not as profound or philosophic as some of the numerous lives of Lincoln with which American history has been enriched, it is entertaining, truthful and fair-minded in the highest degree. The personal tone that characterizes it, the anecdotes new and old with which it is filled, and the impress of innate personal knowledge it bears upon every page, make it one of the most readable books of the season. William H. Herndon's name will ever be associated with that of Abraham Lincoln, and this work will aid in the strengthening of that tie. All three volumes are illustrated with portraits and pictures of localities made famous by association with Lincoln in the pre-presidential days.

"THE WINNING OF THE WEST." By Theodore Roosevelt, Author of "Naval War of 1812," "Life of Thomas Hart Benton," "Life of Gouverneur Morris," "Ranch Life and the Hunting Trail," etc. Published by G. P. Putnam's Son's, New York. Vol. I., "From the Alleghanies to the Mississippi; 1769-1776." Vol. II., "From the Alleghanies to the Mississippi; 1777-1783." With maps.

Covering, geographically, only that portion of America, lying between the thirteen original colonies, and the Mississippi, and chronologically, the space between 1769 and 1783, Mr. Roosevelt has found an abundance of action and a margin of interest sufficient to make good use of the two elegant volumes the Messrs. Putnam have produced. This field of action is the old West, and while it leaves out of present consideration that greater West, which is an empire of itself, beyond the farthest boundary set by this book,

the title may not be misleading—for had not the wilderness between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, and the Great Lakes and the Gulf been *won*—not merely discovered and settled upon, but bought by priceless blood and endeavor, by the men whose deeds herein find recognition, the Kansas, Iowa, Colorado and California of to-day would not have been possible. It is the heroic age of the middle West of which Mr. Roosevelt writes; the period of which John Sevier, Daniel Boone and George Rogers Clark are the exponents. In a recent review of the work, its contents are summed up in these words: "In Volume I., there are noble chapters on the spread of the English-speaking peoples, on the French in the Ohio Valley, on the Appalachian confederacies, on the Algonquins of the Northwest, on the backwoodsmen of the Alleghanies, in which the results of long and wide reading are set before us in strong, clear English. Then follow the stories of Boone (Boon), Sevier, Robertson, the Watauga Commonwealth, Lord Dunsmore's war, the battle of the Great Kanawha, the overwhelming of the Cherokees and the civil organization of that tribe. Volume II. deals with the greatest genius among frontiersman, George Rogers Clark, who won the West north of the Ohio; the continued struggle in Kentucky, the battle of King's Mountain, and the Cumberland and Holston settlements, the final chapter summing up what the Westerners had accomplished during the Revolution. Mr. Roosevelt is very clear in showing just who these backwoodsmen were, and what they accomplished. He illustrates his theories with manifold examples, and if he frequently repeats the same idea, it is with fresh light from diverse phases of his absorbing theme. There are scores of powerful passages we could commend for quotation, and not a few lines of thought worthy of special mention, in these volumes; but we content ourselves by recommending them not only to the people of 'the West'—the old West, we might say—but also to those who have depended for their historical pabulum on the eulogists who have located most, if not all, the seeds of our national development east of the Berkshire hills."

Mr. Roosevelt has written enough to carry him to the public favor without endorsement, and it is needless to say that he made a thorough study of his subject before attempting to enlighten others; but were that necessary, a perusal of the authorities he has consulted in various quarters, would establish the fact that these two volumes represent an immense amount of labor and research. "Winning the West" is certain to provoke comment and excite interest; it has come fresh from the hands of one who is competent by native genius, fearlessness and energy of character, to take high ground, and to maintain it—whether in the personal life of the newer West, in the arena of present politics, or the field of historical literature.

"THE EARLY NORTHWEST: AN ADDRESS READ BEFORE THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION IN WASHINGTON, DECEMBER 26, 1888." By the president, William Frederick Poole, LL.D., Librarian of the Newberry Library, Chicago. Reprinted from the papers of the association.

The American Historical Association's annual meeting of 1888, held at the national capital in December last, was prolific of valuable addresses and speeches, some of which attracted wide attention at the time, and have already been fruitful of results. Among them, as not only telling us of something that has been done, but as suggesting much there is to do, the annual address of President Poole must be accorded a high rank; not only for its scholarly treatment of an always interesting period of American history, but for the practical wisdom it displays touching a national need. We are glad that it has been placed in this popular form, where it can touch a wider circle of influence than would be found in the necessarily limited publications of the Association.

Dr. Poole has been so long connected with the making and handling of books, and has been recognized for so many years as a great librarian and historical student, that added weight attaches to all he says in the lines of labor indicated. In this address he deploras the lack of accurate and truthful histories of

the United States, and pleasantly states a truth that all will recognize when he says: "Such a history as we are considering will recognize the fact that a large and important portion of our common country lies west of the Alleghany Mountains, and that it has a varied, romantic and entertaining record of its own quite unlike that of the Eastern States. The general histories of the United States have been written by Eastern men, and few of their writers have been tall enough to look over the Appalachian ranges and see what has happened on the other side. The story of the Revolutionary War has often been told without a mention of the campaigns of George Rogers Clark who . . . captured from the British the Northwestern Territory, and holding it until the peace of 1783, secured to this nation the Mississippi river and the great lakes as boundaries."

It will be impossible to follow Dr. Poole in this discussion of the great Northwest. Suffice it, that while he passes over the stirring events of the early days with the rapidity necessary to an address for the occasion, he manages to touch the salient points and to give a general history of the Northwest in outline. The main feature of the address, to which we wish to call attention, lies in the concluding portions where the duty of the Government in one respect is strongly urged—the establishment of "a separate and permanent Department of Archives, or State Paper Office such as the other great nations possess." "The State Department," Mr. Poole urges with reason, "has in its possession many valuable papers; but, as a collection of National Archives, it is very meagre. The establishment of a Department of Archives would make this fact apparent, and stimulate the Government to make it more extensive . . . A great government like ours should not require the students of its own history to supply themselves with this material [certain documents Mr. Poole describes] at private expense. Something of the enterprise of the Canadian government should animate the Congress of the United States in the establishment and support of a Department of Archives which will be worthy of this nation."

These words are quoted for the purpose of giving them a hearty endorsement. Dr. Poole has performed American history many valuable services, and in urging this measure he is throwing his great influence in favor of a project of vast and general usefulness.

"PICTURESQUE ALASKA: A Journal of a Tour Among the Mountains, Seas and Islands of the Northwest, from San Francisco to Sitka." By Abby Johnson Woodman. Published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, and New York.

Alaska will not be an unknown country very long, if many such close observers and descriptive writers as Abby Johnson Woodman visit it, and give the world the result of their observations. We have here, in brief compass, the personal experiences and investigations of the traveller, told in pleasing style, "written, with no thought of publicity, at car-windows and from the decks of steamboats, in sight of the objects described." There is none of the guide-book here, but much to guide the visitor to those far-distant shores, and to instruct those who must see Alaska through the eyes of others.

"CELEBRATION OF THE TWO HUNDREDTH AND FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ADOPTION OF THE FIRST CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT, BY THE CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE TOWNS OF WINDSOR, HARTFORD AND WETHERSFIELD, THURSDAY, JANUARY 24TH, A. D., 1889." Published by the Connecticut Historical Society.

The Connecticut Historical Society has done well to place in permanent form the exercises of the memorable anniversary occasion the title to this book describes. It was an occasion of rare interest, appropriately celebrated. The work contains all the speeches of the occasion, and the full text of the letters received from prominent men the country over.

"GREAT WORDS FROM GREAT AMERICANS." Published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

"Infinite riches in a little room," might well be applied to this patriotic little work, as an

enumeration of its contents will best show: The Declaration of Independence; The Constitution of the United States; Washington's Circular Letter of Congratulation and Advice to the Governors of the Thirteen States; Washington's First Inaugural; Washington's Second Inaugural; Washington's Farewell Address; Lincoln's First Inaugural; Lincoln's Second Inaugural; Lincoln's Gettysburg Address; with an appendix by Paul Leicester Ford, descriptive of the various papers, and an index to the Constitution.

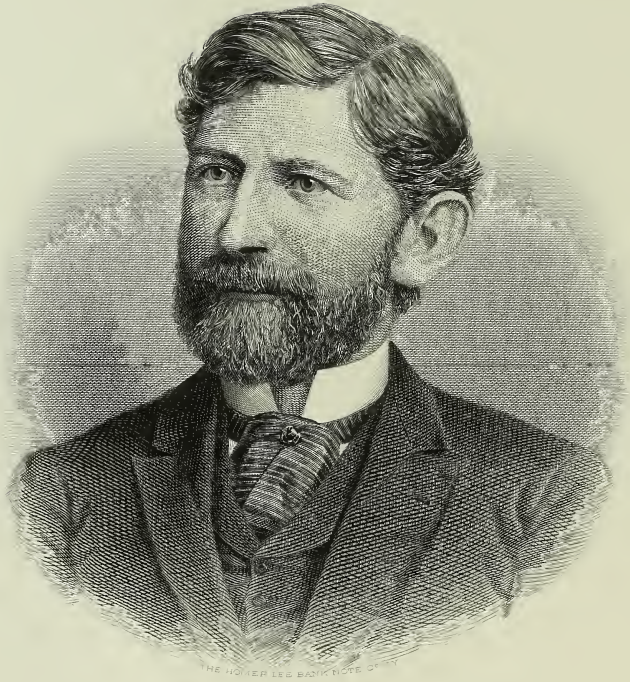
"BURGOYNE'S INVASION OF 1777: WITH AN OUTLINE SKETCH OF THE AMERICAN INVASION OF CANADA, 1775-76." By Samuel Adams Drake. Published by Lee & Shepard, Boston. (In "Decisive Events in American History.")

This invasion, which was one of the great decisive events in the Revolutionary struggle, has furnished food for an immense amount of Revolutionary literature, because of many things, not the least of which, as Mr. Drake says, may

be found in the fact that it takes many more words to explain a defeat than to describe a victory. The author has made a reputation in other fields of historical inquiry that guarantees the value of this work, one great feature of which is his evident purpose of fairness toward the unfortunate British commander. Several maps and a portrait of Gen. Burgoyne comprise the illustrations.

"BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY. BIBLIOGRAPHIES OF SPECIAL SUBJECTS ORIGINALLY PUBLISHED IN THE BULLETINS OF THE LIBRARY, NO. 3. INDEX OF ARTICLES UPON AMERICAN LOCAL HISTORY, IN HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS IN THE BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY." By Appleton Prentiss Clark Griffin, of the Boston Public Library. Printed by order of the trustees, 1889.

A carefully arranged and finely printed volume of over two hundred pages, that must prove a valuable guide to all students of American history who have occasion to use the great institution by which it is issued.



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TECUMSEH.

True son of the forest, whose towering form
Imaged the pine in the wind-driven storm;
Whose eye, like the eagle's, pierced keen and far,
Or burned with the light of a fiery star;
Whose voice was the river's tempestuous roar,
The surging of waves on a pitiless shore.

His tongue was a flame that leapt through the West,
Enkindling a spark in each rude savage breast;
The wind of the prairies, resistless and free,
Was the breath of his passionate imagery;
Ah! Never were poet's dreams more grand,
Nor ever a Cæsar more nobly planned!

His brain was as broad as the prairies' sweep;
His heart like a mountain-cavern deep,
Where silent and shadowed the water lies,
Yet mirrors a gleam from the star-strewn skies;
His soul ablaze with a purpose high,
Disdain of possessions, scorn of a lie.

What was Tecumseh? A threatening cloud
Over the untrodden wilderness bowed,
Bringing the storm in its desolate train,
Heralding rush of the hurricane!
Such to his foes; to his friends a spark,
That a moment gleamed through the gathering dark;

A comet-flash through a midnight sky;
The wail of the wind as it hurried by;
The flight of a bird on its untamed wings,—
All wild, resistless, impetuous things
Symbol, though faintly, that barbaric guide
Who led forth to freedom, and failed, and died.

What, failed? Does the storm for no purpose crowd
 The stars from the sky? Is the threatening cloud
 Forgotten forever in sunshine? The crash
 Of the thunder dies unrecorded? The flash
 Of the comet's a failure? Birds soar to that height
 And their wings are useless and aimless their flight?

Is there failure then at the heart of the oak
 When shattered it reels 'neath the lightning stroke,
 And helpless it falls in the wooded path
 When the forest writhes in the whirlwind's wrath?
 Must the torrent leap vain from the mountain's crest
 If it gather not all streams to its breast?

No cloud ever drifts 'twixt the stars and the earth
 But heightens their splendor in passing. In dearth
 Of the sun, the rain makes the desert rejoice,
 And the world's pulse leaps at the hurricane's voice;
 The air were but dead if ever unstirred
 By the wings of the heaven-seeking bird.

The sky keeps long on its fear-whitened face,
 Where the comet flashed and faded, some trace
 Of its power; the wailing wind cries and is still,
 Moved to silence or sound by a sovereign will;
 And in God's creation all differences tend,
 To some unexpected, significant end.

For nothing exists in the universe,
 From the spider's web to the hero's hearse,
 That has not a meaning so subtle, so grand,
 One must needs be God if he understand.
 The glorified fruitage He sees in the seed,
 In the effort a prophecy of the deed.

Was Tecumseh then but a failure? A light
 That faded for aye in eternity's night?
 Will the sons of the forest forget their pride,
 Forget that a hero still he died?
 Defeat is not failure when spirits are brave;
 God wastes not the spark his divinity gave.

Great souls are not made for failure; they fall,
 But God in his patience regathers them all;
 Like stars they are set in the dimness of time
 To illumine the world with their light sublime;
 And while glimmers a ray from the mightiest star,
 The soul of Tecumseh shall shine from afar.

JESSIE F. O DONNELL.

NOTES ON THE MAUMEE VALLEY.

“GALLIA EST OMNIS DIVISA IN PARTES TRES.”

A SURVEY of our country, of the rivers and mountains, rather than the sections marked by lines of latitude and longitude, shows us the waters gathered on our soil east of the Rocky mountains moving to the Atlantic in three divisions. The first composed of those tributary to the Gulf of St. Lawrence on the north. The second of those tributary to the Gulf of Mexico on the south. The third of those tributary to the ocean on the east. In each of these great divisions the Rockies in the west, and the Alleghenies in the east, from their mountain heights, give direction to the flow.

Undulations and slopes which are parts, or continuations, of those two great ranges of upheaval, are everywhere present to control this increasing march of many waters to the sea. By many paths, in one great harmony, the movement is always being made. Sometimes along slopes as gentle as the coming on of twilight. Sometimes along abrupt canyons whose walls record the convulsions of their birth. Always the mountains are saying to the waters, move on! Each division is distinguished by peculiar features. Those of the first division are on nature's largest scale. Its waters,

massed in vast lakes, move together over Niagara; thence out of Lake Ontario they swing by the left to the northeast, and turn away from the valleys of the Mohawk and the Hudson which invite and almost persuade them to take a shorter route. Consider the basin of the great lakes and of the St. Lawrence, wherein pleasant valleys, vast lakes and foaming rapids, emerald Mackinaw, blue Detroit, Niagara and the Thousand Islands, Quebec and Montmorenci, the Ottawa and the Saguenay, combine to swell the pomp of the procession of these waters of the North united on their way to the ocean. The second division does not reach the Gulf of Mexico in united volume. The Mississippi enters through many passes, to say nothing of other rivers in separate valleys, delivering their tributes by passes of their own. In other features this division rivals in interest the first. The waters, traveling over so much longer courses and moving at a lower average speed, do not at first impress the beholder with a full sense of their real volume. Let him measure the miles of the Mississippi with La Salle; let him trace the Missouri with Lewis and Clarke, and there will come to him, as came to them, a

vision of the majesty of those great rivers, pouring their overflow into wide expanses of wooded swamps and tangled bayous from a wealth of waters whose tides, impatient of the monotony of fixed channels, are ever changing their beds.

In comparing this division with the first, let him note the bewitching charm of its smaller lakes and fairy waterfalls; let him not omit the wonderland of the Yellowstone, nor fail to take account of the canyons, those huge fissures riven by volcanic forces between Earth's adamant ribs, revealing her anatomy; along whose shadowed chasms the waters follow the paths so strangely opened for them. Let him ponder well the curious footprints of the waters left centuries ago in the region called the garden of the Gods. All these spectacles of beauty, grandeur and sublimity, attend the waters of the second division from their sources in the Rockies or Alleghenies to where they join the Gulf under the rays of a southern sun. Of the third division, the volume of its flow is less than either of the others, though its waters reach the Atlantic through many mouths. In this division beauty takes precedence of grandeur, and sublimity has to be sought in the ocean and on its shores. You need but to name the valleys of New England, of New York, and of the easterly slopes of the Alleghenies, to name a succession of galleries of picturesque scenery unsurpassed in charm and unrivalled in variety. These are not always without grandeur,

but offer no challenge to Niagara on the north, no parallel to the Yellowstone in the far west, no rival to the canyons in that region, which hide the paths of mighty rivers in their rock bound solitudes.

“ There is a pleasure in the pathless wood,
There is a rapture on the lonely shore,
There is society where none intrude,
By the deep sea, and music in its roar.
I love not man the less, but nature more,
For these our interviews, in which I steal
From all I may be, or have been before,
To mingle with the universe and feel
What I cannot express, yet cannot all conceal.”

The present writer is not informed how Byron managed to change his mood and descend with grace and ease from heights of reverie to humbler things. Horace Greeley wittily said, “the way to resume is to resume.” Perhaps Horace was right, and the best way to get down is to get down.

Before taking leave of our three natural divisions, let us glance at a certain curious old map made by one, Jean Baptiste Louis Franquelin, published at Paris in 1684, and we shall be pleased to find the divisions set forth in our geographical reverie correspond in some degree to the political divisions of the same regions laid down on his map. New France occupies substantially the territory of our first division; Louisiana, that of our second; while the dominion over our third division is shared between England and Spain. From the pinnacles of the Rockies, or from the heights of the Alleghenies is a far cry to the Maumee Valley. But here we are. As we have

seen, in 1684 the valley was French, and its waters then as now belonged to our first division. There is a fresh note of native music in the Indian name *Miami*. The action and usage, first of the French then of the English mode of speech, have in course of time overcome the Indian name, robbed it of its music, struck out one syllable and driven the wild elegance from the word almost as completely as the painted braves and their dusky mates have been driven from their happy hunting grounds in this pleasant valley, long known to them by the sweet name *Miami*, signifying mother. Were no other vestige left of our red brother, this name remains a token of his kinship with our race. Those who know the valley; its hundred miles of easy fall from Fort Wayne to Lake Erie, all the way a smiling landscape gently undulating; its wide slopes sometimes rising in bold barriers against the stream, sometimes shaped into broad bottom land, spread out to receive the annual endowment of the river's flood; its stream at times rippling over gentle rapids, then pausing in lake-like expanses, anon losing itself in graceful curving lines among islands where elms and willows festooned with vines make bowers of enchantment, can imagine what it must have been to the Indians, when it was their home and their heritage undisputed by the white man. Then myriads of ducks and geese swarmed among the wild rice at the river's mouth and in every grassy inlet and

lotus flowered shallow. The white swan reared her brood in the seclusion of the creek that bears her name. The sand crane and the blue heron stood at the water's edge along the river like sentinels keeping watch and ward. The eagle built great dwelling places seen from afar in the tops of the large trees on the jutting headlands. The river was full of fish, and the woods were full of game. Then the unbroken forest covered the rounded bluffs with verdure down to the margin of the river, and the red man shared its shade with wolves and bears and timid deer. The wild turkey and quail in thicket or on prairie were waiting the pleasure of the lords of the forest. It was indeed the paradise of the Indian. Here he hunted. Here on the flat islands and outspread bottom land his wife planted corn. Along the river, at its mouth, or wherever else it seemed good to them, their tribes gathered in fitful fluctuating groups in places endeared by tradition, or convenient for defence, or near land where corn could be planted.

These tarrying places white men spoke of as towns and villages. The Indian hunter with more poetic sense called them council fires, and at the more important ones built rude council houses of bark and poles, near which he also reared the post where prisoners were bound for torture and death by fire. Sometimes a great tree was chosen to mark the place of holding the councils of the tribe. Their domicils might, and often did, change with

the seasons; the council tree remained a constant rallying point in peace and war.*

Fifty years ago traces of the work of the mound builders were apparent among the timber growing on the tongue of land on the left bank of the river, south of the Swan Creek. For all the Indians knew, they and their fathers held the soil by title above any other, from a time beyond the memory of man. To them the mound builders were not even the formless shades they are to us. In the latter years of the seventeenth century the Indians of the Maumee Valley began to see white men coming among them, to hear of a nation of such men called French and of another nation called English. It is probable that the Miamis and Ottawas were from the first more kindly disposed toward the French. The English were first known to them as the friends and allies of their mortal enemies, the Iroquois; while the French were the friends and allies of the Hurons, Ottawas and Wyandots who were of the same stock north and south of the Lakes.

A comparison of the differing manners and modes of colonization of these two nations who led the vanguard of a new civilization into the forests of North America, presents many curious and interesting subjects of speculation and inquiry. The French must have been much the more attractive to the imagination of the wild hunter. Their soldiers came with state and dignity, proclaiming themselves subjects of a

great ruler beyond the sea, who was the father of the Indian no less than their own. Their priests preceding or in close connection with the military, brought with them the visible signs of their profession. They exhibited an actual cross, with the pomp and ceremony of a religious form, which tolerates no doubt. They possessed in full measure the courage of their convictions. Their traders won favor, by easy social ways and familiar habits. They adopted Indian customs, married Indian wives; received Indian names, joined Indian tribes. They dazzled the eyes of the simple natives with presents of cheap ornaments, beads and knives. They became irresistible when they offered to barter such objects as hatchets, guns, powder and shot, and firewater. To the everlasting credit of the Jesuit fathers, they opposed giving firewater to the Indians from the first. They thus encountered the opposition of the civil authorities and of the traders. The book of martyrs has no brighter pages than those which tell the story of the early Jesuit missions of New France. Their unselfish devotion, their hardships patiently endured, their courage and final perseverance in their mission to carry the name of Jesus to the savages and save some souls from the wrath to come, won for them torture and death, which they entered upon with their hearts full of exultant triumph and faces lit with the light which shone in Stephen's eyes.

The English came in simpler guise with humbler pretensions, bringing

hidden among their belongings, almost unknown to themselves, seeds of colonial success destined to ripen into empire. There was no pomp in their religion, no charm in their manners, to seduce the affection or catch the fancy of the red man. To him in effect both were the harbingers of his extermination. In his simplicity he hoped to play one against the other. The English began by securing the alliance of the Iroquois. The French began by gaining the affections of the Hurons, the Ottawas, the Wyandots, the Miamis. The animosity they found existing between the Iroquois, and the other tribes on their frontiers was kept alive and stimulated by the animosity between the French and English imported from Europe. It worked with the subtlety and sureness of natural law as a main factor to destroy all tribes and generations of red men. It mattered little to them that the conscious purposes of the white intruders were limited to objects of personal gain, of religious enthusiasm, or to securing military protection for infant colonies.

The effect on the Indians of their coming was far beyond the purpose of any individual. It took a hundred years and more to disclose to the Indian the effect destined to follow the planting of the standards and insignia of a new civilization on his native soil, though he early learned to know that the only really good white man was a dead one. His missionary effort in that direction once fairly started, was diligent and reasonably efficient, according

to his means. The issue might have been different had he been only a maker and seller of whiskey, and not a drinker of it. What we are concerned to note now is, how enormous the provocation to his passions against the white man, became, as the deadly conflict of races, proceeded on its, to him, hopeless course. The waters of the North had been the highways of the Indian. They became the highways of the white man. Our line of histories, figures begins with Indian braves, then come French missionaries, soldiers and traders. Then the British Brigadier appears; lastly comes the Yankee General.

Traces of each remain in the syllables of men's names, in the lineage of some families, and on the sites of some well remembered battlefields. Before the time of French occupation of the Valley, war parties of the Senecas and of other tribes of the famous Six Nations, Iroquois from New York often passed through and beyond the portage at Fort Wayne on their raids against the Ottawas, Miamis, and the tribes of the Mississippi Valley. The Iroquois seem to have been natural enemies of their own race, by a strange fatuity impelled to prepare the way for a new race by warfare upon their own. One effect of this internecine strife was to deter and delay French occupation of the Valley. The paths of their pioneers toward the Mississippi seemed to have been turned by this cause far to the Northwest out of the direct route.

Of the five portages west of Lake Erie, the one at Fort Wayne is on the shortest and best route. But use and occupation of it by the French seems to have been deferred until after the establishment of Detroit under La Mothe Cadillac in 1715. There is evidence that this portage was known to Allowez and to La Salle as early as 1680. It does not appear that either of them ever passed this way, or that either of them ever set foot in the valley. Tradition points out the sites of two French stockades, no doubt the first planted here by Europeans. One was among the Miamis, near their town of Kekionga, just out of the present city of Fort Wayne on the northwest side of the Maumee river. The other among the Ottawas, also on the northwest side of the river seven miles above Toledo. The same site was afterwards occupied by the British fort Miami. The breastworks of the latter are still plain and easy to be traced. A few large trees, sturdy oaks and tough honey locusts are growing there out of the grass-covered hillocks. The soldier of France who first fortified it showed military sagacity in his choice of this position. Standing here he could command a clear view of the course of the river for twenty miles from the foot of the rapids to the bay.

The waters of the bay brightened the horizon on the northeast with a margin of silver. In the southwest the rapids rippled in a shower of diamonds, circling round vineclad islands and vanishing in the distant vista. Between

these two extremes he could see the river glide in graceful curves, along high rounded bluffs wooded to the water's edge, or as it lingered among grassy inlets, or lapped the fringe of the broad bottom land. Now the stream is narrowed in a deep channel, a bluff on one side, a level meadow on the other; then it is widened out like a lake to mirror the clear sky or the passing cloud. To the southwest across the river rose the heights where Fort Meigs was to be. Just below them at the foot of the rapids he saw the channel divide, to encircle a rounded island of two hundred acres; each stream following the contour of high forest covered banks, which on either side encompassed the great island, reposing there like a rich medallion enclosed in a setting of silver and green. The whole forms a natural amphitheatre domed by the sky, and so spacious that fifty thousand men, twenty steamboats and a hundred smaller craft had ample room for display in the southwest corner of it when gathered there in 1840. From this post he could watch every approach from the river on the south, or from the lake on the north. To this first Frenchman surveying the river and the valley from this slightly eminence as to every man of thought and action of the seventeenth century, America was still the New World. The zest of novelty, the elation of discovery, heightened to the mind of the first white explorer the natural charms of such regions as the Maumee Valley. The novelty has passed.

The natural beauty remains. The essence of it is too subtle to be easily made effective in paintings. You miss in most landscapes the effect of the air, and water in motion, of the play of light on sky and cloud, and of nature's infinite variety and harmony of tone and color. So the soft undulating, almost level, lines of Maumee Valley scenery seem tame when laid on canvass in the usual way, and are yet awaiting the Claude or Rembrant with genius to transfer, with those lines, the talisman of the natural beauty enshrined in them.

The site of the French stockade among the Miamis at Fort Wayne is known but unmarked by any trace of military occupation. In common with the two built by La Salle on the St. Joseph river of Michigan, and the one described as Fort Miami situate at Maumee City, it was also named Fort Miami. The British built a new Fort Miami near the French one, and the American Fort Wayne occupied a site different from either and nearer the Miami village. All these were on the left bank, whereas the Indian village of Kekionga was on the right bank of the river. The French voyager when he passed the first rapids on his way up the river met with a remarkable object. A great rock stood in mid-stream about one hundred feet from either shore. Its steep sides rose twenty feet above the water. Its level courses of solid limestone covered an area of one-sixth of an acre. He found it at the upper end of the grand rapids, and

named it with reference to the rapids, Roche de Bout, that is to say rock of the end. The early French named the river Riviere de la Roche, in allusion to this rock. The sight of it takes the fancy back to the glacial period, in those uncounted years, when the ice king shaped out the hollow of the river bed with massive boulders for his tools, and carelessly left his work unencumbered by this huge rock. A much smaller stone unchristened by the Frenchman, and probably not noticed by him, rested where it now rests on the left bank near the river, at the foot of Presque Isle hill. A great boulder, a relic of the glacial period, it marks the position of the left of the Indian line of battle on the 20th of August, 1794, further mention of which falls within the scope of this paper. Near Roche de Bout, on the bottom land north of the river, there stood a monarch of the forest, which his Indian guide would not fail to call his attention to, for it was the Council Elm of the Ottawas, growing just outside the Ottawa village of Apatowagowin. Its trunk was fifteen feet in girth, and rose fifty feet without a limb. Its wide-spread top of drooping branches shadowed many square rods of greensward. On this spot the chiefs of the tribes of the Northwest were convened by Pontiac, to take part in his great confederation formed to crush out the white man; here Tecumseh and the Prophet held their war council and made ready for the massacre at the River Raisin. The tribes of the Maumee Valley, the Pot-

tawattimes, Ottawas, Miamis, Shawnees, Wyandotts and Delawares were wont to assemble here to invoke the aid of the Great Spirit in their plans of peace and war. To this spot in the darkness of the night of the 16th of August, 1794, three nights before the battle of Fallen Timber, came Turkey Foot, Little Turtle, and some say Tecumseh, with many young braves, to resolve what to do with Mad Anthony, who was moving on them ready to strike, though offering to make peace. And under this tree, in 1837, the remnants of the race gathered for the saddest council of all, to consider the terms of their final departure from the valley.

The first Frenchman knew the Council Elm only as a grand old tree, interesting from its connection with Indian customs. He was himself, no doubt, invited to smoke the pipe of peace under the shelter of its boughs. Little did the simple hunters who extended so friendly a welcome to the Frenchman know that the trace of his footsteps here was quickly retraced in the archives of France across the sea, and made part of the record of the title of that nation, by discovery, to this valley and to other vast regions then occupied solely by the red man. Yet so it was. And within the same century a formal treaty between his most Christian Majesty of France on the one side, and the British Defender of the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Faith on the other side, conveyed this Valley with all of New France from his

Majesty of France to the British Defender of the Crown and of the aforesaid Faith. There are curious things in the law of nations which savages are not supposed to know, because they lie unwritten between the lines. The French title must have been a good title, for our Government received it in turn from the British, and bought without scruple the similar title of the French to Louisiana for \$15,000,000. The validity of this title is beyond question its abstract justice! Hush! The writer of this is a white man, and these large land operations were only brought in to show the importance of the French discovery of the Maumee Valley, to which it is now time to return.

Half-way between Fort Miami and Fort Wayne the river is joined by its most considerable affluent, the Au-glaize. Above this junction navigation becomes less easy because of the diminished flow of water. As we pass up or down on a railway car we catch glimpses of a winding shallow stream, and find it difficult to realize we are looking at what was in early times the best highway in general use. Only an Indian runner, or an army capable of making its own roads, could pass otherwise. A sketch of a trip made in 1803 over the same route shows how it was done—how it had to be done. Gen. John E. Hunt, who wrote the sketch, was born at Fort Wayne in 1798, and died at Toledo in 1877. His father, Col. Thomas Hunt, of the First Regiment U. S. Infantry, stationed in Detroit in

1803, was ordered to proceed with his command to St. Louis, Missouri. This was to take possession for the government of Louisiana, under a European title founded on discovery, and fortified by quit claim from the Holy See. He writes: "We left Detroit in fifty Montreal batteaux, and though sixty-three years have passed—I being then but five years old, I recollect distinctly entering the mouth of Swan Creek near Fort Industry. The sergeant in the bow of the boat in which the family were, shot at some ducks, and the gun bursting tore off one of his thumbs and lacerated his hand. We passed up the Maumee river, then called the Miami of Lake Erie, the men wading and hauling the boats over the rapids. We remained ten days at Fort Wayne to get the boats and stores over the portage." This glimpse of primitive travel on the Maumee was penned in 1866, and from it we may infer something of the labor and time required to pass by the same route, from the lake to the Miami town of Kekionga, one hundred years earlier. Crossing the river at that town, the wayfarer entered on land where water flows in two directions, northerly on the east and southerly on the west side. Here the Maumee Valley begins, and the portage was of some strategic value. The St. Joseph from the northeast and the St. Mary from the southeast meet here, encounter the crest of the water shed, and turn northeast into the Valley of the Maumee. Beyond the portage, at a point seven miles west, you reach

navigable water descending to the Gulf of Mexico.

The Miamis seem to have been long seated at Kekionga. The Ottawa towns were at the mouth and along the lower part of the river. The Pottawattamies, Delawares, Shawnees and Wyandotts also hunted in the valley in roving bands unshackled by fixed boundary limits. On an area of fifty by one hundred miles, fairly to be included in the valley, thousands of Indians found room to live in their rude, free, simple way. When most populous they could have mustered say seven thousand fighting men. Boundaries between their hunting grounds were not strictly defined, and individual ownership of land seems to have been practically unknown among them. The contrast between European social systems and those of the Indian hunter is nowhere sharper than between the differing ideas of each about land tenure. The hunter knew of an ownership by his tribe in common; but the notion of a landlord in the European sense was to him a thing he did not want to understand. It implied too much that was utterly distasteful to ever become fairly adopted by him. It implied fixed habitation, regular industry, economy, and a certain sacrifice of the personal liberty so dear to the untamed impulses of his free, wild spirit. The higher civilization inseparable from such labor and such sacrifice, remained to him a sealed mystery. These things being so, it came to pass on an October day in 1790 three thousand warriors in

their war paint, ready for battle, filled the woods on the south side of the river near Kekionga, and beleagured Gen. Harmar in old Fort Miami on the

north side. For many moons the purpose which animated them had been gathering and maturing its force.

THOMAS DUNLAP.

(*To be continued.*)

FORT SNELLING ECHOES.*

At Thebes, in the valley of the Nile, there is a statue more than three thousand years old. The early Egyptians believed that they could hear sounds issue therefrom, and even modern tourists have said they had a similar experience. Be it true or not this we know that old, time-stained walls speak louder than words. They fill up the gap between the dead past and living present.

Let the officers and troops of the Third United States Infantry here assembled listen to the voices at old Fort Snelling; let them shut their eyes to what is now occurring, and imagine that they are surrounded by the "light of other days."

On the second of May, 1849, the President of the United States of America, with his wife and a married daughter, received a visit of respect from one who had been a member of Congress from Pennsylvania but had recently been appointed by him the Governor of a new territory which had been enacted by an act of Congress.

* The substance of an address to the officers and troops of the Third United States Infantry, at Fort Snelling, on March 15th, 1889, by Edward D. Neill, D. D., of St. Paul, Minnesota, the well-known historian.

The President was Zachary Taylor, and the visitor was Alexander Ramsey, the first Governor of Minnesota Territory, who was about to leave for his post of duty, then an insignificant hamlet, designated by law as the capital, called St. Paul, on the verge of the military reservation of Fort Snelling, where the President had once been the commanding officer.

As Lieutenant-Colonel Taylor of the First United States Infantry in 1829, he was on duty at this fort, and it is noteworthy that he had once been Major of the Third Infantry now represented here. Upon his arrival at the Fort he found a former officer of the Third Infantry, Lawrence Taliaferro, of Virginia, who had resigned, to receive the appointment as the first Indian agent for the Sioux. Taylor was admirably adapted for his position among Indian tribes. He had during the war of 1812-15 a large experience in fighting hostile Indians, and had shown himself somewhat rough but ever ready for emergencies. Under his surveillance it was difficult for an Indian or a white rascal to smuggle whisky into the Indian country.

After a long and dreary winter, with only an occasional mail brought up on

the ice from the distant Prairie-du-Chien, upon the 14th of May, 1829, there was more than usual stir at the Fort, caused by black smoke standing like a pillar of cloud a few miles below.

The steamboat *Josephine* had reached a point on the Mississippi near where the City Hospital of St. Paul has been built, and was there delayed by the breaking of some of its machinery. Before bed-time it reached the landing and brought letters to the Fort from distant friends, creating much pleasure. Among the passengers was the new sutler Alexander Culbertson, and a Polish Count journeying for information concerning the Indians.

As a large number of Sioux had congregated, the Indian Agent, for the gratification of the Count encouraged the Indians to engage in an exciting ball play.

During the last war with Great Britain the only Sioux chief who remained true to the American flag was Aile Rouge, or Red Wing, whose band lived at the head of Lake Pepin where the city which bears his name has been built. About the time of the arrival of the *Josephine* the old man died, and a delegation came to the Fort to announce his departure. After several conferences in the presence of the Indian Agent, they elected his step-son Wah-koo-tah his successor.

Great excitement had existed among the Sioux since 1827 because Colonel Snelling that year had delivered four of their number to the Ojibways to be

shot in retaliation for violence committed on Hole in the Day's party while visiting the Fort.

On the 20th of May, 1829, there was an impressive scene. About one hundred of the relatives of the Sioux killed by the Ojibways, painted black, arrived, and impressively danced the peace dance, after which they threw off their mourning. They danced around an uncooked dog hung upon a stake, and each dancer, as he passed, would take a bite.

On the 15th of June the chief, who lived in the vicinity of what is now the city of St. Paul, named Petit Corbeau, or "Little Crow," visited the fort. He was now about sixty-five years old and had been very prominent. He signed the treaty in 1805 made with Lieut. Pike in the island above St. Paul which is still known as Pike's Island, but in the last war with Great Britain had shown great hostility to the Americans.

The British officer in command at Prairie du Chien on the 1st of September 1814, sent a messenger to hold his band in readiness to run down and attack the American troops. On the 28th of the month, with one hundred warriors and their families, he reported, and expressed his wish "to cut down everything American that he found in the roads, no matter what weight or size."

After peace was declared he soon became a friendly Indian. As he was now very old he came up to the fort to make a sort of farewell speech, and in it he said to the agent: "My Father!

I am getting old and the day is at hand when I must follow all the old people in the grave, but my people will speak of me and my counsels, and you will know that they have been good, for since the last war (1812-1815), I have listened to the Americans, and have no cause to repent having followed their advice. . . . My Father! a few more words and I have done. I was the first man to take thirty of my men and visit your people after the war. I returned home and then made one more trip to the British but have not done the same thing since you came among us ten years ago."

On the 12th of July, 1829, Col. Taylor left for Fort Crawford at Prairie du Chien. His interesting daughters had enlivened the society of the post, and the assistant surgeon, R. C. Wood, after the boat which carried them away was out of sight felt as if the walls of his heart would cave in. It was not surprising that early in September he obtained leave of absence to visit Fort Crawford in an open boat, and that he should return before the close of the month with a lovely bride by his side, the daughter of Col. Zachary Taylor. When the insurgents, in 1861, fired upon Fort Sumter, leading to a gigantic civil war, the young surgeon of 1829 became Assistant Surgeon-General of the United States, while his son joined the insurgents and was the commander of the *Tallahassee*, one of its privateers.

When Col. Taylor went to Fort Crawford another daughter was persuaded by a young lieutenant, Jeffer-

son Davis, to run away and marry him, and he became the President of the so-called Confederacy.

The summer of the year 1829 was remarkable for the little rain. The upper Mississippi river was a succession of sand bars. There was no arrival of steamboats; and when the garrison was reduced to the last barrel of flour, on the 28th of July, a keel boat arrived with supplies which had been sixty days in coming up from St. Louis.

A sad incident occurred about this time. Tash-u-no-tah was a fair looking young Sioux widow. Three years before she was one of a hunting party caught in a violent snow-storm on a wide prairie. As far as practicable they buried themselves in snow-drifts to keep from freezing, but the storm was long and they were without provisions. The husband, father and babe of Tash-u-no-tah died from exposure. Under the pressure of starvation she ate her babe and the arms of her father. The survivors were at length reached by some Canadian voyageurs who brought supplies, but Tash-u-no-tah never could forget that she had fed on her father and dead infant, and her mind was weakened. One day in September, 1829, she came into Capt. Jouett's house and nervously taking him by his coat collar asked if he knew which was the best portion of a man to eat. Surprised at the question, he said, No! and she then replied: "the arms." Looking at his servant, she asked for a piece of her,

as she was "so nice and fat." Her insanity was more violent after this, and in a few days she dashed herself from the bluffs into the Mississippi river.

The picturesque round house in front of the headquarters of the commandant, which has recently been taken down, was built about this time. General E. P. Gaines as Inspector General had in October, 1827, recommended to the War Department the building of a tower sufficiently high to command the elevations and undulating prairie between the Mississippi and Minnesota rivers, and by a block-house on the cliff near the commandant's house to secure more efficiently the boat landing at opposite banks of the river.

The first visit of ecclesiastics at the Fort was in September, 1829, and they were courteously treated by Capt. J. H. Gale, then in command. They were the Rev. Alvin Coe and Rev. J. D. Stevens. They had come in behalf of the Presbyterian Board of Missions to select sites for agricultural and mission schools. Mr. Coe on Sunday, September 6th, preached twice, and the next night had a meeting at the quarters of the commanding officer. The Indian Agent had commenced an agricultural establishment among the Sioux at Lake Calhoun which in compliment to the then Secretary of War he called Eatonville, and this he offered to the missionaries if they saw fit to occupy. The missionaries remained about two

weeks seeking for information and then returned. Coe had passed several years among the Ojibways, and although not intellectually bright was truly good. Henry R. Schoolcraft, the well-known author, when Indian Agent at Sault Ste Marie, wrote: "Of the disinterested nature and character of this man's benevolence for the Indian races, no man knowing him ever doubted. Since his arrival at Sault Ste Marie, in 1822, he has been literally going about doing good. In his zeal to shield them from the arts of petty traders he has often gone so far as to incur their ill-will and provoke the slanderous tongues of some few people. Wiser in some senses and more prudent people in their wordly affairs probably exist, but no man of a purer, simpler, and more exalted faith."

The only encounter of any magnitude between United States troops and Indians in the valley of the Upper Mississippi was the battle with Black Hawk, near the mouth of the Bad Axe river. On the 1st of August, 1832, the steamer *Warrior*, Capt. Throckmorton, left Prairie du Chien with a company of United States soldiers under Lieut. Kingsbury, and a six-pounder cannon. Just below the mouth of the Bad Axe river Black Hawk was found escaping from the troops on land commanded by Gen. Atkinson. It is said that the Indians fired at the steamboat and the cannon replied with effect. As firewood gave out the boat returned to Prairie du

Chein for fuel, and then returned to find that the United States troops had arrived by land and driven the Indians across the Mississippi. Col. Zachary Taylor employed the steamboat to carry his troops across the Mississippi and charge the fleeing Indians.

Wapashaw and a band of Sioux in the employ of the United States continued pursuit and killed and captured a number of Black Hawk's warriors, women and children.

Black Hawk and some chiefs escaped during the conflict but were soon brought in as prisoners by friendly Winnebagoes and carried to Col. Taylor at Prairie du Chien.

The steamboat *Warrior* from thence took the prisoners to Gen. Scott at Rock Island. The young officers in charge were Lieut. Robert Anderson and Lieut. Jefferson Davis. Anderson a few weeks before had, in Illinois, mustered into the volunteer service, a private named Abraham Lincoln. A Lieut. J. J. Abercrombie, after whom Fort Abercrombie, in Minnesota, was named, was also in the Bad Axe battle.

A digression may be here permitted. When I was nearly ten years of age, in the summer of 1833, when coming from school with some classmates, a crowd was seen around a hotel on Third near Chestnut street in Philadelphia. Hurrying there we were told that Black Hawk and his fellow prisoners were then at dinner on their way from Washington to New York. Climbing up to the dining-room window, I looked in and saw the painted warriors,

little supposing that the whole of my professional life would be passed in the region above the Bad Axe battlefield. In 1861 I happened to be in Philadelphia and witnessed a great procession escorting an army officer in an open barouche through a forest of waving flags and handkerchiefs, who had come from Washington, where he had been in close conference with the President of the United States. It was the hero of Fort Sumter, the Lieut. Anderson of 1832; the President whom he had called upon was the Abraham Lincoln whom he had mustered in as a private soldier; and the rebellion against the Republic, which had just begun, had chosen as its executive, his associate in guarding Black Hawk from Prairie Du Chien, Jefferson Davis, who had eloped as a young man with one of Col. Zachary Taylor's daughters, and married her, to the sorrow of her parents.

The first regiment tendered to President Lincoln for the suppression of the Rebellion was by Gov. Ramsey of Minnesota, who happened to be in Washington when the news of the firing upon Fort Sumter arrived; and within the walls of Fort Snelling this regiment was organized, and from hence hurried to the Army of the Potomac. As the advance of Sumner's division on Saturday afternoon, May 31st, 1862, they waded through the fields covered by the waters of the overflowing Chickahominy, crossing a shaking bridge and checked the enemy. After sunset, and before the battle ceased, a staff officer

of the First Minnesota noticed a gray-haired officer on horseback, without any cap, being led off the field. He had been hit by a bullet and was slightly dazed. He was Gen. Abercrombie, another lieutenant who, in 1832, had been in the battle of Bad Axe.

After the Black Hawk war, Major John Bliss was the commandant at Fort Snelling, and had led his regiment in the last conflict with Black Hawk. When a captain, in July, 1814, he had been wounded, at the battle of Niagara Falls, and in 1818, had been commandant of cadets at West Point. At this period the first permanent Christian mission among the Sioux was commenced. Shea, in his interesting history of the Roman Catholic Missions in North America, mentions the fact that the priests of his Church had never established any mission among the Sioux of Minnesota.

The first white man who resolved to cast in his lot with the Sioux to improve their physical and moral condition, Samuel W. Pond, is still living a few miles from Fort Snelling. When a school teacher at Galena, Illinois, he found a man keeping a groggery, who had once dwelt in the Selkirk settlements of Lake Winnipeg, and learned that the Sioux, or Dakotahs, had never received any help from Christian people. As the teacher thought of this, the desire increased to go to this tribe and live a life of a different pattern from that which had been exhibited by the white teacher who peddled gewgaws

for the ears, paints for the face and body, firewater for the stomach, and lived with an Indian concubine.

He wrote to a younger brother, Gideon, who lived in Connecticut, informing him of his project and inviting him to be an associate. The brother accepted the invitation. By a hard and long journey, partly on foot by way of Pittsburgh, Gideon, in the spring of 1834, reached Galena, and the young men, provided with little silver and few coats for their journey, with no friends at the landing to weep at their departure, embarked on a steamboat; and on the 6th of May, arrived at Fort Snelling, where there happened to be, on business, the Rev. W. T. Bontwell, a friend of Henry R. Schoolcraft, who had accompanied him in 1832 to the sources of the Mississippi, and since 1833 had been the first Christian missionary ever settled among the Ojibways west of Lake Superior. Bontwell, like Pond, still lives, and they are now the two oldest white residents in the state of Minnesota.

Soon after the steamboat stopped at the fort, Major Bliss sent an orderly with the request that they should appear before him and report the object of their coming.

The mandate was obeyed and Major Bliss told them that it was his duty to exclude from the Indian country all persons not authorized to reside there. The elder Pond realized the situation, but showed letters from the Presbyterian minister at Galena and other respectable persons, which were entirely

satisfactory as to their personal character. "What are your plans?" he asked, and was told, "Only to help the Indians."

The Major then said that the Kaposia Sioux living in what has become the suburbs of St. Paul had a plow and some oxen but could not use them, and an arrangement was made that Samuel Pond should go down and spend a little time there in teaching them how to plow.

The Major and his wife became much interested in the bright-minded and simple hearted young men. After Samuel came back from Kaposia the brothers told the Indian Agent at the Fort their project. He advised them to settle at Lake Calhoun. In time they built a rude log hut. Major Taliaferre presented them with an axe, lock, and a window sash. Major Bliss gave them some potatoes to plant and his wife presented a ham. The Indian agent offered a stove, but they did not wish too many favors and preferred to build a fire-place. No immigrants ever entered Minnesota with a lighter and more cheerful spirit.

During the journey to Fort Snelling the boat stopped at Prairie du Chien. The young men were anxious to learn the Dakotah language. Some iron was on the wharf, and a Sioux was asked its name and he said "Maza." This was the first word in the vocabulary which grew to be the quarto Dakotah lexicon published by the Smithsonian Institute.

As soon as the young men learned

to say in Dakotah "What is the name of this?" they rapidly advanced in the knowledge of the language. They found no difficulty with the vowel sounds which were the same as in English, but were puzzled by the consonant sounds, and made an alphabet to represent the sounds ch and sh.

Lieut. E. A. Ogden, who was at the Fort when they arrived had with the aid of Scott Campbell, the Sioux interpreter, made a small vocabulary which he gave to the elder Pond.

In the spring of 1835 two ordained missionaries of the Presbyterian church, the Rev. T. S. Williamson, M. D., and the Rev. J. D. Stevens, arrived at the Fort. Williamson was a native of South Carolina, and early in the present century with his father moved to Ohio where the family slaves were set free. In the classics he graduated at Jefferson College, Pennsylvania, and in 1824 after studying medicine received the degree of M. D. at Yale College. For nine years he was a careful physician at Ripley, Ohio, and then studied theology and was ordained as an Indian missionary.

On the 29th of May, 1835, the first marriage in Minnesota by a clergyman took place at Fort Snelling. Lieut. E. A. Ogden was united in marriage to Eliza Edna, the daughter of Capt. G. A. Loomis, by the Rev. Dr. Williamson.

In June, 1835, the first church in Minnesota was organized at the Fort, consisting of about twenty members. In accordance with Presbyterian polity

Capt. G. A. Loomis was elected one of the elders, and on the 14th of the month the first communion service was held in one of the company rooms. The Rev. Mr. Stevens preached from a text in the first epistle of Peter: "For ye were as sheep going astray, but are now returned unto the shepherd and bishop of your souls." Lieut. E. A. Ogden, by the side of his bride, partook of his first communion on that day.

Major Bliss was desirous that Samuel Pond should become the private tutor of his son, but while he appreciated the confidence manifested he felt obliged to decline as it would interfere with his work for the Sioux.

Six months after the Ponds' arrival came Henry H. Sibley, who had been a clerk of the Fur Company at Mackinaw, to occupy the trading post at New Hope, now Mendota, which had been filled by Alexis Bailly. The first Justice of the Peace in Minnesota was Lawrence Taliferro, the Indian Agent, and he officiated at several marriage ceremonies among the voyageurs.

On the 24th of June, 1835, the steamboat *Warrior* arrived with supplies, and several tourists, among others Catlin the artist, and George W. Jones, who subsequently represented Iowa in the United States Senate.

On the 16th of July the *Warrior* again came up from St. Louis, and among the passengers were Robert Patterson, a prominent merchant of Philadelphia, and his daughter. His name is recorded in history as the Major-General of Volunteers in the Civil War,

who was subjected to criticism because some thought he ought to have prevented the Confederate troops under Gen. Johnson, in July, 1861, from reaching the battlefield of Bull Run.

On the 29th of this month Agent Taliaferro, as Justice of the Peace, married a man named Godfrey to Sophia, daughter of Abraham Perry, a squatter on the military reserve who had come down from Lord Selkirk's colony in the valley of the Red River of the North. George W. Featherstonebaugh, a geologist, arrived at the Fort on the 12th of September. He was a conceited and ill-bred Englishman, as he indicated in a book published in London called "A Canoe Voyage up the Minnay Sotor."

On the 26th of November, Col. Samuel C. Stamburgh, a new sutler, arrived. He was a native of Pennsylvania, and in 1829 came to Green Bay, Wisconsin, as an Indian Agent, and in 1830 went with a delegation of Menomonees to Washington. His official course did not give satisfaction, and he procured a sutler's appointment.

In the month of February, 1836, Major Taliaferro married Fanny, another daughter of Perry, to Charles Mosseau. The first boat this year arrived on the 8th of May and was the *Missouri Fulton*; to the regret of all, Major Bliss left in this boat. His successor was Lieut.-Colonel William Davenport, a native of North Carolina, who had served in the last war with Great Britain, and had been in the battle of Bad Axe.

On the 2nd of July the distinguished French astronomer employed by the United States to make a geological survey came to the fort and impressed all by his unaffected bearing and high moral character. By his own exertions he had ascended, step by step, the ladder of fame. Before he was ten years of age poverty compelled him to the life of a strolling musician. He was then taken by a watchmaker, with whom he lived until he was eighteen years old and occupied his leisure in studying mathematics. In time he was a teacher in Paris in the college of "Louis le Grand." About 1820 he became known for his astronomical investigations and in 1825 received the decoration of the Legion of Honor. Although poor, he maintained his integrity.

Major Taliaferro, in his Journal, under date of July 12, 1836, wrote: "Mr. Nicollett on a visit to the post for scientific research, and at present in my family, has shown me the late work of Henry R. Schoolcraft on the discovery of the source of the Mississippi, which claim is ridiculous in the extreme."

Taliaferro refers to the fact then well known that there were streams beyond

Elk Lake, or Itasca, and which were known to Indian traders.

On the 27th of the month Nicollett began his journey to the sources of the Mississippi. He passed three days in examining the rivulets beyond Elk or Itaska lake. In his report to the United States Government he wrote: "I visited the whole of them. . . . There is one remarkable above the others inasmuch as its course is longer and its waters more abundant; so, in obedience to the geographical rule that the sources of a river are those that are most distant from its mouth, this creek is truly the infant Mississippi, and all others below it feeders and tributaries."

On the 12th of September, 1836, at the hut of Olive Cratte, a squatter on the reservation, Major Taliaferro married Jane, a half-breed daughter of Duncan Graham, to James Wells, a trader, who was a member of one of the first legislative assemblies of the state of Minnesota.

Gen. Croghan, as Inspector-General, on October 6th was at the fort on an official visit, and the next night the Thespian association played in his presence "Monsieur Tonson" and the "Village Lawyer."

EDWARD D. NEILL.

(To be continued.)

JUDGE WESTCOTT WILKIN.

THE Wilkin family, from which the subject of this sketch descended, is of Welsh origin. In the seventeenth century his ancestors emigrated from

Wales to Ireland whence, in the course of time, they came to America and settled on a tract of land where are now the counties of Orange and Ulster

in the state of New York, where their descendants generally remained until within the last half century.

Judge Wilkin's grandfather was Gen. James W. Wilkin, who was an ardent friend and supporter of De Witt Clinton, and was prominent in public life. He held important offices in New York and also served his state in the Congress of the United States.

Judge Wilkin is the son of the Hon. Samuel J. Wilkin (now deceased), who was distinguished as a lawyer, prominent in political affairs—having held many offices of distinction in the state of New York—and also served as a member of Congress during the Administration of Gen. Jackson as President of the United States. His mother was Sarah Gale Westcott, a daughter of David Manderville Westcott, a man prominent in his day as a Jeffersonian Democrat. Mrs. Wilkin was a woman of fine culture, gentle nature, and possessed remarkably strong intellectual powers. She was the friend and adviser of the poor and afflicted. She was much beloved by all who knew her, and revered for her good works. She was a devoted member of, and was highly honored by the Presbyterian Church. If there is anything in heredity Judge Wilkin is legitimately entitled to all the esteem and love he enjoys and the many honors that have been bestowed upon him by his fellow-citizens. We attach very little consequence to ancestry in this land of independent action and self-reliance, but in the opinion of the author there can be

no more valuable inheritance to an American youth than the teachings and example of an upright and honorable father and a refined and religious mother. To be born and reared a gentleman, in the true meaning of that much abused word, is of immeasurably greater value than to be the offspring of Cræsus.

Judge Wilkin was born on the 4th day of January, 1824, at the town of Goshen, in the state of New York; and he received his early education in the schools of his native town, which in those days were far inferior, in the mere point of imparting learning, to the common schools of to-day; but perhaps in the broader sense of instilling education, were fully their equals if not their superiors. Passing this period he studied at home under private tutors for a short time and was then sent to the grammar school of Columbia college, then under the direction of the celebrated Prof. Anthon. From this school he entered Princeton college, from which institution of learning both his father and grandfather had received their collegiate degrees. Princeton at that time was far below its present position in material endowments, and perhaps in educational advantages; but it is remembered with gratitude and affection by those who were subject to its high moral and intellectual influences, and received the benefits of its efficient training. After the usual collegiate course of study the Judge graduated with a very respectable standing in his

class, but without marked honors, and shortly after commenced the study of the law in the office of his father, who was then associated in practise with Joseph W. Gott, a gentleman still remembered for his great ability as a lawyer and his high character as a man. After three years of study under such favorable auspices, his professional education was supplemented by a course at the Yale Law School. Having been admitted to the Bar, he commenced practice at Monticello, in Sullivan Co.

Having entered the actual arena of professional life, it was not long before the judicial characteristics of his mind and his thorough equipment as a lawyer and a gentleman, were recognized, and after a few years of practice at the Bar he was elected Judge of the County Court of Sullivan county, an office of much importance, to which, in addition to its civil and criminal jurisdiction, were attached the responsible duties of Probate Judge; so well did he perform the judicial functions he had assumed, and so generally were his good qualities of head and heart recognized, that before he had completed his judicial term he was brought out by his friends as a candidate for Congress for the district composed of Orange and Sullivan counties, but failed of a nomination in the convention by a very close vote, no doubt from his retiring and unself-asserting disposition. The adverse result was undoubtedly an "angel in disguise," and the author heartily congratulates the Judge and the state of Minnesota

upon the action of that convention, not that our subject would not have made an excellent Representative, but because his entry into political life would, in all probability, have deprived the state of Minnesota of his valuable judicial work since performed, and himself of the great and lasting distinction he has achieved as a jurist.

As the close of his term of office as County Judge he was again nominated for the position. The Know-Nothing excitement was then prevailing. Many of his political and personal friends united themselves to the Know-Nothing party. The Judge refused to follow them, and after an exciting contest he was defeated by a small majority.

The Judge's brother, the late Col. Alexander Wilkin, at a very early day in the history of Minnesota, had emigrated to that territory, and in the spring of 1856 he induced the Judge to follow him, and held out to him a partnership with I. V. D. Heard, who was then established in practice in St. Paul, and had at that early day well begun the honorable and successful career that has crowned his professional efforts. He witnessed the phenomenal "boom" in 1856 in St. Paul, and languished through the financial disaster of 1857 and succeeding years when money became a thing of the past, and all commercial intercourse was carried on through the medium of butchers' and grocers' tickets, a period of stagnation never to be forgotten by the old settlers and impossible of recurrence.

A man of the Judge's varied accomplishments, great learning and ability, coupled with exalted worth, could not long remain unknown or unacknowledged in a Western community. The state was admitted into the Union in 1858, and had to provide its own government and judiciary. In 1864 he was nominated for the office of District Judge of the Second Judicial District of the state, which is a court of general jurisdiction, and was, after a spirited contest, which was however conducted without acrimony, elected by a fair majority. The term of the District Judges was then seven years, and he has been renominated and re-elected without opposition on each recurring expiration of his term, and is now in his twenty-fifth year of service in that capacity. While occupying his present position he was on one occasion, much against his expressed desires, nominated by the Democratic party for the office of Chief Justice of the state in opposition to his old friend Judge S. J. R. McMillan, the then incumbent. The Democracy being irretrievably in the minority he was of course defeated.

The author, who has been actively engaged in the legal profession for nearly forty years, about eight of which were spent on the bench of Minnesota and twenty-eight at its bar, feels justified in expressing an opinion on the judicial qualifications of Judge Wilkin, and is quite sure his intimate personal relations and friendship for him will not influence his de-

cision. The integrity of the Judge is so deeply ingrained in his composition that unlike most men he can decide a cause between his best friend and his worst enemy, without inclining either way from the judicial perpendicular; and so careful and patient has always been his investigation of law and fact in the thousands of intricate and important cases that have been decided by him, so clear his reasoning to results, and so just and scientific his conclusions, that rare indeed has been the occasion when even the defeated party could dissent, and rarer still has such dissent resulted in a reversal of his judgments. The only complaint the author has ever heard of his judicial conduct was that he was too painstaking, cautious and deliberate in his endeavors to be absolutely right. With a naturally strong intellectual endowment, thoroughly trained classically and professionally, coupled with an inborn and life-sustained high sense of honor, and a heart that has "charity for all and malice toward none," what stronger equipment could any man possess to fulfill successfully the exacting duties of a judge? Judge Wilkin has them all in an eminent degree.

In April, 1884, feeling the need of recreation after over twenty years of uninterrupted labor on the bench, the Judge was induced to make a journey, and in company with the author of this sketch visited Japan, China, India, Egypt and most of the countries of Europe, circumnavigating the world.

which proved a great restorative to his health and strength. Before leaving he expressly declined a renomination for a further term, the one he was then serving being about to expire, but so strong was his hold upon the people of the district that in his absence he was renominated by the Democracy, the Republicans acquiescing, and all parties voted for him at the election, where he was unanimously chosen for another term.

Before the organization of the Republican party Judge Wilkin was a Whig, but on the dissolution of that party he became a Democrat and has always since acted with that party. He is too thoughtful a man ever to be a

strong partisan, and his life-long judicial career has withdrawn him from any active political affiliations or associations; his political principles have however always held him within the Democratic fold. He has never united with any religious association or denomination, but reared in the Presbyterian church he still retains for it the respect and admiration with which he became imbued in his earlier years. It is the hope of this commonwealth, in which the author heartily joins, that he may have before him an extended career of usefulness mingled with pleasure. The Judge has never yet married.

CHAS. E. FLANDRAU.

REMINISCENCES OF THE THIRTY-SIXTH AND THIRTY-SEVENTH CONGRESSES.

BY JOHN HUTCHINS, OF THE THEN TWENTIETH OHIO DISTRICT.

V.

At a meeting of the House, December 10th, upon the reading of the journal, it appears that Mr. Hickman's resolution was not entered upon the journal, and Mr. Hickman as a question of privilege claimed that the journal should be corrected and his resolution entered therein, and thereupon a long discussion took place between leading men in which the doctrine of state rights and party fealty and party organization was talked about, and the "Impending Crisis" was not entirely

omitted. A few brief extracts from remarks by the representatives of the slave-holding states and anti-Lecompton Democrats will be given. On Mr. Hickman's effort to correct the journal, that gentleman claimed that the resolution should go upon the journal as he had a right to introduce it. Mr. Regan, of Texas, insisted it could not go upon the journal unless by the brute force of numbers "for the purpose of giving gentlemen the privilege of voting, in the second degree for a

Black Republican, who are not willing to come forward like men and vote directly towards the end to which their course will ultimately lead them."

Mr. Hickman: "I am frank to say that when the question comes up, whether the resolution I have offered is adopted or not, I shall vote for a Republican in preference to any gentleman who represents the sentiments of this present Administration." (Applause upon the Republican side and in the galleries).

Mr. Regan: "I can understand very well the applause upon the other side of the House. No one doubted that the gentleman would vote for a Republican in a contest between a Republican and a Democrat."

Mr. Hickman was a fearless, bold and able man, and when he took a position all men who were acquainted with him could rely upon him. He appeared to be not very strong in physique, but in power of mental force he was the equal of any member in the House and a hard man to encounter in debate, as his frequent contests with ablest men in the House demonstrate. Mr. Smith, of Virginia, denounced him quite severely for pretending to be a Democrat when he was not. Mr. Smith said: "He has not a Democratic sentiment in his heart. He would not act with the Democratic party this day if Mr. Boccock were to rise in his place and say he was opposed to this Administration. Would you, sir?"

Mr. Hickman: "I will reply to the gentleman. I state very distinctly and

unequivocally that I would not, for which decision I have very many reasons, entirely sufficient for myself. I would not do it, because I know that Mr. Boccock has sustained the Administration in everything it has done, and I am not a believer in eleventh hour repentance. (Applause and laughter).

. . . As to the charge of being a Black Republican, that is a question for me to decide and not the gentleman from Virginia . . . I repudiate and condemn the sentiments entertained by this Administration and its followers. If they are Democrats, then I am no Democrat. The question which the gentleman from Virginia has undertaken to decide is a question that will not be decided by that gentleman, nor by the Virginia delegation. It is a question that will be decided by the country as to who embody the Democratic sentiment, whether James Buchanan or those who have held to the Cincinnati platform in its integrity and entirety, are Democrats."

Mr. Smith then paid his respects to Mr. Clark, of New York, in the following language:

"I put it to my honorable friend from New York, who I understand only differs from the Democratic party on one question (the Kansas-Nebraska question), whether when that question is buried and belongs to the history of the past, when it belongs to the past and cannot obtrude itself upon us in the future, I ask him if he be patriotic, hating as he may the head of the ex-

ecutive government, why is it that, looking to the Democratic party representing the great Democratic family in all parts of the country, and upholding its honorable high tones and sanctified principles, he cannot let the past be swept into oblivion and act here in glorious fellowship to save the Union and the country from the most infernal and damnable principles that ever shook an empire?" (Applause and laughter).

Mr. Smith also referred to what Mr. Clark had said about Abolitionists.

Mr. Clark, in reply, said among other things: "The remark I made that I had never seen an Abolitionist in my district, was strictly accurate in my view of the just definition of that term. But if, sir, I am mistaken as to its true meaning, I will withdraw the remark. Sir, if every Northern man who is not *pro slavery*, to use a familiar expression, is an Abolitionist, I was wrong. If every Christian minister at the North, or every Christian man, who, in the hour of his devotion, prays for the welfare of both master and slave, if those sir, who differ from our brethren of the South as to the influence of slavery on the industry and happiness of a people; if those who by contribution of money or otherwise, make to the master that compensation for the service of his slave, in consideration of which he gives that slave his freedom, or if those who by appeal to landed proprietors in slaveholding states, would induce them, so far as practicable, without shock to the existing con-

dition of society, to substitute free labor for slave labor, if these are Abolitionists, then, sir, I was wrong, for here in this presence I will not deny that I know there are thousands such men in the North. As for myself, I will simply say that if to differ from the Administration as to its whole territorial policy as manifested at the last Congress, and if to dissent from the action of the majority of Democratic organizations in Congress as to the admission of Kansas into the Union, requires that the man who so differs and so dissents shall be classed as an Abolitionist, for one, I claim the right to bear that name and wear the honor. If I am an Abolitionist there are millions of them at the North." (Applause from the Republican benches and the galleries.)

Mr. Smith still had hope of him as his reply will show: "I am free to say that he has not one Abolition sentiment in his heart, nor, I trust, a drop of Abolition blood in his veins. If he errs, as err he does, I humbly submit; I know it is an error of the head and not of the heart, which pulsates always with his country." Abolition, at that time, was not quoted at par in Washington.

Mr. Clark then put to Mr. Smith this question: "If the people of the North should combine as a sectional party, if you please, in opposition to a sectional party, combined at the South in respect to slavery, and carry the Presidential election of 1860, would the gentleman from Virginia deem that

success justifiable cause for an attempt to dissolve this Union?"

Mr. Smith answered: "Whenever a combination of a majority is formed for the purpose of warring upon the Constitution and the rights of the weaker section of the Union, then I am out of it."

This answer was a little evasive of Mr. Clark's question, but if read in the light of the state-rights theory then prevailing in the South, as will appear hereafter, the answer was direct and positive.

Mr. Curry then made a long and able speech which is worthy of being read, for it was scholarly and eloquent and, in a literary point of view, was among the best of Congressional speeches then, or before, or since. Mr. Curry was a young man, but in ability he ranked among the first of the Representatives from the South. The purpose has been, and will be continued, to quote more largely from the speeches of representative men, who by their experience in public life and ability to express forcibly and clearly their opinions, as the best exponents of the sentiments of the people they respectively represented. The honesty and sincerity of the opinions expressed will not be questioned in these pages.

Extracts from Mr. Curry's speech.—
 "There are occasions, Mr. Clerk, when a whole people, like an individual, hold their breath in suspense anxiously awaiting the issue of events. There are critical periods which, like night, intervene between successive

days and mark the destiny and history of a people. The excitement prevailing in the public mind throughout this country, the manifestation of interest both here and elsewhere, admonish us that this, perhaps, is such an occasion. Nor does this excitement and this profound agitation of the public mind arise from the simple question of the organization of this House, nor from the publication and circulation of an incendiary pamphlet; nor sir, except in a modified degree, from the murderous incursion which recently was made into the commonwealth of Virginia. These are but scenes in the act of a general drama, incidents of principles, the revelations, more or less shadowed, of a purpose. The real cause of the agitation in the public mind, the radix of the excitement, is the anti-slavery sentiment of the North; the conviction that property in man is a sin and a crime; that the African is the equal of the white man; that he is a citizen of the United States, and that he is entitled to the privileges and immunities of other citizens; and throw over it whatever disguises he may, and whatever may be the immediate action superinducing this question, here is the secret of the agitation, and here is the cause of our differences. This is a general classification in which there are modifications of opinion and gradations of sentiments, perhaps in the one extreme, in the maximum, in William Lloyd Garrison; in the other perhaps, and in the minimum, in the distinguished Representative from Ohio (Mr.

Corwin) who addressed us the other day. In the exercise of that charity which rejoices in truth, I do not propose to hold the Republican party responsible for the excesses which have been committed by all men holding anti-slavery opinions. I do not propose to charge any personal complicity with John Brown, because from the bottom of my heart I do acquit them from all connection with that raid which was made into Virginia. I will go further and say that I will accept the plea which has been interposed by your attorney on record and your spokesman, and will allow the mantle of ignorance to cover your recommendation of an incendiary pamphlet. I propose, if I can, to follow the example set me by the distinguished gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Corwin), and so far as I am able with my limited capacity, to rise to the heights of this great argument, and treat it as a philosopher, a statesman and a citizen of a common country. The averment I make, Mr. Clerk, is that the ideas, the principles, the politics of the Republican party are necessarily and inherently and essentially hostile to the Constitution and to the rights and interests of the South. The arguments used assume an antagonism between the sections, an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and if slavery be what you allege it to be in your school-rooms, in your pulpits, through your public lectures, your political addresses, your legislative resolves, your Congressional speeches,

he is the most criminal who stops short in his career and hesitates at the exercise of the necessary means for its extinguishment. If slavery be a crime against God and against humanity, if it be a curse to society, if it contains the fruitful seeds of irremediable woe, it is idle to talk of moderation and the Constitution and non-interference with the rights of the South, as it would be to attempt to propel a skiff up the surging cataract of the Niagara. Inflaming the public mind, cultivating sectional hostility, impregnating public conscience with the germs of your doctrines, you array agencies and put in motion elements that must have their logical developments and result." He illustrated his position by referring to the Lord George Gordon riots in London, as a fair illustration of the effect of fanaticism and folly. He then referred to the teachings of Wendell Phillips, the latter of whom "deserves the eulogium, intellectually, that was paid to him by the distinguished gentleman from Ohio." (Mr. Corwin.) He also referred to the underground railroad and to hostile legislation in the free states to prevent the recovery of fugitive slaves, and the efforts made by the Republican party to exclude slavery from the territories as a means to ultimate its extinction in the states. He quoted from Gov. Seward and Gov. Chase and Mr. Sherman, to show their hostility to slavery extension, and then defended his position as follows:

"I am not ashamed or afraid publicly to avow that the election of Wil-

liam H. Seward or Salmon P. Chase, or any such representative of the Republican party upon a sectional platform, ought to be resisted to the disruption of every tie that binds this Confederacy together. (Applause on the Democratic side of the House). The 'extreme medicine of the Constitution is not to be made our daily food,' and threats of dissolution have become impotent on account of their frequency. But the election of such a man, with such sentiments, would indicate such hostility to us as to be the assurance of our subjection and the evidence of an irreconcilable antagonism. It would be a great calamity, and to submit to it would be a calamity embittered by disgrace.

"Come the eleventh plague; rather than this should be

Come! Sink us rather in the sea;
Come rather pestilence and mow us down;
Come God's sword rather than our own.

Let rather Roman come again,
The Saxon, Norman, or the Dane;
In all the ills we've ever borne,

We grieved, we sighed, we wept, we never
blushed before."

Mr. Curry then referred to Union meetings, then recently held in the North, and quoted from a letter of Edward Everett to a Union meeting in Boston, also from a speech of Caleb Cushing, late Attorney-General, in the same meeting, "as evidence of a returning sense of public justice in the North," but that these demonstrations could not be relied on, "as the test of public opinion is through the ballot box," and that this test was evidence

against the South, and then said: "If you (meaning the North) are in earnest in these declarations, if these public meetings mean anything, show us the fruit of your work; give us something fructable, substantial and tangible. Will you go home and repeal your personal liberty bills, your *habeas corpus* acts, your mandamus acts? Will you execute the fugitive slave law? Will you open your state prisons for the safe keeping of those who are arrested in compliance with the Constitution? Will you refuse contributions of money to circulate incendiary pamphlets in the South? Will you turn out of this hall and the other end of the Capitol the men who come here to insult and stigmatize us, and who omit no possible occasion of keeping up personal hostility and infringing on our rights and on the guarantees of the Constitution? . . . These will be some indications of public opinion and some test of a returning sense of public justice."

Mr. Curry then went on at considerable length to discuss the relation of the state to the Government of the United States under the Constitution. As he stated the doctrine and right of secession as a constitutional remedy in case of a violation of the Constitution by Congress candidly and clearly, a few more quotations from this able speech will be given.

In speaking of the State and Federal Government he said: "I said that the existence of two Governments implied a division of power. This divi-

sion of power implies a superior. The existence of limitation and restrictions presupposes the power to control and to enforce. Right here arises the great question—the greatest which can possibly be submitted to the people of this Confederacy: whether the States have the right to judge of the extent of their reserved powers and to defend them against the encroachment of the Federal Government . . . Every separate community must be able to protect itself . . . This power of self-protection according to my judgment and my theory of politics resides in each state. Each has the right of secession, the right of interposition for the arrest of evils within its limits.”

Mr. Curry concluded as follows: “Mr. Clerk, if our Democratic friends, with the aid of American friends, or if Republicans who may come to the rescue, as I think many of them will, be not able to interpose for the security of the South and for the preservation of the Constitution, I for one shall counsel immediate and effective resistance, and shall urge the people to fling themselves upon the reserved rights of the inalienable sovereignty of the state to which I owe my first and last allegiance.”

At this point, Mr. Kellogg and Mr. Logan, of Illinois, each made a handsome personal explanation.

Mr. Kellogg: “I should be doing violence to my own feelings and sense of propriety if I did not at this early opportunity make an apology to this

House for any act I may have committed in the unpleasant, and to me much regretted, occurrence in this hall yesterday. It was an offence to its dignity and a breach to its decorum, and I express my regrets that it should have happened and tender to the House my sincere apology.”

Mr. Logan: “Mr. Clerk, after what has been stated by my worthy colleague, I concede it is due from me to state that if yesterday in the excitement of debate, I violated any rules of the House or its decorum, I did so unintentionally. If I violated the decorum of this deliberative body, I assure the House that I was actuated by no malice. I regret the scene which occurred yesterday, and I trust that it may have no tendency whatever to mar any of the kindly relations which have heretofore existed between any of the members of this House.”

Mr. Kellogg and Mr. Logan were honorable, noble hearted men, and it is due to them or their memory that their remarks herein quoted should be given.

When the House met December 12th Mr. Maynard of Tennessee, made an effort to partially organize the House, to avoid the disorder and confusion which had occurred, by the introduction of the following resolution:

“Resolved, That the oldest member of this House by consecutive service, be and is hereby appointed to the chair to preside until the election of a Speaker.” But this being objected to, like other similar efforts, failed, and

the only thing in order appeared to be disorder.

Mr. James A. Stewart of Maryland, obtained the floor and made a long and able speech from his standpoint, taking substantially the same ground as the Representatives from the South who had preceded him, but he made a new point in favor of the South which had not been before made, in words following: "In the Dred-Scott case, the Supreme Court decided that the people of the South, as well as the people of the North, have equal Constitutional rights in the territories, and it is not in the power of Congress of the United States, or any department of the Government to control these great Constitutional rights."

Mr. John W. Noell of Missouri, made a very elaborate speech opposing Mr. Gilmer's amendment to Mr. Clark's resolution, but favoring the former.

Mr. Noell was one of the ablest lawyers in the House, if he may be judged from his speech, which was terse, clear and plain. Mr. Corwin remarked in the presence of two or three members that his style of argument resembled that of Daniel Webster, a compliment that could be truthfully given to but few lawyers. He disagreed with most of the Representatives from the South upon the right of a state to secede without it being a revolution, not only in name but in fact. Such extracts from this speech will be given as will show his position on this great question—and it

is truly a great question, and one that lies at the foundation of the permanent continuance of our present form of government.

Mr. Noell said: "I desire to say a few words to those who are acting with me upon this occasion—the Democrats upon this floor. I have regretted to hear extreme propositions made upon our side of the House, to which I cannot assent; and I feel it due to the House to state in what respect I differ from those gentlemen and in particular in regard to a grave Constitutional question. I understood the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. Miles) to say that he held and that his constituents held and maintained that the first and paramount allegiance of a citizen was due to his own state, and that the allegiance to the general government was secondary and subservient. I understood my friend from Alabama (Mr. Curry) to hold and maintain the same Constitutional doctrine, with this addition, that the states themselves are the sole and exclusive judges of the time when their reserved rights are violated or invaded by the general government, and that whenever they believe such a state of things to exist, to go out of the Union. Now, as a Union-loving man, I cannot assent to the full scope of the doctrines thus laid down, if I do not misconstrue them. With all due respect to those gentlemen I beg leave to state in what respect I differ from them. It will be admitted by those gentlemen and by every member upon this side of the

House, that the Constitution of the United States is a compact between the states—between different independent sovereignties, which sovereignties existed anterior to the formation of the Constitution of the United States. The attesting clause of that instrument shows that the framers of that instrument understood the states, not the people of the states were present at its formation. Now, while I admit that no combination of people, as a mass, could meet together and take away from the states any of their sovereignty, I do contend that the states, by their voluntary and unanimous consent, could permit a portion of their sovereignty to be withdrawn from them and invested in another body. That I understand to have been done. That is, that our Constitution was the result of a compact made by all the states; that before that compact all the powers of government were vested in the several states. When this compact was made, certain of their powers were withdrawn from the states and deposited in the general government, the effect of which arrangement was a separation of the powers into two classes—those given to the general government and those reserved to the states. This being the case, I maintain the position that there can be in our complex system no such thing as *paramount* and *secondary* allegiance; in other words, that in all National affairs in regard to all the powers conferred on the general government, we owe a sole and independent allegiance to this

general Government; and in regard to all powers not delegated, we owe a sole and independent allegiance to the states. That is my understanding of the Constitution. The idea of a paramount and secondary allegiance involves a conclusion that the powers of Government are all drawn from one stock—a conclusion to which I will never yield my assent. I understood further, in regard to the remedies of which these gentlemen have spoken, that when the states met in convention and entered into this compact, they agreed that a certain tribunal should decide all questions that might arise under that Constitution, and they invested that tribunal with powers thus to decide. In accordance with that agreement we have from that period to this looked to the Supreme Court of the United States as the tribunal that was to decide that question. They did in the recent case of Dred Scott decide precisely that question. That being the case, the idea of a peaceable secession within the Constitution is one which I cannot sustain. I do not controvert the ultimate right of revolution. I do not controvert the position that, when the grievances of the people become so intolerable that they can be no longer borne, it is the right of every people in this kind of government, as well as in all others, to throw off the yoke which they are no longer able to bear, but it must be done by revolution."

At this point in Mr. Noell's speech, Mr. Miles of South Carolina put to

him a question to draw from him a definition of political sovereignty as applied to a state.

Mr. Noell: "My understanding is that states are sovereign in all those powers that have not been surrendered to the general Government by express agreement; but in regard to those powers that have by express agreement been transferred to the general Government they are to that extent deprived of their sovereignty."

In the course of his speech, Mr. Lamar interrupted Mr. Noell with a protest as follows: "I wish merely to put in a protest here that I do not know of any gentlemen at the South who claim for the Legislature of a state the right to annul an act of Congress upon the ground that it is unconstitutional. We do claim, sir, for the sovereignty of the state that right; but we do not hold that in the legislature of a state is embodied the sovereignty of that state."

Mr. Noell: "Well, sir, I have al-

ways understood that the sovereignty of a state—the sovereignty of a government—spoke through the law-making power. I have always understood that that is the usual form in which a state speaks."

A few words of warning from this great speech will not be out of place: "Sir, if the sun of this great republic is destined to set and set for ever, it must go down behind a sea of revolutionary blood, and the sooner we come to know that fact the better it will be for all parties concerned. I warn gentlemen from the North and gentlemen from every section that when they are striking a blow at the Union they strike a blow that will lead to the dissolution of the compact into which they have entered—they are striking a blow that will drench this land in blood."

This was a prophecy which was fulfilled much sooner than Mr. Noell or those who heard him expected or anticipated.

JAMES NELSON BURNES.

ALTHOUGH James N. Burnes, one of Missouri's most useful and ablest representatives in Congress, was suddenly called from life in January last, before accomplishing as large a share of the world's work as he had hoped to do, he had already done more than is given to most men to perform—not in one, but in many and varied lines of labor. His name was already honored, his

fame secure, and his usefulness and greatness of purpose acknowledged not only by his own people but through all the land.

Reading not alone from the family name but from the qualities that made James Nelson Burnes useful in many fields of labor and crowned his efforts with the highest success, we know that his ancestral name must be traced back,

to Scotland from which his grandfather, Peter Burnes, was brought by his father, William, when but three years of age. To Peter and his wife was born, in course of time, James Burnes, who first saw the light of day on February 14, 1779, near Fredericksburgh, in Spottsylvania county, Virginia. He, in turn, was married on December 29, 1805, in Culpeper county, Virginia, and afterwards removed to the state of Indiana, where James Nelson Burns was born on August 22, 1827. When the son was but ten years of age, in 1837, the father removed his family to Platte county, Missouri, where James received the education then attainable in the common or public schools of the state, graduating from the Platte city high school and afterwards attending the law School of Harvard, from which he also graduated in 1853. Returning to Platte county he entered upon the practice of his profession and was soon one of the active business and political forces of the community, rapidly obtaining and holding a power and an influence that were felt, in many ways, beyond the limits of his state. Before speaking of his career in the field of politics, or as a member of the highest law-making body of the land, a glance may be given to the other fields of labor in which he was employed.

As a lawyer he was well equipped, and grew in practice and reputation from the day of his entrance upon the legal arena. He was employed in many important cases, and in every

one of a capital character secured the acquittal of his client. In business and financial matters he was remarkably apt, and displayed great executive and administrative abilities, and was eminently successful, eventually accumulating a large fortune. He was the organizer and first president of the Weston & Atchison Railroad Company, whose road was the second built in that section of country. He was the moving spirit in the building of the Chicago & Southwestern railroad from Leavenworth, Kansas, to Ottumwa, Iowa, now forming part of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific railway system. Largely by him and his efforts the construction of the bridges across the Missouri river at Leavenworth and Atchison, Kansas, was secured. He was a member of the original town companies of Leavenworth and Atchison, and still interested in them when he died. He was president of the St. Joseph Water Works Company and the principal stockholder in the same, and also a large stockholder in several important banks.

An incident of a business nature occurred in 1877 that showed the material of which Col. Burnes was made. He was then the principal security upon the official bond of Col. Elijah Gates, then treasurer of the state of Missouri. Prior to the term of Gen. Gates the state funds had been kept on deposit in the National bank of the state of Missouri at St. Louis and the Mastin bank at Kansas City, Missouri, and were transferred to him by checks

from his predecessor, the banks being considered entirely solvent. Unexpectedly both banks failed, having on deposit over a million of dollars of the state funds, and large sums of money were soon becoming payable by the state. Treasurer Gates, being of limited financial resources of his own, had to rely upon Col. Burnes to provide for the state liabilities, and to aid in securing as much money as possible from the banks and to make good any deficit not so secured. Col. Burnes was equal to the emergency. He met all the liabilities of the state and maintained its credit untarnished, and paid back into the state treasury every dollar with interest, although neither bank ever paid depositors in full. But while the banks did not then pay, and while Col. Burnes paid every dollar, with interest, to the state, it is believed that he so ably managed affairs that he retrieved his losses to a very large extent.

The peculiar fitness of Col. Burnes for public station was early recognized, while his personal qualities were such as to insure for him support for any position to which he might aspire. In 1856 he became the circuit attorney in his judicial district, and was elected a presidential elector for his district, and with his co-electors cast the vote of Missouri for Buchanan for President. In 1868 he became judge of the Court of Common Pleas for his county, and served as such until 1872.

In 1882 Col. Burnes was unanimously nominated for representative in the Forty-eighth Congress by the Dem-

ocratic Congressional Convention, composed of delegates from the six counties of Andrew, Atchison, Buchanan, Holt, Nodaway and Platte, into which the tract or district called the "Platte purchase" had been divided. He was elected by a handsome majority. He was in like manner renominated and re-elected to the Forty-ninth, Fiftieth and Fifty-first Congresses. He was appointed a member of the Committee on Appropriations in the Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth and Fiftieth Congresses by Speaker Carlisle, and served thereon with great efficiency and distinguished ability. Up to the great Civil War, Col. Burnes was a Democrat, but after the breaking out of that strife he became a Union Republican, and affiliated with the Republican party until 1870, being a member of the State Republican Convention of 1870 which separated and placed before the people two full tickets for Governor and state officers, one headed by Joseph W. McClurg, and the other—which was elected—headed by B. Gratz Brown, and known as the Liberal Republican Convention. Col. Burnes supported this Liberal Republican movement; and in that convention, in advocating the liberal policy of enfranchising those disfranchised by reason of action or sympathy in behalf of the South, gave utterance to that memorable expression—embodying the central thought of the speaker's personal life—that "Love is stronger than hate," which became the tocsin of that canvass, and served as a watchword for

those who believed that all bitterness and animosity of the late fraternal strife should be buried in the common grave of forgiveness and forgetfulness. From 1870 until his death he was an active worker and supporter of the Democratic party; which, as evinced by his repeated elections to Congress, returned him a like active and loyal support.

The record made by Col. Burnes in Congress was such as to prove him in possession of the best qualities of a pure statesmanship, and to cast honor upon the state and the constituency which had sent him to the national capital. As a legislator he was careful, painstaking, thorough in his investigations, constant and laborious in his work, sound in judgment; able, concise, forcible and convincing in presentation, earnest and accurate in reasoning, and gifted in speech and debate. In the House of Representatives he soon moved forward to the front rank, and won and maintained a high and enviable position among the ablest of the many distinguished leaders of that honorable body. No better gauge of his impression upon that body, and his work therein, can be offered than is found in the very heart-felt testimonials offered by his associates and colleagues upon the occasion of his death—a few of which we quote as indicative of them all: “When he entered the Forty-eighth Congress,” said Mr. Dockery, “the reputation of his large and varied sagacity and experience, as well as his profound finan-

cial knowledge, caused him to be placed upon the Appropriations Committee among such compeers as Randall, of Pennsylvania; Cannon, of Illinois; Forney, of Alabama; Holman, of Indiana; Washburn, of Minnesota; Long, of Massachusetts; Townshend, of Illinois; Ryan, of Kansas, and others who had received great renown in the public service. The distinction thus accorded Col. Burnes by Speaker Carlisle is rarely conceded to a member during his first term of service, but the wisdom of the selection finds vindication and commentary in the records of the Forty-eighth, Forty-ninth and Fiftieth Congresses, and his re-election to the Fifty-first Congress. Indeed, during his first term in Congress, his management of the consular and diplomatic appropriation bill demonstrated both the aptitude and the analytical power of his intellect as well as his skill and force as a debater. His devotion to duty, his patient and persistent labors, his zeal for the interests of his constituency, his sturdy maintenance of his convictions, and his perfect courtesy, were uniform and consistent to the end.” Said Samuel J. Randall: “We rarely see a character made up of qualities so positive and decided as was presented to us by our late associate, James Nelson Burnes. He came into the House of Representatives unheralded by any any special notoriety. Modest, almost reserved, in manner, he proceeded, without ostentation, to discharge his public duties. It was not long before he had won his way to the

front, and was recognized as a man who could be safely depended upon to know what he undertook to do, and to do it without fear or favor, holding the public good always in view." Said Mr. Henderson, of Iowa: "He was an untiring worker, especially in all matters coming to his special care, and would pursue his investigations until he mastered the situation. Entering Congress with him, familiar with his work, side by side with him in committees, intimate as a friend, I know that his legislative life was as clean and honorable as it was able and illustrious." "I found," said Mr. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, "that he was a man ceaseless in work, that there was no limit to the industry of which he was capable; he had a mental vigor and efficiency, accompanied by scholastic training and the discipline of a busy and successful life which made that industry capable of sure and accurate results, and that he did not desire, as far as I could judge, to reach results that were not only honest in the lower sense of pecuniary integrity, but honest in the higher sense of patriotic duty, so that that which he did should not only be free from any stain of personal self-seeking or pecuniary interest, but should also be instinct with a desire to do what was best for the common weal." Mr. Holman, of Indiana, paid a tribute that is suggestive of Col. Burnes' Congressional work: "He was made at the outset, chairman of the sub-committee on the Consular and Diplomatic bill, and later on, of the

General Deficiency bill, one of the most important of the fourteen great appropriation bills—a bill on which countless forces, official and unofficial, seek to crowd almost countless items, certified and uncertified, running back through many years, and swelling into vast millions. Judge Burnes while actively participating in the preparation of the other great bills of that committee, and the current business of the House, had that particular bill especially under his charge, and it is to be placed to his honor that in the many millions of dollars involved in that bill, covering a vast multitude of items and running back through many years in successive sessions of Congress, not an error or mistake has ever been found." The tributes paid him by other leaders of the Senate and House—men who had known him for years, and measured the public loss in that knowledge—Ingalls, Voorhees, Vest, Cockrell, Hampton, Hall, Cox and men of their like, could be extended indefinitely, but enough has been said to show not only his usefulness as a legislator, but also the qualities by which that usefulness was achieved.

Yet one example of his steadfastness of purpose when he felt he was in the right, and of his courage in bearing the burden of his official acts, is related by Mr. Holman, member of the House from Indiana, in the course of his memorial speech in the presence of that body: "Circumstances occurred in the closing period of the Forty-ninth Con-

gress that brought into full view his great qualities. Conditions arose of extraordinary embarrassment in relation to an important appropriation bill under Judge Burnes' control. In that contention, gentlemen who were carefully noting the course of events saw him display high qualities of self-denial and fortitude worthy of a Roman senator in the golden age of that republic.

"One of the great corporations which have grown out of the Federal policy of our age, greatly indebted to the United States, asserted a claim against the government involving millions of dollars, and demanded its payment without reference to the just counter claim of the United States of a vastly greater sum, but not yet technically due. After an exhaustive examination, Judge Burnes reached the conclusion that it ought not in justice, to be paid. Repeated conferences on the bill rendered it reasonably certain that unless Judge Burnes and his associate House conferees receded, and permitted the payment of the claim, the bill would fail. The bill involved very large sums that ought to be appropriated, and about which there was no dispute;—claims the most meritorious.

"The situation was one of extreme embarrassment. To recede allowed the payment of millions which Judge Burnes thought ought not, under the circumstances, to be paid; to refuse to recede postponed payment of claims eminently just and meritorious—claims of soldiers of the late Union army and

their widows and orphan children, and other meritorious and necessary appropriations not in dispute; but Judge Burnes, sorely pressed, did not falter. The hour of final adjournment, fixed by law, rapidly approached and every influence which policy, interest and power could suggest, was brought to bear to induce him to recede from his position, but he stood by his convictions with the firmness of a rock which had defied for centuries the rage of the ocean.

"He understood well the severe criticism he would encounter if the bill failed in his hands, for but few such events have occurred in our history, but he did not falter. He brought hastily into the House a bill embodying the most pressing and meritorious provisions of the bill in dispute, and on his motion it was instantly passed by the House and sent to the Senate. Almost at the last moment concession was made to his views, but it was too late and the bill failed. Happily, no material public inconvenience resulted from its failure; the ends of justice were secured and this noble example will remain upon the records of Congress forever of unflinching firmness in the performance of a public duty."

Col. Burnes was a member of all the Masonic orders, including that of the Mystic Shrine; and also of the Knights of Pythias, the Independent Order of Red Men, and also of the Elks. He was a member of the Methodist Church South, and built for that church a house of worship in

Weston, Missouri, and gave to its Sunday school a large library.

Col. Burnes was married to Miss Mary Patton Skinner, of Kentucky, a noble, gentle, cultivated, Christian lady, who was an invalid for many years, and survived her husband. Six children were born to them, only two of whom are now living, D. D. Burnes, one of the leading attorneys of St. Joseph, Missouri, and C. C. Burnes, vice-president of the National Bank of St. Louis. As a husband he was tender, loving and devoted. As a father he was kind, considerate, affectionate and companionable. He and his two brothers, D. D. and Col. Calvin F. Burnes, were always associated together in their lives and business, and their fondness and devotion to each other were conspicuous and striking. The death of his brother, D. D. Burnes, in 1867, left his six minor children orphans, who were adopted by him and his brother, C. F., and by Col. Burnes were reared in his family as his own children, and upon his death became co-sharers of his estate with his own children.

No sketch of the life of James Nelson Burnes could be complete that did not dwell particularly upon the central idea of the Burnes brothers. There were five of them in all, and all their interests, aims and desires were followed with the constant belief that the advancement of one was the advancement of all. All through life a favor done one was counted as an obligation to be paid by all.

It was while in the midst of a career of busy public usefulness—in fact while literally in the watchful discharge of the trust imposed upon him by the people of Missouri—that the final summons came. Death laid him low almost by the lightning's stroke, although time was given him between the first blow and the quiet end to know that the supreme hour was come, and to breathe a regret—not for himself, for his life had been so ordered that he had no fear—that he was not spared to finish the work he had hoped to do. On the afternoon of January 23, 1889, he was stricken with partial paralysis, and passed from life peacefully and without a struggle at 12:46 on the morning of the 24th. The first symptom of the approaching attack was experienced when Mr. Butterworth, of Ohio, also a member of the House, called Col. Burnes' attention to a passage of the Sundry civil bill then under consideration. In an attempt to respond, Col. Burnes remarked that his tongue appeared to be affected, so he experienced great difficulty in speaking. Noticing that his face appeared to be somewhat drawn on the left side, Mr. Butterworth insisted that he should go into the east portico, and from thence to a committee room where he sank exhausted upon a couch. Physicians were hastily called. Under their orders he was conveyed to his rooms at Willard's, where he rallied somewhat, but at seven P. M. he lost consciousness, and never regained the use of his mental faculties

—death coming peacefully at the hour named.

Mr. Butterworth has given us a glimpse of the character of the man in his account of the occurrences of that brief period when the matter lay trembling in the balance: "We stood there alone, while he seemed to be struggling to throw off the influence that oppressed him. I have never seen such a struggle between the will and the physical man. At last he seemed fully to realize the nature of the struggle in which he was engaged. Putting one hand upon my shoulder, he said, realizing, as I did not, the danger which was present: 'Ben, it is hard to quit the battle now;' and after a moment's silence he said again, 'I hate to leave the field now.' I then understood what he meant but did not dream that he knew, and I am sure that I did not, that he was stricken, and that speedy dissolution was imminent. He said again with earnestness, but having difficulty with his articulation, 'I have much to do, and I hate to quit the battle now.' I said to him in reply, 'Why, Burnes, you are good for twenty years yet.' He shook his head in a manner which left no doubt that he felt that his hour had come. In a moment he reviewed the work he had done, and surveyed the ungathered harvest which spread out before him, and contemplated the labor unperformed, and to which he was about to lend his willing hand. But it could not be."

The remains were tenderly conveyed

to the West accompanied by a Congressional committee of three Senators and seven Representatives, and escorted to Ayr Lawn, the family residence in St. Joseph, Missouri, from whence they were finally borne—in the presence of an immense concourse of mourners, gathered from all quarters and representing all classes—to their final resting place in Mt. Mora cemetery, where the interment was conducted under the auspices of the Knights Templar.

The sympathy and sorrow of those, the country over, who had personally known the fallen leader; of the state, as voiced through the legislature; and especially of the home city of St. Joseph, were declared in many ways, and many resolutions of condolence and regret were adopted. "The people of Missouri," declared the Senate and House, "will ever reverence his name, and treasure the memory of his many virtues." It was declared by the Kansas legislature: "That in the death of Col. Burnes this state has lost a warm supporter, the West a loyal friend and leading legislator, and the country at large an honest, wise and consistent statesman." "In the death of Col. James N. Burnes," said the city council of St. Joseph, "the city has lost one of its most valued, honest and progressive citizens; the district a watchful and faithful servant, and the country a wise and patriotic statesman, for whose loss a nation mourns." The various societies to which he belonged, the Bar of St. Joseph, the Trades Assembly, the St. Joseph Turn Verein,

the colored people in mass meeting assembled, and other bodies at home and elsewhere, gave expression to like sentiments; while the press everywhere voiced the common sorrow in words of eulogy and sympathy.

The character of James N. Burnes may be read between the lines of the foregoing, and little need be added thereto. He was faithful, manly, just, in all the relations of public or private life. In the words of one who knew him well, uttered in the presence of the National House of Representatives that had gathered to do formal honor to his memory: "He was a busy, an active, a practical and a prosperous man. The successes which marked his career were not the chances of fortune, but rather the results of toil, sagacity, courage and inflexible determination. He was self-reliant and self-confident, and full to the overflowing of resource. He thought for himself; he acted for himself. His plans were carefully considered, and when matured he pushed them on boldly and skillfully to their accomplishment. The tendency of his mind was not in a single direction, nor was it limited in its aspirations or undertakings. Any enterprise which promised gratification to his ambition or usefulness to humanity was sure to meet with favor at his hands. Possess-

ing an intellectuality capable of the highest and of the finest polish, he was nevertheless a man of action. A theorist, a philosopher, a lover of literature, he was also eminently practical in all his aims and efforts. He was endowed with a most excellent judgment, which, under the most trying circumstances, never lost its just equipoise nor failed to serve him as a sure, a safe, and a ready counsellor. He never lost his presence of mind, but met and grappled with difficulties as they arose without hesitation or fear. To the activity, strength and diversity of his mental endowments were added graces of deportment and character which contributed in no small degree to his advancement in life. He was easy to be approached, courteous in bearing, affable in manners, true to friendship, faithful to promises, and considerate to those with whom he was connected, without regard to station in life. These lovable qualities added very materially to his strength and influence with men. He was wealthy without being ostentatious. His liberality was not accompanied by selfish extravagance. Possessing all of these high and varied qualities of mind and heart, it is not a wonder that he became a recognized leader, and won for himself complete success in all his undertakings."

GOVERNOR JEREMIAH MORROW; OR, A FAMILIAR TALK
ABOUT MONARCHISTS AND JACOBINS.*

THE members of the little colony planted here one hundred years ago were ardent Federalists. Their strong personality was impressed upon every measure establishing social order, and the settlements made by the Ohio Company, as well as those on the Scioto and Miami rivers, and the Lake, grew up and flourished under this influence. The French on the Wabash, the Illinois and Mississippi, when they received the Ordinance of 1787 from Gov. St. Clair, gave assurance of loyal support. The selection of the president of the Congress that passed the Ordinance—the last Continental Congress—for Governor, was a wise one. The enterprise was essentially an experiment. A wilderness controlled and peopled by savages was to be subdued, and out of it five commonwealths, the equal of the thirteen colonies, created. The task was an arduous one, and certainly hazardous, requiring courage, endurance, patience, and a high order of intelligence. Congress had provided the most perfect charter yet de-

vised for republican government—the first charter distinctly proclaiming the brotherhood of man—a charter declaring in plain terms that religion, morality and knowledge are necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind. New England, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Virginia provided the men and women, among the very best members of their respective communities, to establish government under it. Their chief magistrate was a man of ripe experience, as well as of thorough education. A soldier under Wolfe, a trusted agent of the proprietors of Pennsylvania, a magistrate over an extensive district, a major-general during the Revolutionary war, honored by the friendship of Washington, a friend and associate of Lafayette, president of the Continental Congress, and, because of his brilliant conversational powers, a favorite in the drawing room; handsome in form and dignified in bearing, he was a leader calculated to win the hearts of all. St. Clair, during the years of war, sacrificed a fortune for his country; in taking upon himself the labor and risk of administering a government over a vast territory stretching from the Ohio to the Mississippi, he sacrificed the com-

*An address delivered before the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society by Hon. William Henry Smith, author of "The St. Clair Papers," and manager of the Associated Press.

forts of home, the social advantages of the East, and brilliant political prospects which would have justified him in refusing the office.

It is worth our while to review some of his opinions of government, to enable us to judge correctly of his fitness for this important administrative office. We find these expressed in pamphlets and communications to the press, written after the peace and in the reports and recommendations of the council of censors, of which he was a member.

One of Dr. Franklin's political hobbies was, that the supreme legislative power of a state should be vested in a single body. This principle was incorporated in the Constitution of the province of Pennsylvania, which was formed and adopted in 1776, under the influence of that great man. It led to much mischief and oppression, and yet to the great surprise of the students of history, the debates in the convention that framed the Federal Constitution in 1787, show that he was not convinced, at that period, that it was not the best form of government.*

In the colonial days the principles

of Republican government, by which harmony is preserved between the legislative, executive and judicial departments, and all made immediately responsible to the people, were not everywhere accepted and not in Pennsylvania in 1776. The leaders in the constitutional convention of that year devised an ingenious and unique plan for bringing the government of Pennsylvania under popular review. It was a provision for the election in 1783, and thereafter every seven years by the freemen of the cities and counties, of a body of review and recommendation to be called the Council of Censors. This council was to inquire whether the Constitution had been preserved inviolate in every part; whether the legislative and executive branches of the government had performed their duties as guardians of the people, or assumed to themselves greater powers than they were entitled to; and whether the public taxes had been justly laid and collected. This was a device worthy of a speculative philosopher, but impracticable, as the council had no power to enforce its findings.

The Pennsylvania Constitution provided that a new Constitutional Convention could not be called unless recommended by a two-thirds vote of the Council of Censors. This could not be secured, because six of the members were office holders under the old system, who were sure to lose by any change, and they voted steadily with the minority against a new convention, and against

* This statement is based upon rather vague passages in the Madison paper on Elliot's Debates. If correct, it would show that Dr. Franklin had changed his opinion on this subject a second time, as in a foot-note in one of the pamphlets issued from the press in 1783, Geh. St. Clair speaks of the "inconsistency of that great man"—Dr. Franklin at that time being classed with the opponents of a single legislative body.

all recommendations for reform of the civil service. St. Clair, indignant at the corruption, addressed the public in a pamphlet, in which he laid bare the fact that these six men had been found unfaithful to their trust, and by their unwarranted presence in the council prevented reforms and prosecutions for violations of law. This failure of the scheme to protect the people is a striking illustration of the impracticable in politics, and invites to humorous reflections at the expense of the philosopher, who was undoubtedly the author of it.

St. Clair, as the leader of the majority, made an exhaustive report on the Constitution of 1776, pointing out its defects, and subsequently submitting a plan of government embodying his views of what a fundamental law of a state should be. It is not my purpose to traverse his reports to-night; suffice it to remark that this plan was similar as to a division of the powers of government to that embodied in the Federal Constitution and in most of the state constitutions; and that this and his arguments in its support were made public four years before the Federal Convention of 1787. Many of the arguments advanced in the discussions in the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and in the *Federalist*, which have been applauded by writers and statesmen, were made use of in 1783 by St. Clair. His comment on a many-headed executive, as exemplified in the Pennsylvania Executive Council, which choose

one of their number President, deserves to be repeated. He said:

“An Executive Council is a monster. It may do great harm, and never do any good; it will ever want that energy and promptness that are essential to an executive body, for it is not executive, but deliberative. It destroys all responsibility, and is a very useless expense. If the President has abilities, the council are but the solemn witnesses of his acts; if he is ambitious at the same time, they will be found to be his useful instruments; if he is cruel or revengeful, at once his ready tool and a defense behind which he at any time can shelter himself; if rapacious, they will share with him in the plunder of their country. I wish for the honor of human nature no such combination could ever be found; but we know they have existed together in other countries; they may exist together in this.”

Justices of the peace, he thought, should be elected by the freemen, but as the lives and property of the citizens depended in a great degree upon the judges of the higher courts, he held that they should be appointed for life, or during good behavior, in order that they might be made independent of political influences.

He held that the legislature should consist of an upper and a lower house—or a Senate and an Assembly—and that the action of the majority should be final, except in the case of the exercise of the veto power by the Governor, when a two-thirds vote should be re-

quired to pass a bill over the executive negative. It was his opinion that no reasons against the law ought to appear upon the minutes. "If," said he, "the bill passes by a majority of one only, it is as binding as if it had passed with unanimous consent. A dissent, with reasons, on the minutes can answer no end but to foment party disputes and weaken the force of the law and impede its execution. But the happiness of a state is so intimately combined with a vigorous execution of, and prompt obedience to, the laws that, where these are wanting, anarchy must ensue. If the laws are found imperfect or oppressive, they should be amended or repealed. The privilege of entering the yeas and nays is all that any member should desire, and is as much as is consistent with order and good government."

All very trite to-day, but over a hundred years ago in Pennsylvania a desperate contest followed this public utterance of St. Clair's—Smilie, Findlay and others who took on the character of a fierce democracy, declared that such a restriction would prove to be the instrument of a corrupt aristocracy leading to tyranny, and filling the lands with their cries.

St. Clair also held advanced views on other questions which to-day very much disturb the peace of politicians wearing Democratic and Republican labels. He objected to the clause in the Constitution of '76 which provided for rotation in office, as he declared it to be against the public good for the following reasons:

1. Because the hope to reappointment to office is amongst the strongest incentives to the due execution of the trust it confers.

2. Because the state is thereby necessarily deprived of the services of useful men for a time, and compelled to make experiment of others who may not prove equally wise and virtuous.

3. Because the check intended by such principle of rotation can be of no good effect to repress inordinate ambition, unless it were extended so as to preclude a man from holding any office whatever.

4. Because the privilege of the people in elections is so far infringed as that they are thereby deprived of the right of choosing those persons whom they would prefer.

St. Clair objected to giving to immigrants all of the privileges of citizens after only a brief residence, as it was calculated to prevent the establishment of a government by habits and prejudices, "which often bind mankind more powerfully than laws." Coming from monarchial and aristocratic governments, they brought with them ideas at war with republican principles, and being the victims of oppression they would be too often moved to view all forms of law as unjustly restraining and threatening personal liberty. A period should be allowed for educating the newcomers before entrusting them with all the responsibilities of American citizenship. A moderate share of property he

deemed essential to make an elector independent. "I do not count independence and wealth always together," said he, "but I pronounce poverty and dependence to be inseparable."

These views enable us to estimate the ability and character of the leader chosen to establish government in the territory northwest of the river Ohio, under the first purely republican—the first purely American—charter formed on the Western continent. For thirteen years he never faltered; for thirteen years he had the support of the little colony headed by Rufus Putnam, and in the end the work was crowned with success.

Although so distant from the centre of political strife, Washington's former companions in arms here located, sympathized with the National administration and gave it loyal support.

Soon political affairs in the territory took on the character of those east of the mountains, and the dominating power was Federal; the opposing Anti-Federal. The act defining the boundaries of a county, the selection of a site for a county seat, the appointment of justices, attorneys and sheriffs, arrayed men against each other on the lines of national politics, notwithstanding the real motive often originated in personal gain or loss. The whisky rebels of western Pennsylvania received no sympathy from the loyal people of the territory, whose officers joined in search for the fugitives from justice. As population increased, and the victims of baffled ambition multi-

plied, the Anti-Federalists took on a bolder front, and in some places defied the territorial administration. They received encouragement from the Kentucky Republicans, who were building up a commonwealth under conditions less favorable, in important respects, than those enjoyed by the people north of the Ohio. "News, we have none," wrote St. Clair to his son Daniel in 1798; "but the madness of Kentucky, and of that you will hear enough from the public papers without my troubling either you or myself with it. Everything in the political hemisphere is as right on our side of the river as I could wish it. Although we are so near neighbors, the people on this side of the river are the very antipodes of Kentuckians."

It will be seen that four years wrought a change that must have surprised the Federalists of the territory. They did not hold their supremacy, as they confidently expected. The contests led to irregularities in the admission of Ohio into the Union, to which I will now invite your attention.

The Ordinance of 1787 was a compact made between the government of the thirteen colonies and the inhabitants of the territory, and could not be changed without the consent of both parties. It was so perfect an instrument that there was no warrant for tampering with it. Effort was made repeatedly to change it, at the instance of inhabitants of Southern origin, for the purpose of introducing slavery, and it came near meeting with success in

Ohio, Indiana and Illinois as well as in Congress. That disaster was averted through the labors of a few wise men who looked beyond their day and generation. We shall see that there was tampering for political purposes, and because of this Ohio was admitted at an earlier day than would otherwise have been possible. Mr. Jefferson's first election was secured on a very narrow margin—it was by the grace and personal intervention of his old enemy, Alexander Hamilton. It was desirable that a new Republican state should be formed before the next election, in 1804. The parties were so evenly divided in the territory that the political complexion of the electoral vote of the state would depend on whether it was admitted through the instrumentalities of the Republican or the Federalist party. The Virginia colony in Ross county were ambitious to give the State to Jefferson and win the right to share in the National councils. They were young and ambitious and skillful in the manipulation of politics. At first they proposed to make Ohio a Republican state, with St. Clair as Governor, but Symmes and Findlay and John Smith (the Smith of Burr's conspiracy) protested so vigorously, the scheme was abandoned. St. Clair had offended Symmes by insisting that he should set apart the university section in his purchase, as he had contracted to do. He had removed Findlay from an office he had disgraced, and later he had reported Thomas Worthington for viola-

tion of the land laws and the rights of settlers. St. Clair was stiff and uncompromising, and these politicians determined to break his neck, as they could not bend it. They assailed his character and preferred charges against him, only one of which proved serious, and that was due to a misunderstanding of the instructions of the State Department. Mr. Jefferson refused to act on these, and the scheme was likely to fail, when the Federalists themselves, by imprudence in countermining, made a breach through which the enemy marched to victory. St. Clair, Gen. Putnam, Dr. Cutler and Judge Burnet, who were the real founders of Ohio, were anxious that when admitted as a state Ohio should be Federalist. They got up a scheme so to alter the boundaries of the eastern division of the territory as to make the Scioto the western boundary line. This would have reduced the population of the Eastern division, and kept it in territorial condition for some years longer. A bill, drafted by Judge Burnet, was passed by the territorial legislature. This gave the Republicans a fulcrum at Washington, and they used it with such effect as to knock the Federalists out in the second round.

The Ordinance of 1787 provided for the state lines, and for the admission of the territorial divisions into the Union as states. The language is mandatory:

“Whenever any of the said states shall have 60,000 free inhabitants therein, such state shall be admitted by its

delegates into the Congress of the United States on an equal footing with the original states, in all respects whatever; and shall be at liberty to form a permanent constitution and state government."

An enabling act was not called for. All necessary authority was already provided, and hence the act of Congress of April 30, 1802, was a direct interference in the internal affairs of the territory. If Gen. Putnam and Dr. Cutler had stood stoutly up to this, and had not set the example of departing from the work of the Continental Congress, the result would have been different. They were masters of the situation, as they had all of the machinery in Federalist hands. But they made a fatal mistake in attempting to compete with the Virginians in political intrigues: a mistake often made since in succeeding generations.

The leaders of the Virginia (or Republican) party were Nathaniel Massie, Thomas Worthington, Dr. Edward Tiffin, Jeremiah Morrow, and Return J. Meigs, Jr., young men of high character, who were actuated by an honorable ambition to give the new state a more liberal form of government than they believed the Federalists would or could give. They denounced the latter as monarchists with as glib a tongue as the followers of St. Thomas east of the mountains, and in return were denounced as Jacobins, sympathizers with the reign of blood and anarchy in France. The partisanship of the beginning of the nineteenth century was

a blind, unreasoning partisanship, that turned brother against brother, and filled the land with hate and unhappiness. That is a striking picture Dr. Cutler gives us of Martha Washington pouring tea and coffee for visiting Federalists, while entertaining them with sarcastic remarks on the new order of things. We are assured that "she spoke of the election of Mr. Jefferson, whom she considered as one of the most detestable of mankind, as the greatest misfortune our country had ever experienced."

Dr. Cutler himself thought at first, from the tone of Jefferson's inaugural, that he would disappoint the Jacobins, and give the country a conservative administration; but when the bill for remodeling the judiciary, passed Congress he was certain that the cabinet had decreed the destruction of the Constitution.

On the other hand if we were to read the original draft of a letter on file in the State Department from James Monroe to Thomas Jefferson, written one month after the inauguration of the latter, we would find the party of Washington denounced as enemies of a Republican government, and the new President advised to turn out the rascals who had been commissioned by that great man, and fill their places with trustworthy Democrats.

Having sent Gov. Arthur St. Clair, the leader of the Federalists, back to his Pennsylvania hermitage, I crave your attention for a few moments longer while I introduce to your notice

another Pennsylvanian, one of the ablest of the leaders of the Democracy, whose honorable career is a part of the history of Ohio.

While looking over some old manuscripts the other day, I chanced upon the following sentence in a letter to John Sargeant, from a correspondent in 1827, who was canvassing the names of persons mentioned for the office of Vice-President:

“Gov. Morrow,” he said, “is an estimable, but assuredly not a strong man.” This is the judgment of a contemporary who was favorable to the pretensions of another. We shall see whether it is correct.

Jeremiah Morrow was a member of the legislature of the Northwest territory; a member of the Constitutional convention of 1802; of the first General Assembly of Ohio; he was the first, and for ten years the sole representative of the state in the lower House of Congress; six years a member of the United States Senate; was elected Governor of the state for two terms, and at the earnest solicitation of his neighbors, served them again in his old age in Congress and in the Legislature. This is not the record of an ordinary man.

Gov. Morrow was of Scotch-Irish descent, his family being a branch of the Scotch family of Murray. His ancestors are traced through the north of Ireland to Scotland. Some of his ancestors bore a conspicuous part in the siege of Londonderry in 1689, and from this place his grandfather, Jere-

miah Murray, emigrated to America in 1730. He had but one son, John, who first adopted the present orthography of the name, and who was a well-to-do farmer of Adams county, Pennsylvania. This John Morrow, or Murray, had three sons, the eldest of whom, named after the grandfather, is the subject of my sketch. He was born near Gettysburg, October 6th, 1771. Jeremiah had the experience of all farmer boys, plenty of work to do and limited terms at such schools as the country afforded. Like other ambitious young men he acquired enough of mathematics to become an efficient surveyor, and thus equipped, with a taste for reading, he entered on practical life and soon made up for the lack of the extrinsic aids of a college education. He went to the Ohio valley in about the year 1796, and was employed as a school teacher and surveyor at Columbia. While thus engaged he purchased a considerable tract of land on the Little Miami, about thirty miles from its mouth, in what is now Warren county. He returned to Pennsylvania for a wife, and on the 19th of February, 1799, he married Mary Parkhill of Fayette county, who accompanied him to the West to share the privations of a pioneer life. He had erected a log cabin, and was soon busy felling trees, and preparing the land for cultivation.

Mr. Morrow won the confidence of his neighbors, and in 1801 they sent him to represent them in the Territorial Legislature — the first legislative

body that met in the old State House at Chillicothe.

Mr. Morrow had been in correspondence with Col. Worthington, and although the Federalists were very strong in Hamilton county, which he represented, he was recognized as belonging to the Republican party, which had been organized in the new country by the Virginians. When Jacob Burnet, of the council, had succeeded in getting his bill providing for a division of the territory enacted into a law, the minority protested so vigorously that Congress refused to approve of the measure, and the Federalists never afterwards recovered. Within one year a convention had convened, and Mr. Morrow participated in the work of framing the constitution for the new state. He was chairman of the committee that prepared and reported the fourth article of the constitution prescribing the qualifications of electors.

After the admission of the State into the Union, Mr. Morrow, as a member of the first State Senate, bore a distinguished part in the work of adapting the territorial laws to the new order of things introduced by the adoption of a state government. At a special election held on the 21st of June, 1803, he was elected a representative in Congress, and held that office for ten consecutive years. When, under a new apportionment, the state was allowed a larger representation, Mr. Morrow was transferred to the Senate.

When Mr. Morrow entered the House he was assigned to the commit-

tee on public lands, the very first standing committee charged with the care of this important interest appointed in the House. He subsequently served in both Houses as chairman of the committee on public lands. He was by nature and experience well fitted for this work, which required a practical mind and a sound judgment. He knew thoroughly the wants of the settlers, and possessed the firmness, independence and moral courage to resist the lobby-scheming of land speculators. His opinion on any subject relating to the public domain uniformly commanded the respect of Congress, so that it came to pass that almost all of the laws providing for the survey and disposal of the public lands during the period he was in Congress were drafted by him.

Let us pause to hear the estimate put upon this part of Mr. Morrow's public services by the most competent authority of his day: "During the long period in the House of Representatives and in the Senate," said Henry Clay, "that Ohio's upright and unambitious citizen, the first representative of the state, and afterwards Senator and Governor, presided over the committee on public lands we heard of no chimerical schemes. All went on smoothly, quietly, safely. No man in the sphere within which he acted ever commanded or deserved the implicit confidence of Congress more than Jeremiah Morrow. There existed a perfect persuasion of his entire impartiality and justice between the old states and the new. A

few artless but sensible words pronounced in his plain Scotch-Irish dialect were always sufficient to insure the passage of any bill or resolution which he reported."

In 1806, Mr. Morrow, in the House, in connection with Mr. Worthington, of Ohio, and Gen. Samuel Smith, of Maryland, of the Senate, introduced measures which led to the improvement known as the Cumberland road. It is scarcely possible at this day, when every part of the continent is accessible by railroad or steamboat, and almost every neighborhood has its paved or macadamized road for wagons and pleasure carriages, to conceive of the great commercial importance this macadamized highway, connecting the navigable waters of the Atlantic with a tributary of the Mississippi, was to the people of Ohio and Kentucky. The policy of internal improvements was one that Washington had much at heart, and as a part of a general system, especially a road connecting the Potomac with the Ohio. It remained for particularists to deny to the national government under the Constitution any power to aid in the work of internal improvements. Mr. Morrow and Col. Worthington, although active members of Mr. Jefferson's Republican party, continued zealous in seeking governmental aid in the extension of commerce. At the opening of the Fourteenth Congress—a congress celebrated not less for the important measures it originated than for the distinguished men enrolled as members—Mr. Mor-

row was placed at the head of a committee in the Senate to whom was referred so much of the President's message as related to roads and canals, and on the 6th of February, 1816, he presented an able and lucid report on the whole subject, the first I believe ever presented in either house recommending a general system of internal improvements.

When Mr. Morrow's term in the Senate expired in 1819, he declined a re-election and returned to his farm. But public sentiment was against his retiring, and he was appointed a canal commissioner in 1820 and again in 1822. As, however, he was elected Governor in this latter year, he declined to act as commissioner. During the four years he filled the gubernatorial chair, he was industriously furthering the interests of the state, encouraging the construction of roads and promoting the great enterprise of connecting Lake Erie with the Ohio river by means of canals, an enterprise that had a remarkable influence over the future character of the population of the state and of advancing the grade of the state in the Union. It was the 4th of July, 1825, that the work was begun, De Witt Clinton assisting Gov. Morrow at the ceremonies. Clinton was induced to visit Ohio by a few over-zealous friends who promised a presidential boom, but we are assured by the correspondence of the day that the influence of "Harry of the West" was so manifest wherever he went as to disturb the mind of the New York guest.

He said many ugly things about Mr. Clay afterwards, and while he did not reach the presidential chair, he did defeat Mr. Clay in New York, and thereby broke the hearts of thousands.

During this same year Gov. Morrow welcomed La Fayette to the State—the occasion being made much of by all who could possibly reach Cincinnati, where the reception took place. In his account of his tour La Fayette speaks pleasantly of the Governor and of the people of Ohio.

At the close of his second gubernatorial term, Gov. Morrow again tried to retire to public life, but his neighbors sent him to the State Senate. In 1828 he headed the electoral ticket for John Quincy Adams, and in 1832 the Clay and Sergeant electoral ticket. He was also the first president of the Little Miami Railroad Company.

In 1840, when Gov. Morrow was in his seventieth year, he was again sent to Congress, under the following interesting circumstances. That was the log cabin year, when the people of the state went wild over the brilliant speeches of America's greatest orator, Corwin, and the songs of John Griener. Mr. Corwin resigned his seat in Congress to accept a Whig nomination for Governor, and a mass convention was held at Wilmington to nominate a successor. It is said that ten thousand people were present on that occasion, and I believe it to be true. It would have been hard to find a section in Ohio so poor in people, or in spirit, at any time in 1840 or 1844 where ten

thousand people could not be got together on two weeks' notice to hear a political discussion. At this Wilmington meeting, where Corwin gave an account of his stewardship, and drew philosophical lessons for the benefit of his auditors in this inimitable style, each county appointed fifty delegates to select a successor, and Gov. Morrow was their unanimous choice to fill the unexpired term and the succeeding term. It was ratified by the mass convention with great enthusiasm. When Gov. Morrow went to Washington to take his seat he found in the House but one member who had served with him in the Eighth Congress when he first entered on a Congressional career in 1803—and this member, then a Representative, a Senator in 1803, and subsequently President, was perhaps the most eminent American citizen of the day—John Quincy Adams, the Old Man Eloquent, who was then contending for the right of petition and the freedom of speech. But the change in manners was not less than in men. "My old associates," said Gov. Morrow in a tone of sadness to a friend, "are nearly all gone. I am acting with another generation. The courtesies which members formerly extended to each other are, in a great measure, laid aside, and I feel that I am in the way of younger men."

This service closed the public career of Jeremiah Morrow—a career that extended over a period of forty years. During this whole time Mr. Morrow never sought an office, nor did he ever

refuse one. His opinion, always modestly expressed, was that a citizen of a republic should be ready to discharge any duty to which he was called by the voices of his fellow-citizens.

I think it well here to repeat the words of Gen. Durbin Ward on the retirement of Mr. Morrow. He said:

“I well remember when the venerable old man declined serving longer in Congress. With that gravity of intonation for which he was remarkable, he announced to his fellow-citizens that he wished to be excused from serving them longer; that he had lived through his age and generation and served it as best he could; that new men and new interests had grown up around him, and that it was now proper for him to leave those interests to the keeping of the present generation, who better understood, and who more warmly sympathized in the wants of the present age. He made the same response when solicited to take a seat in the second Constitutional convention. He said he had assisted in forming one constitution; it was now worn out, and he was worn out with it. The new one ought to be formed by those who would live under it.”

These were words of wisdom uttered by one who had had bestowed upon him the highest honors without himself apparently being conscious of possessing any merit beyond that belonging to the humblest citizen in the community. In the discharge of a public duty he put forth all his powers, but place never exalted him; he was su-

perior to it. Justice John McLean, a neighbor who knew him intimately in public and private life, said of him: “No man was firmer in matters of principle: and on these, as in matters of detail, he always maintained himself with great ability. His mind was sound and discriminating. No man in Congress who served with him had a sounder judgment. His opinions on great questions were of more value, and were more appreciated in high quarters, than the opinions of many others whose claims of statesmanship and oratory were much higher than his. Mr. Jefferson had much reliance in him, and Mr. Gallatin gave him, in every respect, the highest evidence of his confidence. There never sat in Congress a man more devoted to the public interests, and of a fairer or more elevated morality.”

During the last years of his life, Gov. Morrow resided in a plain frame house at the foot of a steep hill and close to the bank of the Little Miami, one of several plain dwellings he had erected near his mills, which were turned by that stream. His wife preceded him to the grave by some years; his children were married and settled. In his old age he preserved the same simplicity of life and unpretending manners which had characterized his earlier life. He occupied a single but spacious room, plainly furnished, which was the sitting-room, parlor and library. His library was large and well selected, and here, occupied with his books and newspapers, in the full use

of his mental faculties, he lived in the enjoyment of a happy and comparatively healthful old age. He died on the 22d day of March, 1852, in the eighty-first year of his age.

This, all too briefly related, is the story of a useful life. There is not a trace of genius; nothing of evil to attribute to eccentricity. It is clear that Mr. Morrow was not "a child of destiny," but a plain man who feared God and loved his fellow-men. And here, friends of Ohio, I wish to proclaim in this age of unbelief, of the false and meretricious, the ancient and divine doctrine of CHARACTER as being the highest type of manhood. Wit may edify, genius may captivate, but it is *truth* that blesses and endures and becomes immortal. It is not what a man seems to be, but what he is that should determine his worth.

It is in the light of this doctrine that I wish you to form an opinion of Jeremiah Morrow. A few additional words descriptive of his person and of traits of character will bring the man more plainly before you.

He was of medium stature, rather thin, very straight, strong and active, and capable of enduring much fatigue. His eyes and hair were dark, but in the last years of his life the latter was nearly perfectly white. In dress he was exceedingly careless, even while in public life. At home his usual attire was as plain and homely as that worn by his neighbor farmers, or his work-hands. At no period during his life did he consider manual labor beneath

him, and few men with a sickle could reap more grain in a day than he. These homely ways occasionally led ambitious and officious politicians to the conclusion that he would be as potter's clay in their hands. His pastor, the Rev. Dr. Mac Dill, of the Associate Reformed, or United Presbyterian church, of which Mr. Morrow was a life-long and consistent member, relates that "when his first gubernatorial term was nearly expired, some gentlemen about Columbus, who seemed to regard themselves as a board specially appointed to superintend the distribution of offices in the state of Ohio, had a meeting, and appointed a committee to wait on him and advise him as to his duty. The committee called, and speedily made known their business. It was to prevail on him (for the public good, of course,) not to stand as a candidate for a second term, but to give way in favor of another. They promised that if he would do this they would use their influence to return him to the United States Senate, where, they assured him, he would be more useful to the state. Having patiently heard them through, he calmly replied: 'I consider office as belonging to the people. A few of us have no right to make bargains on the subject, and I have no bargain to make. I have concluded to serve another term if the people see fit to elect me, though without caring much about it.'"

A friend relates this anecdote of the Governor: "On one occasion, an

officer from one of the Eastern states came to Columbus as the agent in an important criminal case. The Governor was on his farm, and as the case admitted of no delay the agent went post-haste to find him. Arriving at the old mansion he asked for Gov. Morrow. A lady directed him to the barn. Feeling that he was being humbugged the man went under protest, as directed. He found two men busy with a load of hay, one pitching to the mow, the other mowing away. He looked in vain for Gov. Morrow, and a little out of humor, asked of the man on the wagon of his whereabouts. The individual addressed pitched his last fork full to the mow, and taking off his hat, wiping the perspiration from his brow, said: 'I am Gov. Morrow, what can I do for you, sir?' The agent, now sure of the humbug, said he wished to see Gov. Morrow on business, and none of his servants. The farmer descended from the wagon, directed 'John' to drive the oxen out to the meadow; assured the man that he was the Governor; and being one of the best talkers of the day, he soon convinced the indignant agent that the Governor of Ohio was the right man in the right place, and that he understood the dignity of the gubernatorial chair as well as the mysteries of the hay-mow. Years afterwards I met this man in Boston, and he said that the strangest adventure in his career was his meeting with Gov. Morrow in the barn."

One more illustration and I am done:

When Charles Anderson was Governor, and I Secretary of State, we represented the state government at Urbana on the occasion of the removal of the remains of Simon Kenton to the new cemetery of that place, where a handsome monument had been erected to the famous pioneer. And here I interrupt my narrative to remark parenthetically, and not as pertinent to my subject, that while the dignified officers of the state and hundreds of worthy citizens followed the remains of the pioneers to their final resting place in solemn silence, the descendants of Kenton were enjoying themselves at a feast—a grim commentary, you will say, on family pride. But so far as the public were concerned, the ceremony had its sentimental, its patriotic side.

The occasion was calculated to inspire reminiscences and anecdotes of early Ohio days, and Governor Anderson proved to be in his happiest mood, the full meaning of which will be appreciated by those here present tonight who were ever so fortunate as to listen to the conversation of that brilliant man. He had a great deal to say about Gov. Morrow, who, as trustee of Miami University, often visited that institution and invariably, from choice, roomed with young Anderson. He therefore came to know him well, and within a few months, at my request, has put in writing his opinion of Mr. Morrow. He says:

"If I were compelled to choose and name the one ablest and best of all the

Governors whom I knew it would be this Jeremiah Morrow, of Warren county. . . . I believe I have known but one man who had so little of the spirit 'to show off'—of false pretense, of selfish vanity or ambition—as he had. And as for his merely intellectual powers and culture, without being, as far as I know, very profound or original, and neither brilliant nor eloquent, he had so many exact, yet varied and extensive, knowledges, with such accuracy and aptness of memory and citation, that I am compelled to adjudge him a high place as well in scholarship as statesmanship."

The anecdote I am about to relate will give you the estimate of an intelligent foreigner of this Ohio pioneer. Gov. Anderson said in the conversation, to which I have referred, that after he had graduated at Oxford he went abroad to spend a year in Europe. Some time in the month of October of the same year (1845) he chanced to meet at Prague, in Bohemia, an English party of three gentlemen—a couple of barristers traveling for pleasure, and a Scotch commercial traveler. They together visited all the noted places throughout that country, and by these associations became welded into a sufficient homogeneity to be called "Our Party." At an early hour on a fine autumn day they turned their faces homeward and followed the Moldaw toward but not as far as the river Elbe, until they reached the little steamboat on which they were to embark, some distance above the junction

of these classic streams. While they were lounging around the dock awaiting the arrival of the "captain," as we Americans always dub such officers, a sudden shower came up and drove the passengers into the close quarters of the cabin. Among these passengers so packed together was a curiously and elegantly dressed personage, in clean, bright scarlet coat, buff vest and shirt, fair top boots, a very jaunty little cap, with an elegant whip in his hand. Being fresh shaven, except his oiled side whiskers, clean as new cloth and fine linen could make him, he was, with his fresh pink complexion, his handsome regular features and comely stoutish figure, to a novice like young Anderson, one of the most curious and elegant figures he had ever seen off the stage. It was a pity he had not remained as a figure "to be seen, not heard," as parents in the good old days were wont to say to the boys. But alas! he spoke. And such grammar, such metallic tones, interlarded with slang and vulgar profanity, as never before offended mortal ears in the presence of ladies. It is needless to say that all this outrage was in English. Indeed, declared Gov. Anderson, no other language on earth, dead or living, ever had the capability of such slang and profanity as was then heard. Undoubtedly this "Professor" of the profane branch of the Queen's English did not dream that any of those present, except his own associates and the Anderson party, known by their dress, understood a word of

his chaffing. But he was soon to be undeceived in a surprising manner; for after two or three repetitions there arose from his seat between two ladies, of very plain but most genteel apparel and most quiet refined appearance and demeanor, another figure as striking as his own, but in a very different fashion. He was a very giant in size and proportions. Very much above six feet in height, he was broad, straight, compact, sinewy—one of the noblest and most majestic human beings Anderson had ever beheld. And he spoke also, to the amazement of the little party, in the best tones and clearest sense in our own dear tongue. “Steward” he called calmly. No response. “*Steward.*” with a slight crescendo. Still no response. “STEWARD,” he shouted, so as to be heard throughout the boat. Whereupon the steward showed his face. “Where is the master of this vessel?” The steward replied that he had not yet arrived from Prague. Then our modern Ajax announced in effect that he would usurp that office for the present occasion. And thereupon pointing his finger to the ascending steps, he coolly ordered the burly Britisher in scarlet and buff tights to move up and out. The free-born Briton refused peremptorily. He said he had paid for his ticket, that he had equal rights, that it was raining and he would not go for any man. To all of which the new master said “Go,” his stalwart finger still pointing the way. After a slight but impressive pause he added: “I know you, sir. You are a

low servant of my friend the Earl of Chesterfield—the head groom of his racing stud; and you have forgotten that you are not in the presence of his horses and your other fellow-brutes. Now move, sirrah! or I will move you.” And thereupon out moved the bold Briton into the rain.

In a short time the shower passed, and the little family party of Anglo-Saxons went on deck for the freshened air and the sunlight. Of course, a squad of four of that race of bipeds could never be collected in which there would not, after such a scene, arise a split, a taking of sides; a discussion of the rights of the parties; much vague reference to Magna Charta, to the Bill of Rights, etc. And so in this case there was a division. The Scotchman, keen in debate and jealous of the English, began the schism by rejoicing over the discomfiture of the groom. The English barristers were inclined, for argument’s sake, to stand upon the free speech of Magna Charta, and as Anderson, who sympathized with the young ladies and admired the masterful stranger, sided with the Scotchman, their discussion became animated. As the words of strife closed, the Scotchman disappeared below to gather fresh items. In a little while, as it turned out, he informed our hero of the debates that they had settled down into unanimity on his side, but that his American friend, with whom he had traveled the Danube, had been very warm in his advocacy of his procedure and admiration of his bearing. The big

stranger then said he would like to be made acquainted with an American; that this was his country almost; that he had never seen an American so far east in Europe, and that having spent many happy days in the United States, he would be really glad to have a chat with this American friend of Campbell's. And thereupon up came the twain, like Douglas and his page, and so young Anderson had the honor of a presentation to the Grand Duke of Saxe Weimar—a soldier of Waterloo, a relative of the royal family of England, and, among other distinctions, the author of two of the most highly esteemed, as well as expensive, volumes of Americana.

During the trip down the beautiful river to Dresden the Grand Duke paid marked attention to the young American, and in conversation showed the most accurate familiarity with our history and institutions, and acquaintance with prominent citizens in every section of the country. For instance, in relating his experience in Ohio, he spoke of Gov. Morrow, Judge Burnet, Gen. Lyttle, Gen. Findlay, Peyton Symmes, Robert Buchanan, A. W. Gazlay, Nicholas Longworth, and others, rightly estimating the ability and characteristics of each. "Next to your great statesman, Henry Clay," said he, "I took the greatest liking to the Governor of your state—Gov. Morrow—whose acquaintance I made in the most thoroughly American manner." And thereupon he related how, taking a carriage at Cincinnati,

he traveled to Columbus to pay his respects to the Governor, but, on the advice of a Cincinnati friend, he called *en route* at the farm of Gov. Morrow. When he reached the farm he saw a small party of men in a new field, rolling logs. This scene of a deadening or clearing, is familiar to those of us fortunate enough to have been brought up in Ohio, but to a European raised in courts, it must have been an amazing sight. After twenty years, he gave a quick and picturesque, almost poetic description of this remarkable scene on the Little Miami; but I must hasten to the end. Accosting one of the workmen, a homely little man in a red flannel shirt, and with a smutch of charcoal across his cheek, he asked, as he did on the Elbe boat, "Where is your master, sir?" "Master," exclaimed the other, "I own no master—no master but him above." The duke then said, rather testily, "It is the Governor of the state, Gov. Morrow, I am inquiring for." "Well, I am Jeremiah Morrow," replied the son of toil, with unaffected and unconscious simplicity. The Grand Duke stood amazed. This little man, in a red flannel shirt and home-made tow linen trousers, leaning on a dogwood hand-spike, with a coal smutched face and the jeweled sweat drops of real labor now on his brow, and a marked Scotch-Irish brogue when he spoke! He the Governor of Ohio? Was it possible? He could scarcely credit his senses. The history of Sparta and Rome were as household words to

him. Cincinnatus, the model of rural, if not rustic, statesmen and heroes, had so filled the world with his fame, that he had indirectly given his name to the neighboring town on the bank of the Ohio. But here was a real, living farmer, rustic laborer, and a statesman too; not a figurehead of a Plutarch, nor the dream of a poet fancy, but a present reality, a man with simple, natural manners and downright honesty of character, who was quite the equal of any classic Cincinnatus or Cato of them all. He had seen, as he had expected in this new and wild country, many institutions in the process of development, all along the line, from germ to grain; but a real head of a commonwealth, in such a show of man—or any likeness to it—was a spectacle he had not seen nor expected to see.

After he had somewhat recovered from his surprise, he accepted a graceful invitation to go to the house, where he of the red flannel shirt excused himself, and soon reappeared fittingly apparelled for the governor of a republic. The Grand Duke was his guest in Warren county, and also at Columbus, for some days, and it was during this time that a plain head of a plain people made such a profound impression.

It has come to be the fashion with biographical writers to dwell upon the unfavorable conditions attending the growth and education of successful men, who in early youth had to labor and save, or share with kin the hard-earned dollars. If a boy voluntarily

or of necessity went barefooted, or, if in manhood, he took a contract to split rails, it is accepted as evidence that his relations were not only poor but ignorant and unfamiliar with the decencies of life, not to say deficient in those delicate sensibilities inseparable from noble characters. To heighten the contrast, humble friends and associates are made to appear coarse and repulsive—unjustly, we may be sure. Great souls are not born of evil. Strong characters surmount difficulties before which weaker ones succumb and the effort is a valuable aid to intellectual growth. But there are external influences that help to mold the man. In the case of Jeremiah Morrow there was an element in his education which must not be overlooked, for which he was indebted to Christian parents. He was by them instructed by precept and example in the great principles which guide and control a moral and religious life. Similar conditions influenced the education of the leading pioneers, who wrought a mighty work in the Ohio Valley, and of their successors who have departed, lamented by the whole American people — Hammond, and Harrison, and McLean, and Corwin, and Brough, and Ewing, and Wade, and Chase, and Garfield. These like those came of poor but of the best American families, dating back to the time when there was no marked distinction except that of human worth; and they died as they lived comparatively poor. The history of the lives of these devoted and patriotic men, of the work

wrought by the pioneers, and of the manly and unpretentious career of Jeremiah Morrow, to which I have called your attention to night, is a precious heritage to the people of Ohio.

And here, Mr. President, I ought to close my remarks, as I have already detained you too long. But we are in the midst of great social dangers, and I am constrained to dwell a little longer on the central thought of my theme. New conditions confront each generation, and changes have to be made to meet them. But there are principles that are immutable, and a people's history is glorious or infamous as these are made conspicuous or are trampled upon in private and official life. We have been accused by foreigners of making a fetich of the Constitution. If we were to live up to the spirit of the Constitution, we would be strong enough to confront any danger from without or within. But the real American fetich is the pride of money, which is rapidly destroying the republican simplicity and honesty in which our strength as a people heretofore lay. Rufus King, in a private letter in 1803, predicted that if we had another war, there would be afforded another opportunity of getting riches, the consequences whereof might be an aristocracy of the most odious character. But the picture he drew falls far short of the reality. It is not likely that Mr. King, or other Americans in that day, dreamed that men would count their hundred millions, largely acquired by

wrecking corporations and other questionable methods; or through the power of combination destroy individual enterprise—the keystone of the American business arch; or that, through the selfish greed of a few, and indifference to the just claims and welfare of the many, we should be brought at the close of the first century of the Constitution, face to face with anarchy and revenge. And yet is not this the condition of affairs in our country to-day?

Let us not despair of the Republic, but, acquiring the faith that strengthened the immortal Lincoln in days as dark, believe that Providence will find a way for rendering useful for good the enormous wealth in the possession of the few, and of transforming into conservative American citizens the refugees of Europe without the horrors of crime and bloody revolution. Much depends upon Ohio, whose central location gives her great power. Heretofore her leaders have been actuated by a noble ambition, her citizens have responded to every call of patriotism. Private and public virtue still abound. As the example of a simple, dignified and useful life, after the enjoyment of the highest honors, was to be found in the early days of the Republic at Mount Vernon, Monticello and Montpelier, so it is to be found to-day at Fremont. The value of this influence cannot be overestimated. Let the citizens of Ohio not forget the living lesson which is worthy the glorious past: or those to whose hands hereafter shall be confided the power of the state and of the Nation, the words of the poet:

“Goodness and greatness are not means, but ends.”

WILLIAM HENRY SMITH.

VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE.

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE MORE IMPORTANT VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE

IN THE 15TH CENTURY.

III.

IN Part II. reference was made to races of men and affinities of language, which was not irrelevant, as versions of the Bible depended greatly upon the ability of men, the power of language, and the skill of the printers. Prior to the fourteenth century, the efforts made to produce new translations of the Scriptures were comparatively few and feeble, and during the period of the gradual disappearance of the Anglo-Saxon and evolution of the English language, England was under Papal dominion, and the Bible was not eagerly sought.

Some of those who had been concerned in the work of presenting the Book of Books to their fellow-men were admitted to the glory of martyrdom, and yet the work went bravely on. Even now an important announcement comes to us from the London Academy which shows that a more liberal spirit prevails among the Roman Catholics. The famous MS., Codex B of the Old and New Testaments, sometimes called the "Vatican MS.," is being published in photographic *fac-simile*, under the auspices of the Pope.

This manuscript which belongs to the library of the Vatican is one of the most ancient MSS. extant, being ascribed by some to the middle of the fourth century, and by others to the middle of the fifth or sixth century.

The classification of manuscripts has been divided by Griesback into the following classes, generally termed recensions:

I. The Alexandrian recension, so called because it emanated from Alexandria.

II. The Western recension, used where the Latin language was spoken, and with which the Latin versions coincide.

III. The Constantinopolitan recension to which the modern MSS. are referable.

Various systems of classification have been proposed by different writers; some affirm that there are four distinct classes, and others that there are only two. According to the system of Scholz, MSS. are divisible into the Alexandrian or African, and the Constantinopolitan or Asiatic. Individual MSS. are distinguished from each

other by one of the letters of the alphabet being affixed to each. These marks do not point out the relative antiquity or value of the MSS., but seem to have been applied in the first instance, says Prince Bonaparte, in a very arbitrary manner, and to have been afterwards retained for the sake of convenience.

The most ancient and valuable manuscripts which have been handed down to us are:

Codex A, the Alexandrine MS.

Codex B, " Vatican " "

Codex C, " Codex Ephraemi.

Codex D, " Codex Bezac.

Codex D, again, the Codex Claromontanus.

Codex Zacynthius, a palimpsest MS.

1450—THE GUTENBERG BIBLE.

Some writers on early Bibles have been uncharitable enough to say that the first intention of Gutenberg was to produce imitations of handwriting on manuscripts, and to dispose of works so produced for manuscripts; but it is more generous to give the notable inventor the benefit of a doubt. The efforts first made show that such imitation was so good that even at the present time it takes an expert to determine at a glance if the book of that period is in manuscript or print. The difficulty is rendered greater from the initial letters and other portions of early printed books having been put in by hand. It is no wonder, then, as Dore truly observes, that before the process of printing had been made

public the difficulty to discriminate in this direction was exceedingly great. Persons familiar with mediæval writing cannot fail to observe how much the first printed book resembles the best ancient manuscripts. By this great similarity it could not have been difficult to impose upon buyers, and without doubt many persons paid the price of a manuscript for what had been produced by the secret art. It cannot be denied that there was great temptation to deceive, for a printed Bible sold at sixty crowns, while the cost of a manuscript Bible was five hundred crowns. In 1450 Gutenberg began to print the Bible in missal type. Peter Schoeffer, in the year 1452, discovered the method of casting metal types, and invented punches of engraved steel by which the moulds are struck and uniformity in the shape of each letter obtained. It was very appropriate that the first book ever printed should be the Bible, and the bold venture of the inventors of printing in at once undertaking so gigantic a task has been the wonder and admiration of each succeeding age. This invention was perfected and practically utilized by Gutenberg, whose Bible was produced in the Latin Vulgate at Mentz in Germany. The name of the Mazarin Bible has sometimes been used for convenience as a designation. This name was derived by reason of the discovery by De Bure over one hundred years ago, of a copy in the library of Cardinal Mazarin, which library had been collected by Gabriel Nante. When this Bible was found

it was supposed to be the only copy in existence of the large folio Vulgate in two volumes finished in 1455. The leaves, 317 and 324 in number, are printed in Gothic missal characters, in double columns, the first 18 columns in 40 lines each, the 19th and 20th in 41 lines; all the rest in columns of 42 lines each. From such arrangement it had also received the name of the Forty-two line Bible. The following extract from the *Cologne Chronicle*, printed in 1499, by Johann Koelhof (who had been an independent typographer at Cologne since 1472) will be of interest in this connection: "This highly valuable art aforesaid was invented first of all in Germany, at Mentz, on the Rhine, and it is a great honor to the German nation that such ingenious men are to be found therein. That happened in the year of our Lord A. D. 1440, and from that time onward, until the date of 1450, the art and what appertains to it were instigated and assayed. The year 1450 was a golden year and printing began. The first book printed was the Bible in Latin, printed with a massive character, such as the letter in which mass-books are now printed. Whilst the art was invented at Mentz, as aforesaid, in the mode in which it is now commonly used, the first prefigurement was however invented in Holland, in the Donatuses which was formerly printed there. From out of them the beginning of the aforesaid art was taken, and it was much more masterly and subtly invested than the same manner

was; the longer it has been practiced the more artistic it has become. There is one named Omnebonus who writes in a preface to the book named Quintilianus that a foreigner from France named Nicholas Genson was the first who invented this masterly art, but that is manifestly false, since there are yet alive those who testify that books were printed at Venice before Nicholas Genson came thither, where he began to cut and prepare letters (types). The first inventor of printing was a citizen of Mentz, born at Strassburg, and was named junker Johann Gudenburch. From Mentz the aforesaid art came first to Cologne, next to Strasburg, and then to Venice. The worthy man, Master Ulrich Tzell, of Hanau, still a printer at Cologne, at the present time, in the year 1499, by whom the art was brought to Cologne, has related verbally to me its beginning and progress. There is a set of wrong-headed men who say that books were printed formerly also, but that is not true, since there are found in no lands any of the books which were printed at those times." If, as Quaritch observes, we analyze the above statement, which, though dated in 1459, must be regarded as the result of a conversation between 1465 and 1472, we find the following points: 1st, Johann Gudenburch, or Gutenberg, was the actual inventor of printing in 1440. 2nd, The first book printed by him, after preliminary essays in 1440-50, was the Bible, in missal type, printed or begun in 1450. 3d, Evidence that there had

been a foreshadowing or suggestion of printing in the Donatus sheets impressed in Holland before the time of Gutenberg. 4th, That that there had been no typography anywhere before the time of Gutenberg. 5th, Here appears a recitation of the statement concerning Gutenberg. It will be advisable therefore to keep in mind the fact that if the foreshadowing of printing could have referred to typography at Harlem, it would have stultified the remainder of the article. Only a *curwit-Ziger* man will see in it anything else but an allusion to the printing of engraved blocks, or Xylography, which was cheaper and easier than the old way of having copies multiplied by penmen. The Harlem story, beginning with Coornhert and Junius in the fifteen-sixties, just a hundred years after Zell's removal to Cologne, seems therefore to be unreliable, and the perverted ingenuity which has frequently torn paragraphs away from its context, and used it as a confirmation for the Coster legend, cannot be too strongly deprecated. The Mazarin Bible is a work which will preserve the name of its printer to a remote period of time, and there is no break in the links of evidence by which we are able to conclude that it was the first book ever printed by movable metal types. Pierre Fichet, in the Paris edition of Gasparinus, states that of the printed monuments themselves there is no book now in existence, except this, to which we can with documentary certitude assign so early a date as 1455. A work of

such magnitude must have occupied some years in its production, and in the infancy of printing we may reckon four or five years for the necessary time. If Schoeffer printed it, he must have prepared himself for it by several years of preliminary studies, and therefore if he was the printer of the 42-line Bible, he must have begun his practical career not later than 1445. Most authorities say that Schoeffer was born between 1420 and 1430, and we know that in 1449 he was a student and calligrapher at Paris, and there, in that same year, ornamented a manuscript. It is not probable, therefore that a young student in Paris so engaged at that time could have produced the two volumes of the 42-line Bible at Mentz between 1450 and 1455, without any preparation or training. Although this Bible is without date, a rubricator's inscription in Latin at the end of the second volume of the copy on paper in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris, tends to fix the time when it was printed. This inscription is to the effect that one Henry Cremer finished the work of illuminating and binding that book in the month of August, 1456.

As it will doubtless interest the reader to know where some of these most remarkable Bibles now in existence can be seen, it may be well here to remark that in 1847 a copy was purchased in London, by Wiley & Putnam for Mr. Lenox, and the price paid for it was five hundred pounds sterling. In 1858 a duplicate from the Munich

Library was sold at Augsburg for 2,336 florins. In 1858 a copy which belonged to the Bishop of Cashel was sold in London for five hundred and ninety-five pounds sterling. From this owner it passed to the library of Lord Crawford, and at the sale of this gentleman's books in 1887, it brought twenty-six hundred and fifty pounds sterling. In 1870 an imperfect copy with seventeen leaves in fac-simile, appeared for sale in Berlin at 4,000 thalers, and after passing through the hands of two purchasers successively, was bought for eighteen hundred pounds sterling, for a library at New York. In 1873 Mr. Henry Perkins' copy sold at Hanworth Park, near London, for twenty-six hundred and ninety pounds sterling, and it is now in the possession of Mr. Huth. The Perkins' copy on vellum, with several leaves in fac-simile, was secured for Lord Ashburnham, and thirty-four hundred pounds sterling was paid for the same. It is now at Battle. In 1878 a copy on vellum, with painted initials and miniatures, but greatly mutilated, was found in Spain by Bachelin. He had it restored by Pilinski, in fac-simile, adding new illuminations where the originals were lost, and sold it to Mr. Heinrich Klemm of Dresden, for about two thousand pounds sterling. It is now the property of the Saxon government, and is deposited for safe-keeping and exhibition in the museum at Leipsic. In 1884 the Kamensky copy of the Old Testament portion was sold at Sotheby's

for seven hundred and sixty pounds sterling, and it is now in the United States. The same year a volume belonging to Lord Gosford brought five hundred pounds sterling, and Sir John Thorold's copy passed into other hands for the sum of thirty-nine hundred pounds sterling. It still remains in Great Britain. In 1887 Lord Crawford's copy went into the collection of saleable books in the depository of Mr. Quaritch, London, England; and two years afterward the copy which belonged to Lord Hopetoun was secured by the same party for the sum of two thousand pounds sterling. According to the list prepared in 1882 by Dr. S. Austin Allibone, there are now in existence seven copies on vellum, and twenty-one on paper. The copies on vellum he then located thus: The British Museum, London; National Gallery, Paris; Royal Library, Berlin; Leipsic Library; Dresden Library; library of Mr. Klemm, and one in possession of the Earl of Ashburnham. The copies on paper are to be found at the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris; Mazarin Library, Paris; Imperial Library, Vienna; Public Library, Treves, Prussia; Bodleian Library, Oxford; Library of the Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh; British Museum, London; in the libraries of the Dukes of Devonshire and Sussex; Lenox Library, New York; Lloyd's Library; Leipsic Library; Royal Library at Munich; Frankfort Library; Hanover Library; Mentz Library; Huth Library; Imperial Library at

St. Petersburg; library of Earl Spencer, and those of Messers. Fuller and Ives.

1457—THE PSALMORUM CODEX.

The Mentz Psalter was the first publication of John Fust and Peter Schoeffer. It is complete with date, and has a folio of 350 pages, with beautiful initial letters, printed upon vellum, in two colors. Eight copies are known to be in existence, one of which is in the British Museum. This first edition is viewed as the earliest example of printing in colors. For the Caxton exhibition of 1877, a copy was loaned by Her Majesty, Queen Victoria. It was printed during the brief period between the first and second printed Bibles, and its great rarity, in the estimation of Rev. Dr. Wendell Prime, gives it a higher pecuniary value than some of the most precious copies of the entire Scriptures. The Psalter has always been an especial favorite with English speaking people; its melodies have vibrated in their hearts, and into prose, as well as verse, has it often been translated. This version, and many reprints, bear witness to the assertion; and especially interesting is the one translated by the Yorkshire hermit, Richard Rolle, of Hampole, a learned man whose hermitage was at Doncaster. He thus spoke of his own translation: "In this werke I seke no strange Yngleys, bot lightest and communest and swilk that it most like unto the Latyne; so yt thai that knawes noght ye Latyne, be the Ynglys may

com to many Latyne wordis. In ye translacione I felogh the letter als-mekille as I may, and thoe I fyne no proper Ynglys, I felogh ye wit of the wordis, so that thai that shall rede it them thar not dredge errynge. In the exponyng I felough holy Doctors, for it may comen into some envious manes honde that knows not what he suld says at will say that I wist what I sayd, and so do harme tyll him and tyll others." It will be noticed that this is a remarkable example of idioms which yet remain in certain localities in England. At the end of Rolle's gloss were placed several canticles to be sung in English during divine services. A translation of a portion of the New Testament which this hermit made, included the Epistle to the Laodiceans, mentioned in Colosseans; iv., 16. This sacred book is printed in Gothic missal-type of two sizes, and it is not only the second book printed with a date, but it is also the third book printed at Mentz. It is one of the rarest of the early monuments of printing. It is rubricated with a great number of printed capitals, and embellished with about 280 very large initials, printed in two colors, red, with blue floration, and blue, with red floration. The Mazarin Bible is comparatively a common book by the side of this rare volume, as only ten copies are known to be in existence, all printed on vellum. The British Museum is in possession of a copy, one was loaned by the Earl of Leicester to the Caxton exhibition, and another, Mr. Quaritch

states (in a communication recently received), is in his hands. This ardent, but irrepressible collector of "Incunabula," has invited the writer to purchase his missal for the modest sum of five thousand, two hundred and fifty pounds sterling, and thus become its happy owner. Unfortunately, the bank account will not justify an order to send this book from London to the Green mountains of Vermont, where these lines are being hastily written, even while the writer is sailing in the *Yahnundahsis*, with Mrs. Darling at the helm, over the rough surface of Silver Lake.

1458.

An early German version of the Psalms is mentioned by De Long as having made its appearance during this year; also a translation of the Old Testament as far as Amos.

1461—THE BAMBERG BIBLE.

The Bamberg Bible was printed in 1461 either by Pfister at Bamberg, Upper Franconia, Bavaria, or by Gutenberg himself, who had dissolved partnership with Fust in 1455. This Bible made its appearance in Gothic letter, without title-page, pagination or signature. Gen. Rush C. Hawkins, who has furnished some valuable material on this subject, is of the opinion that this work must have been produced by the same workmen who printed the Gutenberg Bible, for he remarks many points of resemblance lead to this conclusion. It is certainly more than probable that the Guten-

berg Bible was not the result of a first experiment, for years of patient labor must have been spent before this splendid work was issued. It contains eight hundred and eighty-two leaves, and is printed in double columns, thirty-six lines to a column. A copy is preserved in the National Library at Paris.

1462—THE MENTZ OR METZ BIBLE.

Fust published a Bible in the Latin Vulgate in large folio. It was supposed to be the first ever printed, until the Mazarin Bible came to light. John Fast was a goldsmith of Mentz, and to him, as well as to Gutenberg and Schoeffer, is attributed the invention of printing. It is known that important pecuniary aid was rendered by him to Gutenberg, so that he might make at Strasburg the requisite movable types. This Bible is said to be the first one printed with the date, name of printer, and place where printed. Three copies of this edition were in the Caxton Exhibition, one of which was richly illuminated in gold and colors on pure vellum. It was loaned by Earl Spencer. Another, equally elegant, was lent by Earl Jersey, and the third, on paper, was placed there by Mr. Stevens. There is a copy in the Lenox Library, New York, marked as the first dated Bible, and the sixth dated book. Mr. Frederick Saunders, librarian, states that a copy is also in the Astor Library, New York. At the Syston Park sale a copy of this Bible, on vellum, sold for five thousand dollars. It has been said

that the brilliant red ink used by Fust in the embellishment of his Bible was thought to be his blood, and people said that he was in league with the imps of Satan. So great became the excitement that his lodgings were searched, and a great number of Bibles were found; he was therefore placed in confinement. In order to save himself from being burned as a magician, he was forced to reveal his secret of how to make red ink. This idle tale of his being arrested at Paris as a magician, for having in his possession various copies of the Bible in unusual exactness is without doubt fictitious, and historical students do not give credence to the story thus told by Disraeli. Quite a number of copies, it is true, were printed to imitate manuscripts, and Fust sold them readily at Paris for sixty crowns per copy while the scribes demanded five hundred crowns. Universal astonishment was created, says Rev. Dr. Prime, when Fust produced copies at the reduced price as fast as they were wanted, and their uniformity in style increased the wonder. De Vinne sums up the facts of the case in the following paragraph: "Eager to prevent the threatened rivalry of Jenson, Fust appeared in Paris in 1462 with copies of the Bible, while Jenson was ineffectually soliciting the new King to aid him." So, far from being persecuted in Paris, Fust was received with high consideration not only by the King, but by the leading men of the city, who encouraged him to establish in Paris a store

for the sale of his books. He is believed to have died of the plague in Paris in 1466, where, in the church of Saint Victor he was buried.

1466—THE STRASBURG BIBLE.

Mentel printed the Strasburg Bible, containing 477 leaves, with type printed in double columns, 49 lines to a full column. The catalogue of the Caxton Exhibition states that the rubrics and initials of this Bible are in manuscript. This work is without title-page, pagination, or signatures. A copy is preserved in the library of Freiberg, in Breisgau, with the rubrications of the volume dated 1460 and 1461, thus ranking this edition as the third Latin Bible. John Mentel was a celebrated writer, as well as printer, and he possessed great skill as an illuminator of MSS. He was the first person to introduce at Strasburg the art of printing, and his earliest publication was the Bible, in two volumes, folio. He acquired opulence by his profession and was ennobled by the emperor, Frederick IV. His death occurred at Strasburg in 1478.

This same year (1466), the first printed book with a date, known to have been printed at Cologne, is "St. Chrysostom on the Fiftieth Psalm." It is attributed to Uric Zell, who during the same year, printed a folio edition of the Latin Bible, with a date. Zell was the first instructor of Caxton. Blades, the biographer of Caxton, does not admit this, but attributes Caxton's typographical skill to his association

with Colard Mansion at Bruges. It is the general opinion, however, that Caxton learned his art from Zell while he was a resident of Cologne.

1468—EGGESTEYNE'S LATIN BIBLE.

There were two editions of Eggesteyne's Latin Bible, attributed by some to Baemler, of Augsburg, but the type and the paper mark render it probable that these editions were the work of Eggesteyne. A copy of this Bible can be seen at the Lenox Library in New York City.

1470—ZELL'S LATIN BIBLE.

Uric Zell printed a second edition of the Latin Bible, to which a date was attached.

THE FICHET AND DE LA PIERRE BIBLE.

The next great country after Germany to receive the art of printing was France. Guillaume Fichet and Jean de la Pierre (both members of the Sarbonne), induced three German printers named Uric Gering, Martinas Crantz and Michael Friburger, to establish themselves in Paris. A room for their printing presses was prepared in the Sarbonne, and work was commenced in 1470. The first Bible printed at Paris is reported to have been printed by these men. So rapidly did the demand for printed books increase that there were eighty-five printers in Paris before the close of the fifteenth century.

1471—THE DE SPIRE BIBLE.

Italy is also entitled to a share of commendation for being one of the first countries to introduce the printing

of Bibles within her boundaries. An edition of the Bible was printed at Venice, in Italian, by De Spire, whose first work, with a date, is a folio Bible of one hundred and twenty-five leaves. Malerine (or Vendeline) was a relative of De Spire, and associated himself with him in his work.

THE RIESSINGER BIBLE.

Sixtux Riessinger, a priest of Strasburg, printed at Naples in this year a folio Latin Bible. Florence, Ferrara, and other Italian cities, received it about the same time.

THE JENSON BIBLE.

During this year N. Jenson printed at Venice an edition of the Bible, and a Bible was printed at Rome by Pannartz, in which work he was assisted by Swenneheim and Ulric Han. Arnold Pannartz was a German who left Mayence for Rome, where he established a printing office during the pontificate of Paul II. The press was first set up in the monastery of Sublac, but after a time it was removed to the house of Francis de Maximus, a wealthy Roman. The Swenneheim and Pannartz Bible, printed at Rome, was the first Bible printed out of Germany, according to the assertion of an Italian writer. The German printers were probably workmen of Gutenberg and Fust, called to Subiaco, near Rome, by Cardinal Torquemada, the head of the Benedictine Monastery. The Roman Bible in Latin is without title page, but the colophon contains the name, place, and date of the printers. Only two hundred and seventy-five copies were printed, and it ranks as the second Bible, in the vernacular without a date. The Althorp Library furnished a copy for the Caxton Exhibition.

CHARLES W. DARLING.

(To be continued.)

MANUFACTURERS OF COLORADO.

JOSEPH CRESWELL.

THE reader doubtless remembers the story of Lady Clare, as told by Sir Walter Scott, who ran to obtain water for Lord Marmion, dying of wounds received at the battle of Flodden Field. Stooping to fill the Baron's casque, she drew back in abhorrence as she discovered blood oozing from the mountain's side, where the battle had raged—"a dark-red tide curdling in the streamlet blue." Turning, in dismay, she saw near at hand a Cross and Well, and read those time-worn lines:

"Drink, weary pilgrim, drink and pray
For the kind soul of Sybil Gray
Who built this Cross and Well."

She filled the helmet from the well
at the foot of the cross and

"Deep drank Lord Marmion of the wave."

"Creswell" is a compound of Cross and Well; has the significance implied by the union of the names, and owes its adoption to the local association of the two words in the days of chivalry. It is a name that suggests that "episode of romance and glory"—the Crusades. The ancient family crest was a Saracen's head, subtended by the motto: *Aut nunquam tentes aut perfice*, meaning "Either do not undertake, or complete the undertaking."

The ancient seat of the family was

in Northumberlandshire, England, where Sir Robert de Creswell lived, time of King John and Henry III. His father was Roger, son of Simon de Creswell. There is still a town Creswell in Northumberlandshire. The old family records bear the names of John Creswell, a prisoner in Warkworth Castle in 1404; Richard, who took Holy Orders and was rector of Kimblesworth in 1462; George, who married Edith, daughter of Lord Stanley; Joseph Creswell, Oswald Joseph Creswell, and Addison John Blake Creswell, of Creswell. Branches of the family became seated in Derby, Leicester, Salop and Stafford. In the latter is still an old manor-house, possessed by descendants of the Creswells of Creswell.

John Creswell came from England to Canada, removed to Chicago, where he became one of the first pork packers of that city. He sent to the Crystal Palace Exhibition in London a barrel of his merchandise which created a sensation as a curiosity in that branch of trade. He died in Chicago, January 1, 1855. There can be no question as to his descent from the old Creswells of England.

His son Joseph Creswell was born in

Kingston, Canada, March 13, 1844. The father dying when Joseph was eleven years of age, necessitated a life of labor and many privations.

From six to eighteen years of age he was constantly in the public schools of Chicago. He took the four years course at the Chicago High School, graduating therefrom in 1862. Two, besides himself, of that class, are now in Denver—Dr. Samuel Cole and Mr. Charles E. Dickinson of the banking firm of Hayden & Dickinson. Mr. Creswell contemplated a collegiate course, but the war came and he responded to the call of his country.

Mr. Creswell is self-educated in the sense that by working early and late and during vacation he was enabled to pay his way at school, in addition to helping his mother in the support of her six children. "For," says the successful manufacturer of Denver, "Mother had a hard struggle to get along after father's death."

His employment in the American Express Company brought him into contact and acquaintance with Major D. W. Whittle, treasurer of the company at Chicago, who had recruited Company B, 72d Illinois Infantry, called the Chicago Board of Trade Regiment. In this company young Creswell enlisted—then weighing less than one hundred pounds—aged eighteen years. He served with this gallant body of men, taking part in all its battles and marches until May 22, 1863, when he was wounded in the disastrous assault upon Vicks-

burg. The circumstances of receiving this wound are too thrilling almost to relate.

Major Whittle, then Major of the regiment, led the charge, saying: "Come on, Boys, Rebel bullets can't hurt us," with a purpose to scale the walls. It was an awful failure.

The men were finally ordered to prostrate themselves near the brow of the hill, but shot, shell and musketry found and left most of them dead where they sought safety. One and the same shell struck and disembowelled a comrade on Creswell's right, scattering fragments of his body over him; then struck his own leg, inflicting a deep wound upon his thigh; then passed to the left and rear, cutting off the head of another comrade, and then lodged in the back of the color-bearer, who, leaping up, uttered his death-cry,

"Fight for the old flag, boys!"

and fell dead. The wounded soldier was then transferred to Camp Douglas, Chicago, where he had partial charge of the prisoners confined there, remaining until his final and honorable discharge. The year the war ended Mr. Creswell began as clerk and time-keeper, at seven dollars a week, for Davis, Wade & Co. of Chicago, who were engaged in the manufacturing of steam-heating apparatus. With this firm and changing firms, he remained until 1880, when, as a partner in the firm of John Davis & Co., he came to Denver, partly on account of failing health, and partly to make a proposition to do work in their line for the

Windsor hotel. He remained and opened a place of business as Davis, Cresswell & Co., in a little shop 25x80 feet in dimensions, opposite the location of their present establishment. The business rapidly increased until 1888, when the present name was adopted—the Davis-Cresswell Manufacturing Company. They at once erected their present buildings upon Blake street. During the past year they paid wages to employees to the amount of \$60,000 in manufacturing their line of supplies for steam-heating, gas-fitting, and many specialties. One specialty is particularly popular, "The Dandy Lawn Sprinkler," which has a demand extending from Oregon to Australia; others are "The Cactus Hydrant," "The Ideal Hydrant," and "The Woodall Self-closing Faucet."

The organization of the company consists of: president, John Davis; vice-president and manager, Joseph Cresswell; secretary and treasurer, Luman M. Bogue; superintendent, W. H. Morrill; and master mechanic, George Woodall.

Mr. Cresswell is the founder of this extensive business. His energy, executive ability, and adherence to an undertaking when commenced, brought the enterprise to its present proportions. He has just completed a new home, built of Colorado red sandstone, situated upon the avenue bearing the name of his old commander at Vicksburg—Grant. It is all that an earthly home should be, and yet it is far more than he dreamed of ever pos-

sessing, when, upon a salary of fifty dollars a month, he married Miss Clara Lydia Hayes, whom he met for the first time at Camp Douglas. As a Hayes whose mother was a niece of Mr. Fargo, of Wells, Fargo & Co., Mrs. Cresswell has that composition of nature which qualifies her to be the companion of a man determined to succeed, and yet encountering obstacles at almost every step of his upward journey.

As you are welcomed to this beautiful home, an arch over the hall attracts the eye. It is an initial "C"—a happy casualty, not, I believe, contemplated in the original plan of the house. Mr. and Mrs. Cresswell have walked hand in hand for twenty-four years—

"Through pleasant and through stormy weather,"

until they stand, side by side, under this archway—the soldier-husband of an hair-breadth escape at Vicksburg, and the faithful, helpful wife that loved him for the dangers he had passed.

Their oldest daughter, Helen Turner, is now Mrs. Luman M. Bogue, wife of the efficient treasurer of the company, whose residence stands beside the parental homestead, a model of architectural beauty. The other children are Jennie Clark, Josephine Kate, and Bessie Bogue Cresswell.

Mr. Cresswell is at the head of his line of business in Colorado and the farther West. His business reputation, like his private character, is unblemished.

Ralph Waldo Emerson once said : "A man is the sum of his ancestors." This seems to be true in regard to Mr. Creswell. He certainly exhibited the martial traits of some of his remote ancestors on our own battle-fields. Sir John Creswell left his name upon the pages of history during the French and

English wars ; back of him were the Creswells, conspicuous in the civil and religious wars of England, while some of the founders of the family made pilgrimages to the Holy Land, to confess their sins, as well as fight the Saracen.

HENRY DUDLEY TEETOR.

WILLIAM STEINWAY.

"THE nomination of Mr. William Steinway," says the *American Musician* of August 17, 1889, "by Mayor Grant, to represent our musical industries on the Committee of One Hundred prominent citizens designated to carry out the World's Fair proposed to be held in this city in 1892, and his special assignment to the Committee on Finance, are both pre-eminently proper and will give great and general satisfaction in musical, social and financial circles. We have here an instance where the man honors the office as much as the office honors the man."

These words—as true as they are complimentary—suggest rather than describe the many successful undertakings and beneficent enterprises with which William Steinway has been and is a part. A busy man, a many-sided man, a patriotic worker in many ways for the public good, he has set his mark upon the history of musical development in America, and made a name that will be part of the history of American music. He comes of a family long and well-known in Europe,

and that has furnished many sons who have won distinction in the field of both military and civil life. He was born in Seesen, near the city of Brunswick, Germany, on March 5, 1836, the fourth son and sixth child of the late Henry Engelhard Steinway, the founder of the now world-renowned piano manufacturing house of Steinway & Sons. He received his education at the excellent schools of his native place, finishing at the celebrated Jacobsohn High School; and at the age of fourteen was proficient not only in the ordinary branches of learning, but also in the German, English, and French languages, and in music, for which he possessed a natural taste—playing, with comparative ease, the most difficult pieces on the piano, an instrument he was even then capable of tuning perfectly.

The steps by which the now celebrated Steinway family were led to make their home in America may be briefly recapitulated, as the facts related are a part of the history of American music. Henry E. Steinway, who was a skillful and prosperous

piano manufacturer in Seesen, desirous of ascertaining the opportunities afforded for the prosecution of his business in New York, sent his son, Charles, then twenty years of age, to America, in the spring of 1849, to investigate. The reports of the young man were so favorable that the remaining members of the family, with the exception of the eldest son, C. F. Theodore, who was left behind to close the business, sailed from Hamburg, May 28, 1850, in the steamer *Helene Sloman*, for New York, where they arrived on the 29th of June, 1850. William at this date had but just completed his fourteenth year, and being, as stated, of marked talent, his parents were uncertain whether to bring him up in the trade or educate him to become a great musician. His own preferences led to the adoption of the former course, and he was apprenticed to William Nunns & Co., doing business at No. 88 Walker street, New York, with whom he continued until March, 1853, when he joined with his father and his two brothers, Charles and Henry, Jr., in founding the house of Steinway & Sons, all members of which had worked at their trade ever since their arrival in the city.

The capital brought by the elder Steinway from Germany, to which was added the savings of himself and sons, was amply sufficient to enable the new firm to open business on a somewhat extensive scale; but, with prudence and forethought, a beginning was made in a small way, as an experiment, the quarters chosen being in a rear build-

ing in Varick street, which was rented for the purpose. Employing four or five workmen as assistants, the firm engaged in the manufacture of square pianos, producing one instrument weekly. In a short time the merits of the pianos manufactured by the firm attracted the favorable attention of musicians and the public, and the demand for the instruments largely increased. More extensive quarters were, in the spring of 1854, found in the building 88 Walker street, which Mr. Nunns, Mr. William Steinway's former employer, had been obliged to vacate owing to financial disasters that compelled him to give up business. By the failure of Mr. Nunns, young Steinway lost three hundred dollars, arrears of wages; but he generously forgave the debt, and, through affection and respect for his old employer, continued to assist him, by monthly contributions, until his death, which occurred about 1864, at the advanced age of eighty years. The marvelous growth of the business of Messrs. Steinway & Sons to its present magnificent proportions is one of the wonderful things in the history of American manufactures. Suffice it to add that the house, for some years past, has been universally conceded to be the most extensive of its kind in existence.

In the work of achieving this great and brilliant result, Mr. William Steinway has borne his full share. He, like his brothers, became a thoroughly skilled piano maker, expert in all the details of the trade. But as the busi-

ness grew larger, and as father and sons had to cease working at the bench, to give their full time and personal attention to superintending their employées, gradually numbering hundreds of workmen, and the respective branch foremen, each of the partners had to assume different duties, and to Mr. William Steinway fell the task of conducting the mercantile and financial affairs of this remarkable house, which in 1859 erected the present factory on Fourth avenue, Fifty-second and Fifty-third streets, New York, occupying the same in April, 1860. In 1865, two of the younger members of the firm, Henry Steinway, Jr., and Charles Steinway, died, and Theodore, giving up his flourishing business in Brunswick, Germany, arrived in October, 1865, and became a partner in the New York house. In 1866 was begun the construction of the spacious and elegant marble building, known as Steinway Hall. Having already won a first prize medal at the London World's Fair of 1862, the year 1867 was again signalized by the victories won in open contest with the principal makers of the world, at the Paris Exposition, where the firm won the first of the grand gold medals of honor for their perfect grand, square and upright pianos, and received the unanimous endorsement of the jury on musical instruments, as well as the most unqualified approval of the most distinguished composers and artists of the world. This unparalleled success resulted in the Steinway, or American system of

piano manufacture, becoming the standard one for Europe.

The most distinguished honors now poured in upon the firm from all quarters. Mr. William Steinway, and his brother, Theodore, were, in 1867, elected honorary members of the Royal Academy of Berlin, Prussia, and the King of Sweden granted them a gold medal; while, from other high sources, numerous complimentary testimonials were also received. In 1871, Mr. Henry E. Steinway, who some years previously had retired from the active duties of the business, died, at the age of seventy-four years; and in 1877 the youngest member of the firm, Mr. Albert Steinway, succumbed to an attack of typhoid fever, dying at the age of thirty-seven, after a brief illness. From time to time, younger members of the family, all grandsons of the parent of the house of Steinway, have been admitted to the business, at the head of which now stands Mr. William Steinway, the subject of this sketch, his brother, C. F. Theodore Steinway, having died March 26, 1889, aged sixty-four years. The firm, as at present organized, is strong in every department, each member of it being qualified, either by experience or natural talent, for the duties which devolve upon him. Owing to the perfect organization of this business, and also to their valuable inventions and improvements in the art of building pianos, as shown by upwards of thirty letters patent granted them by the

United States Patent Office, they easily take rank as the standard piano manufacturers of the world; and the wondrously perfect and elegant instruments of their production have fully earned their world-wide celebrity by their own excellence.

The immense works of the Steinways at Astoria, opposite New York, are models in their way. The welfare of the firm's employees and of their families is carefully looked after, and is under the special care of Mr. William Steinway. Model houses have been erected, having the best ventilation, pure water, perfect sewage, and gas. A public school, accommodating five hundred children, was erected in 1877, where Messrs. Steinway maintain, at their own expense, a competent teacher for the free tuition of the German language and music, in addition to the ordinary English course of instruction. In the spring of 1881, Messrs. Steinway also erected a large public bath, on the shore of the East River, where all employees and their families and friends are accorded the privilege of bathing, free of charge; and in connection with this bath, a fine park, with fountains of drinking water, the whole lighted by gas, has also been allotted to their use.

Although engrossed by the demands of this extensive business, and the special cares and duties which devolve upon him as the head of the firm, Mr. William Steinway preserves in a remarkable degree the European theory of finding time for the amenities of

life. He is fond of art in all its departments, and is a liberal patron of education, in which he has always manifested the deepest interest. By faith he is a Protestant, and though not in the least ostentatious in this regard, he has contributed generously to religious, charitable and especially educational objects, irrespective of creed. In his youth he developed a fine tenor voice, and at the time great efforts were made to induce him to consent to study for the lyric stage. These proposals he firmly resisted, preferring to follow his chosen calling, but he has not been averse to singing in private circles, and is frequently heard in the German Liederkrantz, the oldest, largest and strongest musical organization in the country, of which he is a devoted member and has been for many years president. He is a generous patron of deserving artists, both vocal and instrumental, and his benevolence to the unfortunate of this class is well known. Like most men with compassionate natures he is also courageous, and on one occasion (September 1, 1858) he was nearly drowned at Coney Island in a bold and successful effort to save the life of his brother Henry, who had been carried by the undertow out to sea. He has never had a disposition to engage actively in politics, his efforts in that direction being limited chiefly to upholding what he has deemed the best principles, and voting for the best men. He was, however, a member of the famous "Committee of Seventy," which, in

1871, effected such a sweeping reform in the government of the city of New York. For over twenty-five years he has been a trustee of the German Savings Bank at the corner of Fourteenth street and Fourth avenue, New York, one of the most solid institutions of its kind in the metropolis, and also a director of the Bank of the Metropolis since its establishment in 1871.

"In the world of finance," to add the tribute of *The Music Trade*, as voiced in the article already referred to, "Mr. William Steinway has for many years past occupied a unique, as well as most distinguished position, and it is safe to say that no one man's judgment and advice in great transactions are more eagerly sought after than his. One of the founders of the Bank of the Metropolis, he has been one of the directors of that splendid institution for nearly twenty years. He is also vice-President of the Queens County Bank, as well as interested in a number of other financial institutions. In politics Mr. Steinway has long occupied the position of a man whom public office has repeatedly sought, but whose ever increasing cares have compelled to decline its acceptance.

"For some years past he was president and leader of the German Democratic organizations in New York, from which he resigned for want of time. In 1888 he was unanimously elected a member of the National Democratic Committee, and delegate to the St. Louis Convention which nominated

Cleveland for a second term. In October, 1886, he presided at the great mass meeting at the Cooper Institute, called by citizens to endorse the nomination of Hon. Abram Hewitt for Mayor of New York, and the success of that meeting was in a great manner due to his tact and oratory. Offers of the most distinguished public offices have been continually made him, among others that of the sub-treasuryship by President Cleveland. The mayoralty has been twice within his reach, both sections of the New York Democracy agreeing upon him for the purpose of harmonizing their differences in 1888, and he would certainly have been nominated but for his persistent protests. But a few days ago the nomination for Secretary of State was offered him, but he declined it for the same reason that he has always declined public office, namely, the immense pressure of his business and private affairs. In fact the only position he has accepted is the one to which Mayor Grant has just appointed him on the Committee of One Hundred, which his patriotism would not permit him to refuse."

Of his labors in other fields of usefulness it may be said: He has been one of the best friends the German Hospital has ever had. He has permanently endowed several beds therein. He was president of the last fair held some months ago for this hospital, when over \$118,000 dollars were raised and but \$6,000 expenses incurred. He is a member of the German "Rechts-

schutz-verein," a society to protect poor Germans who cannot pay a lawyer to recover claims for labor done. He is also a leading member of the German Society for Emigrants.

His support of music and musicians has been unparalleled for its persistent generosity. The musical history of New York has centered around Steinway Hall, where not only the finest orchestral concerts have been given, but where the greatest artists, such as Rubinstein, Patti, Nilsson, Winiawsky, Leopold de Meyer, Marie Krebs, Essipoff, Wilhelmj, Joseffy, Rummel, Charles Dickens, and others, have appeared. It is the Steinways, and more especially William Steinway, who supported Theodore Thomas through thick and thin. But for their support many of the magnificent series of concerts this great conductor has given would have been impossible. It is not an exaggeration to say that the Steinways have been the greatest fosterers of musical endeavor and musical enterprise that this country has ever known, and that but for their liberality many of the greatest artists that have visited us never would or never could have come here.

William Steinway is a man of the strongest possible personality. He will not only leave his mark on the fortunes of his house forever, but on the fortunes of the whole American pianoforte industry. Of tremendous physical strength and endurance, he is able every day to accomplish the work of five or six ordinary men. His per-

ceptive powers are very great, he intuitively grasps a situation, and his judgment is unerring. His memory for facts and faces is prodigious, and when one remembers that he sees hundreds of different people every day, and that he has been frequently known to recall a man by name whom he had seen but once years back, and also recall the circumstances connected with the visit, it is not difficult to understand his popularity with many, especially as he unites with these qualities a kindly disposition, a warm and very generous nature, and a good heart, which have endeared him to an extraordinary large circle of acquaintances, and also made him the rock of refuge to which every talented aspirant or unfortunate in the world of music naturally clings.

Although Mr. Steinway takes deep interest in public affairs, and keeps a close attention upon the great establishments under his control, his heart is in his home, and it is there his happiest hours are passed. He has been twice married. By his first wife, whom he lost in 1876, he has two children, a son, George A. Steinway, born June 4, 1865, and now engaged in the pianoforte-making trade at Steinway & Sons' factory; and a daughter, Paula T. Steinway, born December 13th, 1866, now married to Mr. Louis von Bernith, of New York city. On the 16th of August, 1880, he married Miss Elizabeth C. Ranft, daughter of Mr. Richard Ranft of New York, a well-known importer of pianoforte materials, and their happy union has been blessed by the presence of two sons and one daughter.

ROMANCE OF THE OIL REGIONS.

II.

ONE can hardly listen to any discussion of oil history, or read the historical literature of oildom, without hearing or finding evidences of romance that rival the imaginations of fiction. I have culled and borrowed, for use herein, a variety of incidents that make plain and punctuate my meaning.

Look back nearly a century and a half ago, and see what the commander of Fort Duquesne wrote to Gen. Montcalm, in description of an occurrence upon Oil Creek, then named Venango: "We were invited by the chief of the Senecas to attend a religious ceremony of his tribe. The tribe appeared unusually solemn. We marched up the stream about half a league where the company, a band it appeared, had arrived some days before us. Gigantic hills begirt us on every side. The scene was really sublime. The great chief then recited the conquests and heroism of their ancestors. The surface of the stream was covered with a thick scum, which, upon applying a torch at a given signal, burst into a compleie conflagration. At the sight of the flames the Indians gave forth the triumphant shout that made the hills and valleys re-echo again. Here, then, are revived the ancient fire-

worshippers of the East; here, then, are the children of the sun."

Coming down to 1789, we find the *Massachusetts Magazine* recording the fact that Oil creek, in Northern Pennsylvania, carried a floating oil upon its surface, which the troops stationed at the Western posts used to bathe their rheumatic joints—the Seneca oil of a later date that was one of the sovereign remedies known to our fathers and grandfathers. "The semi-civilized settlers along Oil creek and Mill creek," as one has said, "continued to spread blankets on the surface of these mysterious waters to absorb the oil, which was readily sold at one dollar per gallon. As more intelligent people moved to the neighborhood, this oil obtained a wider circulation. From all over the world came reports of the discovery of various kinds of earth-oil. But it seems that Pennsylvania was destined to first light the world.

"Brewer & Watson were engaged in lumbering at Titusville, on Oil creek. The son of one of these men, Dr. F. B. Brewer, carried a bottle of oil to Hanover, New Hampshire, where he interested the instructors of Dartmouth college, of which he was an honored

graduate. At the same time, a fellow-graduate, George H. Bissell, then practising law in New York, was visiting his old home. He became intensely interested, as also did his law partner, Mr. Evelith. Dr. Crosby, of the college, visited Titusville, and it was he who first conceived the idea of boring for oil in Pennsylvania. Several gallons of oil were analyzed by renowned chemists, and their report so pleased those interested that real speculation in oil began with the purchase from Brewer, Watson & Co., of one hundred and five acres of Watson's flat on November 10, 1854, by George H. Bissell and Jonathan G. Eveleth, of New York city. The Pennsylvania Rock Oil Company was incorporated December 30, 1854, under the laws of New York. After several changes to please the ideas of new stockholders, the company was finally known as the Seneca Oil Company, holding a lease of the one hundred and five acres mentioned. This was on March 23, 1857. The company selected E. L. Drake, a modest railroad conductor, as superintendent, to drill an artesian well. He arrived in Titusville in May, 1858. He located his 'wild-cat' well in one of the old timbered pits supposed to be of prehistoric origin. He attempted to dig a well similar to those sunk for water and failed. Finally he drove pipe to the solid rock to prevent caving in, and, after much experimenting, with the aid of William Smith and his two sons, completed the wonderful Drake well on August 29, 1859. The

well was sixty-nine and one-half feet deep, and produced twenty barrels a day. The first twenty gallons were sold to A. S. Dickson, of Titusville, at one dollar per gallon. In the remaining four months of the year '59, the crude petroleum product of Oil creek, sold for a total of \$1,640,000. This statement seems fabulous, but the historical facts are: Total production, 82,000 barrels, and average price per barrel, \$20. For the year 1860 the output was 500,000 barrels, and the cash value nearly \$5,000,000. You must remember that Drake's success fired the hearts of men all over the world, and wherever there were surface indications search was made for the new light. So, when the winds from the Oil creek wilderness carried with them the tales of sudden fortunes in oil, men were incredulous, yet curious and excited."

A wonderful excitement, says the author of "Petrolia," was created all over the land by the striking of this well, pumping oil from subterranean deposits, that was in a few short years to become an article so important and indispensable to the wants and uses of mankind. Thousands, from all sections of the country, came to see the wonderful phenomena that had been reserved for this the most enlightened age of the world. Hundreds secured leases in the different localities, and very soon scores of new oil wells were commenced. Derricks sprang up, as it were almost by magic, in the valleys and ravines. The treasure that had so

long remained dormant, and that had existed, as was supposed by practical men, only in the mind of the visionary, had budded forth into reality. The machinery used by the first operators was generally of the most primitive character, and the progress made in sinking a well was necessarily slow and the labor tedious. Yet the wells were generally of moderate depth, operators being content with the supply of oil obtained from the first and second sand-rocks, the average depth being from two hundred to three hundred feet. "Pioneers, oil producers, and speculators," once said Van Winkle, in the *Pittsburg Dispatch*, "believed the industry would be short-lived. Within a few years they thought the deposit would be exhausted. They were inclined to gradually extend the field, having an idea that the surface indications were a safe index. No one thought of drilling except in the valleys along streams. However, as the years passed they grew bolder, and practical developments proved to them that a well located on a high elevation was as likely to strike oil as if located in the valley. It was just a matter of depth, they learned, as the oil rock lies level. The veterans of Oil Creek spoke only of first and second sand-rocks. Their wells were but two hundred or three hundred feet deep, but some Yankee concluded to go for a third sand-rock and found it. Not till fourteen years after Drake's well did any producer dream of another oil rock. The third sand was so fixed in the minds of the

oil men that the announcement made early in August, 1873, that John Galey's fourth sand well on the Scott farm, Butler county, was producing five hundred barrels per day, was not believed. But the Galey gusher was the beginning of a wonderful chapter in the oil business. So from the very beginning oil producers have experienced a succession of surprises and practical truths. The knowledge gained by oil men has cost vast sums of money. Though the Geological Survey compiled much valuable statistical information, practical oil producers declare that otherwise they have derived no benefit from it. Up to the present time producers realize that no man knoweth with any degree of certainty what lies beneath the earth's surface a third or more of a mile. They know that no geologist has ever located a pool, and that the most experienced and intelligent producers complete as many dry wells as the novice." These are a few of the things that add to the romance of the oil regions. Wonderful things have happened in the past; who shall say what added wonders are concealed in the future?

When the search for oil territory commenced, lands near and even remote from the producing centres began to increase in value. Many of the farmers of Venango county who had been able to obtain only a bare living from the rocky fields became suddenly rich beyond their wildest dreams of fortune. The derrick occupied the site of the old homestead;

“orchards were leveled for firewood, or to make room, and the whole face of the country was in a few years so entirely changed as to be scarcely recognizable by its former possessors.”

The pump was the means of bringing oil to the surface in the early days, but after a time nature took the matter in hand and sent the heavy liquid up by her own mysterious forces. The first flowing well, I am informed, was on the McElhenny, or Funk farm, and was known as the Funk well. It was struck in June, 1861, and to the astonishment of all about commenced to flow at the rate of nearly two hundred and fifty barrels a day. It was thought by everybody that it would soon stop, and that the pump would have to be again resorted to. But it kept on for fifteen months, and left Mr. Funk a very rich man.

But before these fifteen months had passed, a new sensation arose in a new quarter. The Phillips well burst forth on the Tarr farm, with a record of two thousand barrels a day. Then the Empire well, close to the Funk, burst forth with its three thousand barrels a day, and the excitement went up to fever heat.

“The owners were bewildered,” says the author of “Derrick and Drill,” in speaking of these famous wells. “It was truly too much of a good thing. The true value of petroleum had not yet been discovered, and the market for it was limited. Foreigners would have nothing to do with the nasty, greasy, combustible thing. Our own

people were divided in opinion. Some thought it a dangerous thing to be handled at arm’s length, while others set it down as a humbug in some way or other of which the community should keep as shy as possible. The supply was already in advance of the demand, and the addition of three thousand barrels a day was monstrous and not to be endured. The price fell to twenty cents a barrel, then to fifteen, then to ten. Coopers would sell barrels for cash only, and refused to take their pay in oil, or in drafts on oil shipments. Finally it was impossible to obtain barrels on any terms, for all the coopers in the surrounding country could not make barrels as fast as the Empire could fill them. The owners were in despair and tried to choke off their confounded well, but it would nor be choked off. They then built a dam around it, and covered the soil with grease, but the oil refused to be dammed and rushed into the stream, making Oil Creek literally worthy its name. For nearly a year it flowed, and then dropped to a pumping well, yielding about a hundred barrels.”

The story of the wonderful Sherman well, which was put down in 1862, contains even more than a grain of romance: It was sunk under great difficulties. J. W. Sherman, who was the original owner, commenced sinking it on the Foster farm, next above the McElhenny, with very limited means. His wife furnished the money. After a while it became necessary to procure an engine, and there was no money to

make the purchase, and two men who were in possession of the desired article, were admitted to a share for the engine. Soon after, when but a few more feet were necessary to reach the supposed deposit of oil, the funds were exhausted. A sixteenth interest was offered for \$100, and refused. Ultimately it was sold for \$60 and an old shot-gun. A horse became necessary during the work, and a share was bartered for the animal. At last, when all the means that could be raised by borrowing or selling were about exhausted, oil was struck, and flowed at the rate of fifteen hundred barrels a day. The flow continued at this rate for several months; when it declined to seven hundred barrels. For twenty-three months the well continued flowing, and then it stopped. For the first year the proprietors made but little, if anything, owing to the low price of oil and the difficulty of getting it to market; but during the second year the market improved and an immense fortune was made. It is estimated that fully \$1,700,000 in cold cash came out of this Sherman well. Other flowing wells struck at about that time or afterwards, were the Davis & Wheelock well, struck in the fall of 1862, and pouring out its fifteen hundred barrels a day; the Densmore No. 1, struck about the same time, flowing six hundred barrels a day; No. 2, of the same name, four hundred barrels per day; and No. 3, about five hundred barrels a day. The Crocker well flowed one thousand barrels daily. A

curious incident is related in connection with the well last named. It was owned by Mr. Fred. Crocker, of Titusville, who thought he could hold the oil in the well for better prices, as well as to save tankage expenses, and he resolved to "plug it" below the second sand-rock. His further object was to control the flow of oil to suit his convenience. In the "plug" was an inch and a half hole to permit the oil to escape into the tubing above; and upon the top of the tubing was placed a stop-cock of like dimensions. The idea was to turn on or off the flow of oil at will, and thus secure a car-load or a boat-load at pleasure. The contrivance worked well for a single day; but shutting down for the night, to remain idle for eight or ten hours was fatal. The following morning, when the stop-cock was opened, little or no oil came forth. The plug was subsequently driven to the bottom of the well, for it could not be withdrawn, and the well became "a pumper" of thirty to fifty barrels per day, and finally, after a brief life, was abandoned.

To these noted flowing wells of the lower McElhenny farm, may be added the "Hibbard," struck in March, 1863, which started off at four hundred barrels; the "American," struck about the same time, with a record of five hundred barrels, and the "Canfield," struck in the summer of 1863, at four hundred barrels. During the fall, winter and spring of 1863, the daily product of the lower McElhenny farm

was between five and six thousand barrels. Oil was sold from this farm during the years just mentioned, as low as ten cents per barrel; the average price being twenty-five cents a barrel, the purchaser furnishing his

own barrels. In the spring of 1864 better prices were realized, oil being sold from the tanks on the farm at five dollars per barrel.

JAMES LANAGAN.

THE PIONEERS OF THE HUDSON RIVER.

THOMAS POWELL.

THE history of Thomas Powell, and that of his immediate ancestors, will forever have an honorable connection with that of the portions of the Empire State in which their lives were spent and their work performed. The family were originally from Wales, coming to the New World while New York was yet in possession of the Dutch, and bringing with them those best gifts of honest thrift and industry that are the possessions of their race. Henry Powell, the father of Thomas, was born in Hempstead, Long Island, in 1741,—an industrious, thriving man, who accumulated a handsome fortune. “In religious belief he was a Quaker, and though disposed to peace and quiet, yet the true love of his country burned fierce and bright in his bosom, and when the war came, his sentiments, feelings, and public conduct were all on the side of his country. This subjected him to the rapacity, persecution, and ill-treatment of the English in possession of the island, which ended in the spoilation of his estate on the one hand, and being incarcerated in the Jersey prison ship and old sugar

house on the other. This was next to death, and while three thousand perished by starvation, sickness and ill-treatment in a hundred ways, it is remarkable that any survived.”* Mr. Powell passed safely through the perils of these prisons, and lived until 1781, when he was drowned in an attempt to save the life of a son, who was with him upon a ferry-boat which upset in a squall, in passing from Shelter Island to the city of New York.

This sudden loss fell severely upon the wife, who was left with nothing upon which she could depend for even bare support, except the courage and willing hearts of her sons, Jacob and Thomas Powell—the one sixteen and the other twelve years of age. But thus tried, they were not found wanting. With that industry and energy that were conspicuous in the lives of the two, they grappled manfully with the problems of life and won a sure and abundant success. Jacob took charge of the farm upon which his

* “An Outline History of Orange County.”
By Samuel W. Eager, Newburgh, 1846-7,
p. 154.

father had been located, and by the aid of Thomas and the counsels of a good mother, so conducted it as to secure a comfortable support for the family until the expiration of the lease.

In 1788 the little family removed to Orange county, and settled near Washingtonville, where encouraging material rewards repaid their industry and energy. In 1791 they removed to Marlborough, Ulster county, opened a small store, erected some lime kilns and engaged successfully in the production and sale of lime. In the spring of 1798, they again removed, this time to New York city, and engaged in mercantile business, but were driven away by yellow fever in the succeeding summer, and took up their temporary residence at Newburgh, then a small but thriving commercial village. The keen-eyed young men saw the chances of the future, and it did not take them long to decide the matter. "A comparatively large commerce with the West made Newburgh the head of its land transit, and the axe was already ringing in the forests, and the rich lands of Orange and Ulster were yielding those fruits which pointed out the ultimate importance of the place." They agreed that Newburgh should become their permanent home; and such it was during the remainder of life to them each. They entered upon a general mercantile and forwarding trade, and subsequently as private bankers, and by their energy, honesty and good business qualities soon

ranked among the leading residents in that portion of the state.

Jacob Powell, who was never married, was called by death out of his useful career, in 1823, leaving not only a fair share of the world's goods to his brother, who was his heir, but also that better possession—a good name. Soon after the death of his brother, Thomas Powell retired from active business, but again resumed it in 1833, from which time until his death in 1856 he was one of the great forces of commercial and mercantile activity in Newburgh and vicinity. He was one of the busy men of his day and generation, and his business genius made itself felt in many directions. "Though not large in person," says Mr. Eager in the work already quoted, "yet possessing a well-knit frame. Few men were more enduring of bodily labor and exercise than he. We question, unless Mr. Powell was sick, if the sun in a quarter of a century saw him in bed. Early rising, united with daily exercise, doubtless contribute to health and longevity, and is worth a shop full of medicine. The business operations of this gentleman seem to grow in magnitude and interest and increase with his years; which, as Newburgh is conditioned, is a happy circumstance to the present welfare and future prosperity of the village. At this day (1846) Mr. Thomas Powell must be considered the great patron of the place, being engaged and using freely his wealth in all the operations demanding the employment and expenditure of vast pe-

cuniary means. Of the truth of this remark, expensive buildings, such as the United States hotel, several very expensive docks, the ferry across the river, several steamers, with large subscriptions to stock in the Branch Railroad, and cotton factory, the Powell bank,—themselves amounting to many hundred thousand dollars, are satisfactory evidence, and will, as they ought, earn for Mr. Powell the good will and gratitude of the community.”

It will be hardly possible in a sketch of this character to name all the enterprises and measures of a business or public character with which Mr. Powell was connected, but a few may be enumerated. He was prominently engaged in the forwarding business, and it was in connection therewith that he built the several vessels that have become famous in the annals of the Hudson. The business, up to about 1830, was conducted by sloops; but when it was demonstrated that steam was the moving force of the future, a new order of things was inaugurated. In 1834 Mr. Powell took a decided step forward when he built the *Highlander*, one of the most substantial and rapid steamers of her time. It was constructed by Lawrence & Sneden at Greenport, and the engine built at the famous old West Point foundry. She carried two boilers, and was queen of the river in speed until the advancing science of steamboating developed boats which could come within her record.

The firm of T. Powell & Co.

was continued until 1844, when it was dissolved, and in the fall of 1845 the firm of Powell, Ramsdell & Co. came into being, the junior partner of which was Mr. Homer Ramsdell, who had married the daughter of Mr. Powell in 1835.* Provided thus with a lieutenant whose industry and executive ability were matched only by his business genius, Mr. Powell began to relieve himself one by one of his many cares; and gradually let more and more of the burdens of business he had carried, fall upon the shoulders of the younger man. From that time until his death, Mr. Powell gave the general conduct of affairs into Mr. Ramsdell's hands, keeping a general oversight however, and ready at all times with counsel, suggestion and advice.

The business was in no sense a loser by this change. The younger man was alive to all the developing chances of a most remarkable era—the era of steam transportation—and in all his ventures he received the advice and encouragement of the elder. That other famous steamer, the *Thomas Powell*, was built by the new firm; her construction being in the same hands that had set the *Highlander* upon the stocks, while her engine was made at the Morgan Iron Works. The *Thomas Powell* cost sixty-five thousand dollars—in a day when money would go much farther

*For a sketch of life and labors of Homer Ramsdell, see MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY, for March, 1889, Vol. IX., p. 597.

in naval construction than it will to-day. This boat was for years one of the greatest among the old Hudson river vessels; sold in 1850 to the Erie railway, which ran her between New York city and Piermont; then for a year upon the line between Newburgh and New York: then to Wilmington, and then for a time plying between Rondout and New York; and finally at rest from her labor and broken up. The ferry-boat *Gold-hunter* was also built by direction of the same firm.

Upon land, as upon water, Mr. Powell was ready to do anything in his power to aid the transportation interests of Newburgh. As early as 1830, when steps were taken for the construction of a railroad that should connect that city with the coal mines of Pennsylvania, and an act was passed by the legislature for the formation of the Hudson & Delaware Railroad Company, Mr. Powell's name may be found in the list of incorporators. He was also appointed one of the commissioners to receive subscriptions for the same. The measure lay in quiet for a time, while negotiations were pending for the location of the Eastern terminus of the Erie railway at Newburgh; but when the decision was made to carry the Erie along the Piermont route, it was again revived. On April 21, 1836, the legislature passed an act "to renew and amend" that of 1830, and Thomas Powell was one of the incorporators named in the new charter. He was also made a commissioner to secure subscriptions under

the new arrangement. He was named first in the list of directors elected on June 15, 1836; and at a subsequent meeting was elected president of the company. The steps that followed are matters of general interest and are thus related in Mr. Rутtenber's able history of Newburgh:* "The financial reverses of 1837 prostrated the enterprise; and although a considerable portion of the section placed under contract in August, 1836, was graded, the work was not continued. However, in 1840, the Erie company having asked the aid of the state, the whole influence of the citizens of Newburgh was exerted to compel that company, as a condition of aid, to construct a branch road to Newburgh. The effort was unsuccessful—the Erie company received a loan of the credit of the state to the amount of \$3,000,000. The progress of the Erie, however, was arrested in 1843; and, the company having again applied to the legislature for aid, the citizens of Newburgh again, and this time with success, pressed the subject of a branch. The legislature passed a law releasing the Erie company from the payment of the \$3,000,000 loan on condition that the company should secure within eighteen months a bona fide subscription of \$3,000,000, and should construct, within six years, a branch to Newburgh. The bill passed, May 14,

*"History of the Town of Newburgh." By E. M. Rутtenber, corresponding member of the New York Historical Society; Newburgh, 1859; p. 148.

1845. The citizens of Newburgh agreed to raise one-third of the amount necessary to construct the branch—the original stock of the Hudson & Delaware company being received in payment at a stipulated rate. The law required that the branch road should be finished by May, 1851; but the directors of the Erie company proposed that if the people of Newburgh would make a further subscription, they would complete the work without delay. The proposition was accepted—the additional subscription was made; and on the 8th of January, 1850, the people of Newburgh celebrated, with appropriate festivities, the opening of the branch road to Chester.” The firm of Thomas Powell & Co. contributed \$25,000 toward the sum required at the hands of the people of Newburgh, while the firm, of which he was the responsible member, contributed during the course of the construction of the branch, nearly the entire cost of the road, which was reimbursed at future dates.

When the Highland Bank was organized in 1834, Mr. Powell was elected a member of its first board of directors. The bank with which his name is more especially associated, however—the Powell Bank—was organized on December 12, 1838, as an associated bank, with a capital of \$135,000. Thomas Powell was one of its directors and its president. In January, 1843, the stockholders with the exception of Thomas Powell and Homer Ramsdell withdrew their stock,

and the institution became an individual bank, with a capital of \$100,000, with Mr. Powell president and Mr. Ramsdell vice-president. These gentlemen subsequently increased the capital to \$175,000. In the fall of 1857, after the death of Mr. Powell, the bank was discontinued and its capital employed in other business channels. In this connection it may be remarked that the organization of the bank was of the greatest importance to the business interests of Newburgh at that time. In common with banking institutions generally, the Newburgh banks were involved in the conditions which grew out of the speculations of the immediately preceding years to the extent that their capital was largely tied up in extensions and their ability to discount rendered inadequate to the requirements of legitimate trade. In this emergency the legislature passed the free banking law enabling individuals to convert their real estate into active capital by its mortgage for bills of circulation. Although associated with others in the matter, it was the readiness with which Mr. Powell engaged in the undertaking, the credit which his name gave to it, and the capital start which he subscribed that brought the bank into existence. The effect of its organization upon the business of Newburgh by the accommodations which it afforded cannot now be appreciated by those who are not familiar with those trying times. It is referred to here as one of the many instances additional to his connection with the construction

of the Erie road, in which Mr. Powell staked his capital and made it felt for the good of Newburgh during the whole of his extended career. He was, in fact, one of the men who laid the foundations of Newburgh's past and present prosperity, and during the whole of his career was at work for the interests of the town. He was active both in mind and body until the day of his death, and was never so content as when urging on or carrying some great enterprise. Although a Whig of the Henry Clay stamp, and a great admirer of that statesman, he took little personal part in politics, and had no ambition for office holding. He was a wonderful combination of good qualities—genial, approachable; generous in that way which kept the left hand from knowing what the right was doing; just, upright and ready to respect the rights of others; fearless and resolute in the expression of his opinion, never concealing his disapprobation of what he deemed to be wrong and his appreciation of what he thought was right; cheerful, never dismayed by defeat, nor turned aside from the desired object by disappointment, and never losing that buoyant and exuberant spirit which was one of his chief characteristics. As has been said by one who knew him well: "Thomas Powell was a remarkable man—remarkable for the age in which he lived—for the physical strength and mental faculties which sustained him

till his death; for his absence of ostentation in the midst of wealth, and for giving up the love of money and desire for accumulation when most men become most grasping and penurious. Incidents illustrative of his character will be related by father to son while our town remains, for his name is identified with improvements which must ever contribute to its prosperity. He always exemplified a love of political equality in his intercourse with society, and made himself a living example of what our free institutions have done for man. Those who knew him well can testify how much he appreciated refinement and true excellence, how gentle was his disposition, and how liberal and charitable his views."

For some time before his death Mr. Powell had been gradually declining, and as he was then in his eighty-eighth year, few looked for any chance of returning strength. He grew weaker and weaker, and at last, on Monday the 12th of May, 1856, he passed peacefully away. The words of sympathy that came from all sides; the expressions of the press, of various organizations, and of the people of Newburgh in formal meeting assembled, gave full evidence to the mourning children and friends that of all the possessions left by Thomas Powell the best was that great heritage, an honorable and honored name.

A CHAPTER OF WAR HISTORY: WHEN AND HOW THE
LARGEST CANNON WERE MADE.

ONE midsummer day, not long past, while spending an hour with Mr. Orlando Metcalf, under the shade of trees embowering his home in Colorado Springs; with fragrant flowers and wandering vines upon every hand, and the tranquil mountains, culminating in Pike's Peak, embanking the western horizon—a vision of peace, from which one is awakened, as out of a beautiful dream, when the lifted eye beholds the lofty summit upon which our once imperiled flag now floats—the subject of the war of 1861 came up, the conversation turning upon the old Fort Pitt cannon foundry of Pittsburgh, and the part it played in the tragedy enacted “with a kingdom for a stage.”

The career of the late Charles Knap is a brilliant page to read in the history of that struggle for national life, The Loyal Legion placed upon his breast its badge of honor, in recognition of his distinguished patriotism, evidenced by eminent and incalculable services as a citizen and a business man.

Up to 1858, Mr. Knap was engaged in the manufacture of cotton and sugar refining machinery. This necessitated many visits to the South, resulting in

extensive acquaintance and forming strong friendships. One of his particular friends was Bishop Leonidas Polk, afterwards lieutenant-general in the Confederate service. In this way Mr. Knap became informed concerning the deep-seated hostility of the South—how wide-spread and implacable it was. He therefore predicted a long and bitter struggle—once “opened the purple testament of bleeding war.”

While thus engaged in supplying the South with the means of peaceful occupation, a fire occurred in 1858 which totally destroyed his factory. In the light of subsequent history this event now appears like an act of Providence. Thenceforth plowshares were to be turned into cannon, and pruning hooks into sabres.

Mr. Knap, believing the war to be inevitable, apprised the Washington authorities of his well-founded apprehensions, and with the semi-official approbation of the government determined to build the “Fort Pitt Cannon Foundry” upon the site of the factory destroyed by fire. This he commenced to do before the embers were wholly burned to ashes.

During the war the writer stood upon the summit of Little Kennesaw moun-

tain, in Georgia, for the instant headquarters of Gen. Sherman. It was during the march to Atlanta. While reporting to the general, upon official business, that brilliant commander said to me:

“Do you see that stump?” pointing to a shattered remnant of a tree, about ten inches in diameter.

“The cannon ball,” continued Gen. Sherman, “that cut down that tree killed Gen. Polk, who was standing by it, at the same instant.”

It is not improbable that Charles Knap manufactured the identical cannon that thus killed his personal friend. “War is cruelty; you cannot refine it,” is a saying of Gen. Sherman himself, and this instance affords another illustration of its painful truthfulness.

Two of the four nephews of Charles Knap, William and Orlando Metcalf, were also conspicuous in the energetic management of the foundry.

I have on my table an old scrap-book which Mr. Orlando Metcalf has industriously compiled since the war. In it I find an article bearing upon the history of this cannon foundry which should have place in the pages of the *MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY*. These interesting facts were collected by a special correspondent of the *New York Herald*, and were published in that paper in 1867. The reader will bear this date in mind—that more than twenty years have passed since their first and only appearance in press—save this reprint in these columns.

“On a triangular plain, bordered on two sides by the Monongahela and Allegheny rivers (which here forms the Ohio) lies the city of Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, 357 miles west of Philadelphia. Back of the rivers, as well as on the remaining side of the triangle, are high mountain ridges (spurs of the Allegheny range), which enclose the city, basin like, towering up like huge fortifications seemingly erected for its protection. The city is built on the site of old Fort Duquesne, afterwards called Fort Pitt, from which latter appellation Pittsburg takes its name. Every schoolboy is conversant with the history of this fortification and with the defeat of Gen. Braddock, where George Washington first distinguished himself, the site of which is in this vicinity. The old fort—or rather the ruins of it—was standing until about three years since; but the constant increase of population and the rapid spread of the city have caused its removal as a necessity. The western portion of Pennsylvania abounds in iron and coal to an extent that is almost beyond belief. The mountainous ridges surrounding Pittsburg are in fact underlaid with immense beds of the latter, and Western Pennsylvania contains in the aggregate enough coal to turn all the machinery ever constructed. It is more easily procurable here, too, than in any other portion of the world. In England, where the ‘black diamonds’ lie at a distance of from five hundred to two thousand feet below the surface of the earth, an im-

mense outlay is required to bring up the hidden treasure; but here so plentiful is the material, and so easily is it reached, that the very best coal used for generating steam is delivered in the city at from 75 cents to a \$1.50 per ton. Directly across from Pittsburg the coal lies two hundred feet high in the hills, and is sent down in cars to mills and foundries located along their base at the least possible cost. It is not at all remarkable, then, that the Scotch-Irish settlers who located their colonies in Pittsburg and its vicinity, soon discovered the advantages that were to be realized by bringing to light the hidden wealth by which they were surrounded, and consequently they were not slow to profit by them.

“Pittsburg, from the very nature of its location, became an iron manufacturing city. It is rich now, and its prospective wealth is only limited by the energy that may be used to develop the vast mineral resources that lie contiguous to it on every hand.

“Among the many foundries and iron works of which the city boasts, the largest (in fact the most complete in the world for the purposes for which it is used) is the Fort Pitt Foundry, situated on the northeast side of the city, fronting on the Alleghany river, and having other fronts on Etna and O’Hara streets. This institution comprises an entire square, and is about four hundred feet on each side. It was established about forty years ago by Charles Knap, of Washington city, and has been for years past devoted almost

exclusively to the casting of heavy ordnance for the United States government. The business is now being conducted under a lease by Mr. Knap’s four nephews, William and Orlando Metcalf, and Joseph M. and James G. Knap, all young men of exceeding enterprise and excellent business qualifications. During the war the capacity of the establishment was fully tested, as will appear from the following summary of the work turned out here, in compliance with the orders of the government. From July 1, 1861, to July 1, 1865, there were cast at the Fort Pitt foundry 1,392 army guns and 1,117 navy guns, of calibre varying from twenty to four and a half inches bore. The total gross weight of iron used in the construction of these pieces of ordnance was 50,735,455 pounds, and the total weight of guns sold to the government between the dates above given was 26,531,018 pounds. In this enumeration is included two twenty-inch columbiads, 89 fifteen-inch Rodman guns, and 89 fifteen-inch navy guns; 555 ten-inch Rodman guns and 627 nine-inch navy guns. There have also been cast here on government order three twenty-inch guns—one army and one navy, the only ones in the world—one of which is now at Fort Hamilton, New York, and is the largest piece of army ordnance in existence. Two twenty-inch pieces intended to be put on board the new monitor Puritan, are now being finished up at this foundry. They are of huge dimensions, and took about two weeks

each in casting and cooling. Each weighed in the rough 170,000 pounds, and will weigh, when fully completed and ready for delivery, 116,000 pounds. The rough length in mould was 300 inches, and when finished will be $243\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The maximum diameter in the rough was 66 inches; when finished, 64 inches. Minimum diameter in the rough, 48 inches; when finished, 34 inches. The diameter of the bore is 20 inches, and the depth of bore 210 inches. The solid shot used in these pieces will weigh 1,050 pounds each; and to propel this massive projectile will require at each discharge one hundred pounds of powder. These monsters of destruction are, beyond all question, the largest known in any navy. They are somewhat lighter than the army piece at Fort Hamilton, however, which may be set down as larger than any cannon in the world. The great fifteen-inch gun at Fortress Monroe (by the way, it was cast at Fort Pitt), which was, when put up, considered a grand triumph in the way of heavy ordnance, would appear of comparatively insignificant proportions if placed alongside of these giant fire belchers.

“The casting of heavy ordnance requires the nicest calculation and the most extreme care, else labor will be thrown away, and the profit and loss account of the manufacturer most materially increased. The government inspection is scrupulously rigid, and if there be found in the casting the least flaw, no matter if its extent be only

sufficient to admit a pin's head, the pieces will be rejected as unfit for service. These rejected pieces can be, however, broken up and melted over into other ordnance. The following is the process pursued in the manufacture of heavy guns:—The establishment is divided into three compartments, viz.: The foundry proper, the pattern shop and the boring mill. The wooden pattern of the piece to be cast, having been made in halves, each half is laid down on a platform, the oval side upward. A ‘flask’ or covering for the protection of the mould, is then placed over this pattern, leaving about three inches between itself and the pattern. This space is then filled with the moulding sand which is rammed down tightly and receives the impress of the pattern on every part of its interior surface. The pattern, be it remembered, is simply the gun in wood, being in size, shape, etc., exactly what the piece is expected to be when lifted from the pit. When the mould has been finished and has remained sufficiently long to receive the impression of the pattern thoroughly in every part, its halves are put into a massive oven, where they are subjected to a baking process that renders them sufficiently hard to become receptacles for the molten iron of which the gun is to be made. Then they are bolted and pasted together by a preparation of cement and lowered into a pit constructed for the purpose. This pit is bricked all around on the inside, and has grate bars at the bottom, on which a fire can be built.

Iron flues on each side of it, reaching to and flush with the surface of the ground, are also put in, so that a draught of air will enable the fire to burn well when lighted. Fuel is then put on the grate bars. What is termed the 'core barrel' is then introduced into the mould that now stands perpendicularly in the pit (in which position the gun is always cast). This core barrel is a hollow tubing, presenting the appearance almost of a fluted column, and is, before being put into the pit, wrapped around evenly with hempen cord and covered with paste. It forms the bore of the gun, and to insure the proper casting of the piece it must be adjusted in the exact centre of the mould. Inside of this is now placed a small hydrant pipe, which extends to within one inch of the bottom of the barrel; through this pipe cold water is introduced, which, traversing the inch of space at the bottom, rises gradually and fills the barrel, whence it is led off by a surface pipe. The use of the water will become apparent. Meanwhile the molten iron of which the gun is to be made is seething in the melting furnace. From this furnace to the casting pit runners or leaders are now laid, and, everything being in readiness, the furnace is tapped, when away goes the molten, lava-like material, following the course of the runners into the mould, standing perpendicularly in the pit. The mould being filled, the furnace tap is now closed and the influx of iron stopped. The fuel which had

been previously placed around the inner side of the pit is now speedily ignited by dropping into it some molten iron, and the pit is then entirely covered over with segments of sheet iron. The cold water is now continually rushing through the hydrant tube and circulating around the inside of the core barrel until it reaches the surface, when it is led off by a drain as above described. This has the tendency to cool the inside of the gun first, while the fire above the grate bars keeps the outer portion of it still heated. Herein consists the great improvement made in casting ordnance, for which Gen. T. J. Rodman obtained a patent, and ordnance cooled in this manner are known as 'Rodman guns.' That portion of the iron which is first cooled becomes the hardest part of the piece, and by the introduction and constant circulation of water on the Rodman principle, the inside of the ordnance is solidified and made much stronger than the outer surface. Formerly, when by natural action the guns cooled from the outer surface inward, the spongy iron—that less able to resist the pressure of a discharge—was invariably on the inside, and in close contact with the propelling power; but, by the Rodman system the strongest and hardest part of the piece is its inner surface, thus lessening the chances of explosion, if not in fact obviating them entirely. The cooling process of a gun of ten-inch calibre occupies about five days while that of a twenty-inch piece takes up about two

weeks time. Whenever the water comes up to the surface drain of a temperature exactly equal to that it possessed on entering the core barrel, the gun is known to be sufficiently cooled for removal.

“An immense crane, near which the casting pit is always dug, is then brought into requisition to effect this removal. This huge piece of mechanism has an arm of Brobdignagian proportions outstretched over the pit, and from it are dangling enormous chains. These are firmly attached to the piece in the pit, and the power of the steam engine which sets the crane in motion is applied, when up comes the monstrous cannon, apparently as easily as a fond mother would lift her infant from the cradle. A strongly built platform car stands ready to receive the huge load from the iron arm of the crane and on this it is safely deposited and taken to a massive lathe in the boring department, where it is bored and receives its finishing touches. When taken from the pit, the outside of the piece is rough and bark-like in appearance, and it is placed in the lathe to have this rough surface removed, which process is performed by the use of turning tools somewhat after the manner of wood turning. The piece has now to be shortened to its required length; for, in the casting it is made longer than it is intended to be when finished. This extra length is added in the mould for the purpose of making sure that the muzzle of the gun will be of the hardest and most solid character. The

superfluous spongy piece, which is removed by a stationery tool, against which the gun revolves, is called the ‘sinking head,’ and varies from three and a half to four feet in length. When this is taken off it can be remelted for another casting. Although the core barrel occupies the cylindrical space or hollow of the gun when in the mould, it is much smaller in diameter than the bore of the piece is intended to be, and consequently that diameter must be increased to the size called for by the calibre of the gun. To effect this a boring rod is introduced at the muzzle, after the ‘sinking head’ has been removed, and while the outer surface of the piece is being turned and smoothed, this augur-like instrument is gradually working its way into the bowels of the monster, giving its bore the necessary dimensions. When this is done the inner surface is polished, and the gun is fit for the ‘proving’ process. This is gone through with at the proving ground, distant two miles from the city, where the resisting force of the piece is put to the severest test. A charge of ammunition, much greater than the gun will ever be loaded with when called into active service, is put into it and fired. One of two things must now take place—either the gun stands the discharge uninjured, or else,—well, in any other event, that gun it would be rather hard to locate! The proof firing having been satisfactory, the government official again inspects it—it has been once inspected after coming from the foundry—and it be-

comes the property of the United States. The time generally occupied, from the casting of a piece to its delivery to the government, is, for a ten-inch gun, six weeks; for a fifteen-inch columbiad, six weeks, and for a twenty-inch monster, nine weeks.

“The capacity of the Fort Pitt foundry may be judged from the following statement: The number of hands employed in all its departments is in the neighborhood of two hundred. Six air furnaces are used in melting the iron, the united melting capacity of which is over two hundred tons. Thirty mammoth lathes are employed in turning and boring the pieces, all of which lathes receive their motive power from a double engine having two eighteen-inch cylinders and two feet stroke of piston. This engine, by the way, is a great curiosity in itself to any one versed in mechanism. Each of the huge cranes, eight in number, has a separate engine attached to it, and is capable of lifting forty tons weight. The pits for casting are fifteen in number, and each one is capable of receiving the mould of a large columbiad. The ground floor of the foundry, as well as the yard, is gridironed all over

with railway tracks, for the purpose of conveying the guns in any direction. Everything, in fine, is in the most complete order for the manufacture of ordnance, and the establishment can turn out as many Rodman or Dahlgren pieces—the only kind it casts—as the government may require, at the shortest notice. A lot of fifteen-inch army guns is now being finished up—the first of a new order received from the United States government not long since. Of course there is not so much hurry and drive in this establishment now as there was during the war, though the action of the government in determining on an increased fortification of the coast affords abundant employment for the resources of the foundry, which is the only one where twenty-inch guns can be cast. Besides casting guns, however, the proprietors are engaged in supplying the government with shells and cannon balls. The shells are cast in separate moulds; but the balls are cast in clusters, and afterwards separated by being turned apart, after which they are polished with emery and painted.”

HENRY DUDLEY TEETOR.

AN EARLY KANSAS PIONEER.

PROBABLY no one in Kansas, whether a pioneer or a recent comer, deserves a more prominent or a more honorable place in the history of this State than does Col. D. R. Anthony. Coming to Kansas Territory as early as 1854, it

may be truthfully said that his life work has been devoted to every cause that has had for its object the material advancement of the young commonwealth. Having been an active and oftentimes central figure in the stirring



W. H. WOODS, DEL.

Yours Respectfully
D R Anthony

Presented by the Times.
Leavenworth, Kans

events that followed the passage of the act of Congress of the 30th of May, 1854, organizing the territories of Nebraska and Kansas, no one is better qualified to testify to the fact that the latter territory gained her place in the starry firmament of states, through vast and varied difficulties, than is Col. Anthony. And that Kansas became at once a star of the first magnitude, and that the halo of light surrounding this beautiful orb has grown and continues to grow in brilliancy, as the years come and go, is due, in a very marked degree, to the commendable deeds of the pioneer settlers who braved so many privations and dangers in their persistent and at last successful endeavors to save Kansas from the blighting curse of slavery and the rule of border ruffians. Well may the survivors of our territorial era sing the song of our Kansas poet:*

Into loam the sand is melted,
 And the blue grass takes the loam,
 Round about the prairie home;
 And the locomotives roam
 Over landscapes iron belted.

Cities grow where stunted birches
 Hugged the shallow water line,
 And the deepening rivers twine
 Past the factory and mine,
 Orchard slopes and schools and churches.

Deeper grows the soil and truer,
 More and more the prairie teems
 With a fruitage as of dreams;

* Hon. Eugene F. Ware, of Fort Scott, who has written many poems on Kansas subjects over the *nom de plume* of "Ironquill." A volume of his poems has recently been published bearing this quaint title.

Clearer, deeper, flow the streams,
 Blander grows the sky and bluer.

We have made the State of Kansas,
 And to-day she stands complete—
 First in Freedom, first in wheat;
 And her future years will meet
 Ripened hopes and richer stanzas.

Daniel Read Anthony was born on the 22d of August, 1824, at South Adams, Massachusetts, and is therefore now sixty-five years old. But time has dealt kindly with him, and at this ripe age he is still in the full vigor of his mature manhood. He comes of the old Quaker stock, and traces his lineage directly to John Anthony, who immigrated to America from Wales, landing at Dartmouth, Massachusetts, in 1646. Col. Anthony is one of seven children, two of whom were boys and five girls, among the latter being Susan B. Anthony, now known to the world as the leader of the Woman Suffrage movement in the United States, who has devoted her life and more than one fortune to the cause of the moral, social and political elevation and improvement of the women of America.

Col. Anthony also comes of the old Revolutionary stock. Daniel Read, of South Adams, Massachusetts, a grandparent of his, and for whom he was named, was in the army of the Revolution, and "served in the division which, under Arnold, made the wonderful march through the New England states to Quebec, in midwinter, suffering untold hardships. At the time Gen. Burgoyne made the raid upon

Bennington, Vermont, Gen. Stark sent a messenger to notify the people and call for aid. The messenger arrived in South Adams on Sunday during church service, rode up to the Baptist church, and made known the object of his visit. The minister stopped in the middle of his sermon and called upon all who would volunteer to defend their country to form in line in the aisles of the church. Daniel Read, who was attending the services that Sunday, although not a member of the Baptist church, volunteered, with others, went to Bennington, and fought and helped to defeat the invader."

With this incident in the mind of the reader, it is easy to understand the animating impulse that led Col. Anthony to cast his lot with the first party of Free State settlers that left Boston and Worcester on the 17th and 18th of July, 1854, bound for Kansas territory. Even at that time, so soon after the organization of the territory, the excitement in the North, and especially in the New England states, occasioned by the efforts of the slave power to establish slavery in Kansas, was becoming intense. A meeting* of "squatters" had been held at a point three miles west of Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, as early as the 10th of June following the organi-

zation of the territory, at which it had been declared, that "we will afford protection to no Abolitionist as a settler of Kansas territory," and that "we recognize the institution of slavery as already existing in the territory."

Col. Anthony, then in the thirtieth year of his age, was ferociously hostile to the institution of slavery. His keen sense of justice, that has always been one of his chief characteristics, led him early to espouse the cause of freedom, and to urge a relentless war upon slavery, while his perceptive and reflective faculties, being of more than ordinary keenness and depth, impelled him to do battle in the interest of what he conceived to be right and proper, with relation to the establishment of slavery in the new territories, at the first opportunity that presented itself to him. The reader will not be surprised therefore to find the name of D. R. Anthony enrolled among the Free State settlers who came to Kansas with the first colony sent out by the New England Emigrant Aid Society, under the direction of Mr. Eli Thayer, of Worcester, Massachusetts, who was the leading spirit in organizing the society.

This colony of pioneer Emigrant Aid settlers reached the mouth of the Kansas river on the 28th of July, 1854, and held a meeting at which it was resolved, in effect, that each member of the colony should refrain from allowing his sentiments on the subject of slavery becoming known to the pro-slavery settlers then in the territory of

* Lewis Burnes, of Weston, Missouri, was president of that meeting, and J. H. R. Cundiff, of St. Joseph, Missouri, was secretary. The other component parts of the meeting were also Missourians or Southerners.

Kansas.* Or, in other words, that the efforts of the Pro-slaveryites to establish their pet institution in the territory should be allowed to pass unnoticed, apparently, by the colonists, who were to pursue the even tenor of their respective ways, saying nothing and doing nothing in open opposition to the hostile party. To this resolution Mr. J. C. Archibald, of Massachusetts, Dr. John Doy, of New York, Mr. Samuel F. Tappan, of Massachusetts,† and Mr. D. R. Anthony excepted and withdrew from the meeting, having first declared that they had come to the territory to assist in establishing a Free State; that they hated slavery and the slave power; and that they did not propose, now that they were entering a field upon which this contest was to be fought to a finish, to show the white feather by keeping their mouths

closed whenever the subject of slavery was mentioned. And each of them had the courage to support his utterance at the point of a dagger or at the muzzle of a gun, if need be—an assertion that will become more and more apparent as the reader follows this sketch to its close.

Having rested a day at the mouth of the Kansas river, the march into the interior began on the 29th of July; and on the morning of the 31st the pioneer settlers pitched their tents at a point about seven miles west of the mouth of the Wakarusa, where the historic city of Lawrence now stands. And, on the following day, the 1st of August, a meeting was held at this camping-ground, at which it was voted to “stop here.” Thus Col. Anthony became one of the founders of the city of Lawrence, there being at that time but one

* Among the very earliest settlements made in the territory was that of Wyandotte, at the point where the Kansas river empties into the Missouri, and immediately opposite the present Kansas City, Missouri. The convention that adopted the present constitution of the State of Kansas was held at Wyandotte. But the historic town is now a thing of the past, the name having been changed some time ago to Kansas City. This change was urged by “town lot boomers” principally who hoped to attract the attention of the unsuspecting speculator who might otherwise have gone across the river to Kansas City, Missouri. It was a clear case of the tail attempting to wag the dog.

† Each of these gentlemen afterwards became famous Kansas characters. Tappan was a news-

paper correspondent and a fighter who knew no fear. He was clerk of the first territorial legislature, and for many years thereafter was prominent in Kansas affairs, a co-worker and companion of United States Senators Ingalls and Plumb, John Brown, of Osawatomia, etc. Archibald was a builder and a prominent Free State character. Dr. John Doy probably had a more exciting and checkered career than either of the other two. For assisting slaves to escape into Nebraska he was sentenced to five years imprisonment in the penitentiary, in 1859, but he was rescued from the jail in St. Joseph, where he was confined, and taken to Lawrence where a public reception was tendered him. His “Narrative of John Doy,” published in 1860 by a New York firm, is intensely interesting. Archibald and Doy are dead.

small log house on the present site of the city.*

In the fall of that year, after having familiarized himself somewhat with the condition of the settlers then in the territory—both the free-state and pro-slavery settlers—Col. Anthony returned to his home in Rochester, New York.

During his stay in Lawrence, or rather Wakaroosa, as it was then called, he had written several letters to a Rochester paper concerning affairs in the territory. These letters were signed "D. R. A.," that there might be no mistake as to their authorship, and in them the writer urged upon the people of the North that if Kansas was to be organized as a free state, there must be a large emigration from that section at once. There was no room left by the writer for misconstruing the tenor of

* This settlement was first named "Waukarusa," after the stream bearing that name, which was also sometimes spelled "Wakarosa." The *Herald of Freedom* was first dated, "Waukarusa, Kansas Territory, October 21, 1854." Richardson's "Beyond the Mississippi," gives this legend of the origin and significance of the name: "Many moons ago, before white men ever saw these prairies, there was a great freshet. While the waters were rising, an Indian girl on horseback came to the stream and began fording it. Her steed went in deeper and deeper, until, as she sat upon him, she was half immersed. Surprised and affrighted, she ejaculated 'Wau-ka-ru-sa!' [hip deep.] She finally crossed in safety, but after the invariable custom of the savages, they commemorated her adventure by re-naming both her and the stream, 'Waukarusa.'" With all due respect to Mr. Richardson's legend, the word "Wakarusa" is the Indian name for a river of milkweeds.

these letters. He said plainly that in order to establish the institution of slavery in the territory all laws, both of God and man, would be trampled upon by the border ruffians, who were already present in considerable numbers, and who were aided and encouraged in their lawlessness by the more "respectable" element of the slave power. These letters were copied in the *New York Tribune*, and other eastern journals, and freely commented upon editorially. So that when Col. Anthony arrived at his home in New York he found the press of that state more than ever occupied in discussing the subject of slavery in the territories. And, although these particular letters of his had not called this subject into being, yet they had been instruments in furthering the discussion that eventually resulted in the admission of Kansas into the Union as a free state, and in precipitating the greatest civil war of modern times.

Already there was much talk of organizing a new political party "pledged simply and only to the policy of prohibiting the existence of slavery in all the territories of the United States." Small meetings for this purpose were held late in the fall of 1854, which resulted in the birth of the Republican party, "organized on the one great principle of resisting the spread of slavery." Col. Anthony was in at its birth, and from that hour to the present his faith in the principles of that party has never for one moment faltered. When the call was issued for a

Republican state convention, to be held at Saratoga, on the 4th of July, 1855—the first ever held in the state of New York—his name appeared as a signer from Monroe county. In every National and state campaign in which the Republican party has had an interest, since the hour of its birth, he has been one of its most devoted followers and supporters—in conventions, on the stump, and through the press. Figuratively speaking, Kansas and the Republican party have been his two idols—his twin stars, to which he pinned his faith when they first came into being, thirty-five years ago. And their lustre has never once grown dim in his sight.

In June 1857, Col. Anthony, having disposed of his business in Rochester, returned to Kansas and located at Leavenworth,* which town had at that time begun to attract public attention; a fact due, in a great measure, to the establishment of the Fort Leavenworth military reservation immediately north of the town site, and which was occupied by the government, then, as now, as a military post and depot of sup-

plies. Missouri river boats made regular trips to this point from St. Louis, and many Kansas immigrants landed at Leavenworth.

This Kansas immigrant, by the way, was a very promiscuous individual. He came from the cold regions of the North; from "the stern east near the ocean's unrest;" from the land of sunny savannahs; and from the then resplendent West. And his ideas were born of the locality whence he came. It was a heterogeneous gathering that was to be met with in this border town of Leavenworth, containing, as it did, some of the very worst as well as some of the best and noblest types of American manhood. Here one could have met the finished scholar fresh from his collegiate studies, or the sturdy and unlettered day-laborer, bent upon gaining a livelihood in the new territory. The merchant and the mechanic, the professional and the unprofessional man, and he who was merely a quiet "looker-on in Vienna"—all were gathered together here in this young metropolis. There were those of every political as well as those of every religious faith. And of the former not a few were pronounced in their belief in the institution of slavery, and were free to declare their determination to establish this institution in Kansas, even though its soil should be baptized in blood through their efforts.

On the 27th of June, 1857, Hon. Abraham Lincoln, in a speech delivered at Springfield, Illinois, which was largely devoted to Kansas, said among

*As early as 1827 United States troops were stationed at this point. It was called a cantonment until February 8, 1832, when it became a fort. The name of the fort comes from the colonel of the Third regiment, United States troops—Henry H. Leavenworth—who selected the site and began erecting barracks in July, 1827. Fort Leavenworth is the headquarters of the Department of the Missouri, and now has schools for military purposes, and the largest military prison in the United States, erected a few years ago.

other things: "Nothing but bold, wicked despotism has ruled or reigned there since it was organized as a territory. . . . Look, Douglas, and see yonder people fleeing—see the full columns of brave men stopped—see the press and type flying into the river—and tell me what does this! It is your Squatter Sovereignty! Let slavery spread over the territories, and God will sweep us with a brush of fire from this solid globe."

Col. Anthony found these utterances of Mr. Lincoln to fairly represent the condition of affairs in the territory when he arrived at his destination. Leavenworth was a typical Missouri river town, with little law or order—where disputes were often settled by force of arms—characteristics that have clung to it, to some extent, even unto this day. Since 1854 a civil war had been waged in Kansas, and the end was yet uncertain. The free-state men and the pro-slaveryites were as much arrayed against each other as were the contending armies of the North and South some years later. There was no middle ground upon which even the very timid might stand. He who was not for the establishment of slavery in the territory was squarely against it.

Col. Anthony became known at once as a radical and uncompromising free-state man—one who had "that firmness of spirit and swell of soul which meets danger without fear," and commonly known as courage—a courage that would sustain him in any emergency. He was a very conspicuous

figure in all of the most prominent affairs of the territory, political or otherwise. Without assuming the leadership, he was recognized as a leader among the free-state men, and, although there were those of his own party who were personally opposed to him, when he announced his determination to accomplish an object he always had a strong and willing following.

Under his leadership the printing material used by a pro-slavery paper in Leavenworth was thrown through a second-story window into the street below, and when some one proposed to raise the window, he said, "No, let sash and all go!" And it all went, even to the stove in which was a roaring fire at the time. Much of the material was carried away, piece by piece, as souvenirs of the great event.

As mayor of Leavenworth, houses of ill-repute in which thieves, cut-throats and murderers were wont to congregate, were burned to the ground, the inmates being given a brief warning to vacate. By this means the utterly vicious and depraved were scattered, and the moral atmosphere of the town purified. The exigencies of the times demanded radical measures, and Col. Anthony did not believe in being overly fastidious in dealing with the common enemy. He was always equal to the emergency, going upon the principle that the ends justified the means.

On the 13th of January, 1859, a colored man named Charles Fisher, an

alleged fugitive slave, was kidnapped in Leavenworth by Deputy United States Marshal Frank Campbell and an assistant, who broke into the Planters' House over the opposition of Mr. Leonard T. Smith, its proprietor. On the 24th of that month, this alleged fugitive slave was rescued by free-state men at Leavenworth, "led by D. R. Anthony." Lewis Ledyard Weld, Champion Vaughan, George W. Gardiner, David H. Bailey, Robert W. Hamer, and other Republicans, were engaged in giving Fisher his freedom. In Leavenworth Fisher was a barber. In Mississippi, after the war, he became a state senator.

On the 28th of January, 1861, the Leavenworth *Daily Conservative* made its first appearance with D. R. Anthony as publisher, and D. W. Wilder as editor. The day following a telegram was received in Leavenworth, dated at Washington, D. C., and signed by Marcus J. Parrott, the territorial delegate in Congress from Kansas, announcing that President Buchanan had signed the bill admitting Kansas into the Union. The *Conservative* issued an "extra" containing this joyful announcement, which Col. Anthony carried on horseback to Lawrence, thirty-five miles distant, where the territorial legislature was then in session.* The policy of the *Conservative* may be pretty well under-

stood after reading the resolutions following, which were introduced by Col. Anthony as secretary of the Republican Congressional convention, composed of representatives from the entire state (there being but one member of Congress from Kansas at that time), held in Topeka on the 22d of

dent of the society, referred to this event in the following words: "It was my privilege, twenty-five years ago to-day, to carry on horseback from Leavenworth to the territorial legislature then in session at Lawrence, intelligence of the admission of Kansas into the Union. . .

. . . I came to Kansas because, under the teachings of Garrison, Sumner, Gerritt Smith and Thad. Stevens, I had been brought up to detest the methods by which the political slave power of the country was seeking to rob this free government of its birth-right of free territory, and to blast it with the withering curse of human slavery. Through the territorial period I was a witness of the struggle which culminated in the triumph of free principles in the admission of Kansas under the Wyandotte Constitution [adopted on the 29th of July, 1859], on the 29th of January, 1861. Simultaneous with the occurrence of that event, with Gen. Web. Wilder and others, I had succeeded in establishing a free state newspaper at Leavenworth—The *Leavenworth Daily Conservative*. It was an 'extra' of that paper that I was enabled to take with me to Lawrence to announce to the territorial legislature the signing of the act of admission. Everywhere in the territory the rejoicing of the people was intense. At Leavenworth the old cannon, Kickapoo, (now one of the relics in the rooms of the State Historical Society) was placed upon the esplanade and loaded with copies of the Bogus Statutes [see foot-note p. 411, MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY, February, 1889], and they were fired across the river into Missouri, or as far in that direction as gunpowder would carry them."

*The Kansas State Historical Society celebrated the Kansas Quarter-Centennial at the Grand Opera House in Topeka, on the 29th of January, 1886, at which Col. Anthony, presi-

May, 1861, and which were adopted by that convention:

Resolved, By the Republican party of the state of Kansas, in convention assembled: That the existing condition of national affairs demands the emphatic and unmistakable expression of the convictions of the people of the state, and that Kansas allies herself with the uprising Union hosts of the North to uphold the policy of the Administration.

Resolved: That the grave responsibilities of this hour could not have been safely postponed, and that they have not arrived too soon; and that in the present war between government and anarchy the mildest compromise is treason against humanity.

Resolved, That we spurn as specious sophistries all suggestions for the peaceful dismemberment of the Union, and pledge our fortunes and our honor to its maintenance.

On the 3d of June, 1861, a Rebel flag was captured at Iatan, Missouri, by members of the First Kansas Regiment, and taken to Leavenworth. It was the first Rebel flag captured, and created intense excitement, many prominent men opposing the act as illegal. The *Conservative* heartily endorsed the act of the soldiers. On the 13th of that month an article appeared in the *Leavenworth Herald* on the Iatan flag matter, in which the writer charged "D. R. Anthony of the *Conservative*" with falsehood, and otherwise abused him. So vicious had been the attack of the *Herald* that it was deemed by

Col. Anthony and some of his warmest friends absolutely necessary that a retraction be demanded, especially in view of the fact that the Free State men were being continually denounced as cowards by the *Herald* and its Proslavery supporters. That morning R. C. Satterlee of the *Herald* was met on the public street in Leavenworth by Col. Anthony and Mr. Robert W. Hamer. Being asked if he was the author of the article referred to, Mr. Satterlee said he was. Col. Anthony demanded a retraction upon the ground that the statements therein were false. Mr. Satterlee refused to retract, but stepping back drew a revolver and fired at Col. Anthony, without effect. The Colonel also drew his revolver and proved a better marksman than his antagonist, for Mr. Satterlee fell mortally wounded and died in twenty minutes. Six or seven shots were fired by the two men, one of which seriously wounded Col. Anthony's friend Hamer. A preliminary hearing was had, and Col. Anthony was bound over to the July term of the District Court. His counsel asked the prosecution to make the amount of the bond as great as they saw proper, and the amount fixed upon was the largest ever before demanded in Kansas from any one charged with the commission of any crime. But the bond was promptly furnished. When court convened in July the prosecution used every legal means to convict the defendant. After patiently listening to the evidence and the argument

of counsel for five days, the jury, after a brief consultation, returned a verdict of not guilty.

Col. Anthony continued as publisher of *The Daily Conservative* until the 8th of November, 1861, when he sold the paper, having been, meantime, appointed postmaster of Leavenworth by President Lincoln on the 1st of May, mustered in as Major of the Seventh Regiment Kansas Volunteer Cavalry on the 29th of September, appointed Provost Marshal of Kansas City, Missouri, on the 8th of October, and promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel on the 29th of October. A few days later, on the 11th of November, he found himself in command at the battle of the Little Blue, where he achieved a signal victory over a force of guerrillas of four times his number. In the hottest of the fight a Rebel cavalryman, who had unguardedly ridden into the Union lines, fired at Col. Anthony when within ten or fifteen feet of him, the shot striking the hilt and scabbard of his sword, which alone saved the gallant leader from being seriously wounded, if not fatally. The Colonel proved a better shot, for the enemy's horse fell mortally wounded, and the rider was at once captured and removed to a place of safety—where he could reflect at his leisure on the uncertain outcome of the Rebellion in which his service had been so brief.

Col. Anthony's position in the army afforded him still better opportunities for assisting slaves into freedom, and

no such an opportunity was ever allowed to pass without his taking advantage of it. That seems to have been a part of his mission in the war for the suppression of the Rebellion, for history records the fact that "on the 20th of December, 1861, there came marching into Leavenworth, in gay procession, one hundred contrabands that had been freed by Col. Anthony at Independence, Missouri, a few days prior."

In June, 1862, Lieut.-Col. Anthony was left temporarily in command of Brig.-Gen. Robert B. Mitchell's brigade, with headquarters at Camp Etheridge, Tennessee. The frequent desertion of slaves at that time from the plantations of the South, and their presence within the Federal lines, was the occasion of much annoyance to the officers in command. The sentiment prevailed among many of the higher officers of the Federal armies, and among many of the good people of the North, that these runaway slaves should be returned to their masters. Although any other kind of property might be confiscated with impunity, the troops were often, under the strictest orders, required to render all possible assistance to masters in search of their absconding chattels. While the war was being thus prosecuted by the North, and slavery thus protected, in obedience to this Pro-slavery sentiment, and the expressed desire of many Northerners that the Rebellion should be suppressed without interfering with slavery, Lieut.-Col. Anthony

issued the following order to the brigade temporarily under his command:

Headquarters Mitchell's Brigade, Advance Column, First Brigade, First Division General Army of the Mississippi,

CAMP ETHERIDGE, TENNESSEE,

June 18, 1862.

[GENERAL ORDER No. 26.]

1. The impudence and impertinence of the open and armed rebels, traitors, secessionists and Southern Rights men of this section of the state of Tennessee, in arrogantly demanding the right to search our camp for fugitive slaves has become a nuisance, and will no longer be tolerated. Officers will see that this class of men who visit our camp for this purpose are excluded from our lines.

2. Should any persons be found within our lines they will be arrested and sent to headquarters.

3. Any officer or soldier of this command who shall arrest and deliver to his master a fugitive slave shall be summarily and severely punished, according to the laws relative to such crimes.

4. The strong Union sentiment in this section is most gratifying, and all officers and soldiers in their intercourse with the loyal and those favorably disposed are requested to act in their usual kind and courteous manner, and protect them to the fullest extent.

By order of D. R. ANTHONY, Lieutenant-Colonel Seventh Kansas Volunteers, commanding.

W. W. H. LAWRENCE,

Captain and Assistant Adj.-General.

When Gen. Mitchell returned to headquarters, a few days later, and resumed command of his brigade, he was greatly excited and indignant because the order had been issued, but knowing the public sentiment among the masses of the people at home, as well as the rank and file of the army under his command, was in favor of just such an order, he did not feel like taking upon himself the responsibility of countermanding it. He summoned Col. Anthony before him, however, when the following interesting conversation was had, which so aptly illustrates the quick perceptive powers with which the subject of this sketch is blessed that it is here quoted in full.

Gen. Mitchell—"Col. Anthony, you will at once countermand your 'Order No. 26.'"

Col. Anthony—"As a subordinate officer it is my duty to obey your orders, but you will remember, General, that 'Order No. 26' is a brigade order; and I am not now in command of the brigade. Of course, you are aware the lieutenant-colonel of a regiment cannot countermand a brigade order."

Gen. M.—"Oh, that need not stand in the way, Col. Anthony; I can put you in command long enough for that."

Col. A.—"Do you put me in command of the brigade?"

Gen. M.—"Yes, sir."

Col. A.—"You say, Gen. Mitchell, that I am now the commanding officer of this brigade?"

Gen. M.—“Yes, sir, you are in command.”

Col. A.—“Then, sir, as commanding officer of the brigade, I am not subject to your orders; and as to your request that ‘Order No. 26’ be countermanded, I respectfully decline to grant it. ‘Brigade Order No. 26’ shall not be countermanded while I remain in command.”

And the order never was countermanded, although it was in direct contravention of Gen. Halleck’s celebrated “Order No. 3.” Col. Anthony continued to carry out the letter and spirit of his order with his own command, and refused to allow his troops to be used in assisting in the capture of runaway slaves. In every instance where a colored man or woman, fleeing from bondage, sought protection within his lines it was afforded. Although slave masters came repeatedly, armed with special and positive orders from the brigade commander to allow them to search within his lines for fugitive slaves, Col. Anthony persisted in refusing to honor such orders. For such refusal he was finally arrested, by order of Gen. Mitchell, upon the charge of insubordination. This arrest immediately became the subject of comment by the press and people generally, throughout the entire country, and the Senate of the United States, taking cognizance of the matter, passed the following resolution:

Resolved: That the President of the United States be directed to communicate to the Senate any information he

may have as to the reasons for the arrest of Lieut.-Col. Anthony, of the Seventh Kansas regiment, if, in his opinion, such information can be given without injury to the public service.

The result was the restoration to active duty of Col. Anthony within sixty days after his arrest, by order of Gen. Halleck, who was satisfied that public sentiment in the North sustained the course pursued by the Kansas soldier. Having been restored to his command Col. Anthony resigned, after having served faithfully and gallantly as an officer of the Seventh Kansas for a little more than a year.

Returning at once to Leavenworth, Col. Anthony became the recognized leader of the Republican party of that town and county, as he had been of the Free-State party before the admission of the territory as a state. In March, 1863, he was elected mayor by a large majority as the Republican candidate, and under his vigorous and determined administration the loyal and law-abiding people of the town were no longer terrorized by the rebel desperadoes and gangs of lawless characters that had committed acts of violence, almost without number, for so long a time prior to this new regime.

It was discovered very soon that the new Mayor could apply the torch as gracefully as if presiding over a regular session of the city council, and he could shoot as coolly as if practicing at a target. And he was just as willing as he was capable, believing, as he did, that the most approved and effective

way of fighting the Devil was by using the Devil's own weapons. It was not long, therefore, until the name of Anthony struck terror to the heart of the outlaw. It required men of his character to rescue Kansas from out the darkness into which she had been plunged by the pro-slavery party in 1854, and in which she remained until peace had been declared between the North and South, and slavery forever blotted out. Absolutely without fear, as true to the cause of freedom as the needle is to the pole, a leader among leaders, Lieut.-Col. D. R. Anthony was the Oliver Cromwell of Kansas, both before and during the late Civil war.

But it is as an editor and publisher that Col. Anthony is now best known to the people of Kansas. On the 20th of September, 1864, he bought a half-interest in the Leavenworth *Daily Bulletin*, and on the 29th of June, 1867, he became the sole owner. The *Bulletin* was consolidated with the Leavenworth *Daily Times* on the 13th of November, 1871, when he became the sole owner and editor of the *Times*, in which capacity he continued until the 17th of November, 1887, when he sold a controlling interest in the plant to an eastern syndicate at a handsome figure. He was president of the first editorial convention of newspaper men held in Kansas in 1874, and was president of the Editors and Publishers Association of Kansas in 1875. As an evidence of his great popularity as an editor it need only be cited that when,

on the evening of the 10th of May, 1875, he was shot and severely wounded by an obscure person, as he was entering the opera house at Leavenworth, and the wires carried the news to the press of the country that "Col. D. R. Anthony has been cruelly assassinated," the leading daily and weekly papers in Kansas made their appearance with inverted column rules, which sombre garb they continued in until there was hope of his recovery. The ball passed through the right clavicle almost exactly in its longitudinal centre, fracturing it in its entirety, wounding the sub-clavian artery, and lodged somewhere in his body, where it still remains. Immediately after the receipt of the injury, the wounded man walked deliberately up from six to ten steps, twelve feet across the floor, and sat down on a chair. A physician being near reached him almost instantly, laid him down on the floor, and made search for the wound. When found, bright arterial blood was flowing perpendicularly therefrom about an inch in height and three-eighths of an inch in diameter. The appearance presented was that of a fountain playing at a very low pressure. Within six seconds after the wound was exposed the blood suddenly ceased to flow, and both respiration and pulsation stopped. All present supposed the wounded man dead. In about one minute, or perhaps less, respiration again began in a very feeble way, and it was fully fifteen minutes thereafter before the faintest pulsation could be detected at the left wrist.

The amount of blood lost was estimated at about two quarts. No pulsation was discoverable in the radical artery of the right side, nor has there ever since been any. His strong physical constitution and his indomitable will-power kept him alive under circumstances that would have caused the death of any man of less resolute determination; and at the end of three months he was again able to appear upon the streets and partially resume editorial work on the *Times*.

On the 1st of July, 1889, Col. Anthony again became the managing editor of the *Times*, in which capacity he seems eminently fitted. As an editorial writer he ranks among the very best in the state. When he stepped down and out of the *Times* nearly two years ago the press of Kansas lost one of its brightest representatives, and the paper he had built up was likened to the play of Hamlet with the principal character left out. And the prediction then made that his place could never be supplied was a prophecy soon fulfilled. During his brief absence from the control of the paper it drifted rapidly into public disfavor, and in order that it might be saved from an ignoble death he was at last induced to again take hold of the helm and steer the sinking craft into a safe harbor. Under his splendid editorial and business management the paper is now keeping pace with the phenomenal growth of the state. His combined genius and talent crop out in every issue of the paper, and the press of

Kansas, without an exception, has hailed his return to its ranks with every indication of sincere joy.

Col. Anthony is a man of very positive character, of a high sense of public duty, and an indomitable will to carry out his convictions at all hazards. He bows to no human dictation, but unflinchingly advocates those principles in public life that to him seem best for the public good.

As a diplomat in politics he may very properly be said to be a failure. He does not resort to strategy in order to accomplish an end, but he attains his object by hard blows, seemingly caring but little, if anything, as to whether his course meets with the public's applause or not. And yet it must not be understood that he is blind to public applause, for probably no man appreciates it more than he does. For it demonstrates to him two things that are very pleasant to most men: first, his being right; and, second, being indorsed. And it must be said to his credit that few men in Kansas, if, indeed, any, have advocated more radical unpopular measures that have afterwards become the adopted policy of the state as represented by the party in control of public affairs than has Col. Anthony.

His power over deliberative bodies is especially worthy of mention. With an almost total absence of imagination, and with no attempt at rhetoric, he is yet one of the most powerful debaters in the state, either in the halls of the legislature, in political conventions, or upon the stump. His unswerving de-

votion to his party, his abiding faith in pure principles, and his unsullied patriotism, command for him the respect and admiration of friends and foes alike. In addressing a public gathering of any character, his power of delivery is so forcible and the presentation of his subject is so clear and logical that he soon has almost absolute control of his listeners. In this respect he is not unlike the great and only "Jim Lane of Kansas," of whom a prominent character wrote many years ago: "The electric shock of his extraordinary eloquence thrills like the blast of a trumpet; the magnetism of his manner, the fire of his glance, the studied earnestness of his utterances, find a sudden response in the will of

his audience, and he sways them like a field of reeds shaken in the wind."

During his long residence in Kansas Col. Anthony has held numerous offices of honor and trust. Like all men of his character he has many friends and some very bitter enemies. But of these latter he can rest assured that they are hopelessly in the minority as compared with the staunch friends that he has. And so long as the history of Kansas is read by liberty-loving people, just so long will the name of D. R. Anthony stand out in bold relief as a patriot whose monument is to be found in the constitution of Kansas, and in the peaceful homes of her nearly two millions of free people.

W. W. ADMIRE.

THE AMERICAN RAILROAD: ITS INCEPTION, EVOLUTION
AND RESULTS.

ECHOES OF THE GREAT CRASH—RAILROAD IRON—REACHING TO THE PACIFIC.

XX.

THE fever had run its course—convalescence was slow. The *Times* of January 7, 1846, shows in a brief paragraph that affairs are looking to a more normal and healthful condition in the railway world. Preceding a four column list of railways comes this explanation: "The following is a list of the railway plans deposited at the Private Bill office and House of Lords up to 31st of December, 1845. The list contains the titles of 718 lines, no less than 549 having disappeared since our publication of the schemes provisionally registered on the 17th of December last. A more sufficient proof of the unhealthy extent of the railway speculation, for denouncing which we were honored with so much scurrilous abuse a few months since, could not be desired."

In an editorial comment upon these important facts the *Times* added: "Amid the bursting of the railway bubbles many are vanishing into air, which a short time ago had all the outward appearances of sound and substantial projects. No less than five hundred and forty-nine of the provisionally re-

gistered lines have altogether disappeared, leaving nothing behind them but a mass of liability which must become the subject of litigation between the projectors and the allottees—the victimized and the victims. We have been told that we ought to have discriminated between the good schemes and the bad—a task which would have been endless, for we might as well have amused ourselves with searching for needles in haystacks, as have attempted to pick out the substantial projects from the mass of rubbish that was being every day thrown forth into the share-market." Another feature of this speculative epoch is described in the following words: "Besides the provisionally registered railways not included in the list of those which have deposited their plans, allowance must be made for the many schemes that are impracticable, as well as for the many that have made an imperfect and merely formal deposit of the necessary documents. With reference to the first class of schemes that will ultimately fall into the category of

bubbles, discoveries are now being unexpectedly made of insurmountable obstacles to the construction of lines that have been high in public favor. Natural impediments to the efforts of the engineer were never thought of while the spirit of speculation was at its height. Away it went, bounding over hills and mountains with the most elastic buoyancy, forgetting that these obstructions would have to be surmounted in a very different way before a railway could be carried either through or over them. After all the enthusiasm that has been manifested on the subject of bringing together remote cities, and facilitating commercial intercourse between all parts of the kingdom it appears that nature is still a little too powerful in some places to be made subservient to science. The much-vaunted plan for railway communication between Manchester and Southampton, for instance, is now alleged to be simply an impossibility. In the excitement of launching the scheme, allotting the shares, getting the plans deposited in time, and congratulating the fortunate shareholders on this last grand point having been gained, every one seems to have forgotten the existence of the Cottonwold hills, which present, it is now declared, an insurmountable barrier to the railway being constructed. We fear this is not the only instance in which positive impracticability will neutralize all the efforts that may have been made to serve the proper notices and lodge the necessary plans, in compliance with the standing

orders of Parliament. It is evident that the deposits with the Board of Trade will turn out to be, in many instances, a mere farce; and that much of the scampering, tearing, racing and risking of necks which took place on the 30th of November, will prove to have been practically a hoax upon the unfortunate scripholder."

A writer in 1847* states the situation through these troubled times in a brief paragraph: "In the month of August, 1845, the period when railway prices generally saw what is technically called 'the top of the market,' the rage for gambling was enormous. The responsibility incurred by parties signing deeds of subscription attracted universal notice. At this particular date the furor was so great that those who were engaged in railway share business found a large portion of their time occupied in keeping the necessary appointments for perfecting these documents, which were of vital importance to the existence of the companies. Parliamentary returns, shortly afterwards published, gave a list of subscribers who had fixed their names to deeds. Signatures were common for amounts averaging from £20,000 to £60,000. Mr. George Hudson, M. P., stood highest on the public list. He represented subscriptions to the amount of £818,000. Other parties set down for £300,000 and £400,000 each. Earls, privy counsellors, baronets, knights, M. P.s, colonels, captains, lieutenants, clergy-

* Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, Vol. XXI., p. 468.

men, bankers, barristers, merchants, lawyers, directors, secretaries, promoters, projectors, stock-brokers, tradesmen and clerks, were all alike centred in the vortex of speculation, and figured for the amount of assumed liabilities. The number of clergymen who signed was two hundred and fifty-seven. Of these the greater number were comparatively for small amounts, of from £2,000 to £5,000. Some, however, went into the speculation more extensively. Thus, one was a subscriber for £26,000; one for £27,000; three for £20,000 and upwards; six for £15,000 and upwards; ten for £10,000 and upwards; fifty-three of from £5,000 to £9,000 each. Members of Parliament were subscribers for much larger sums, and reckoned one hundred and fifty-seven in number, being nearly one-fourth of the entire House of Commons. This fact clearly indicated the strength of the railway interest in Parliament, and the sums subscribed for by individual members were in many cases very heavy." A word as to the central figure in these dramatic scenes—George Hudson, of York, the first of a long list of railway kings: "During his brief reign he was a universal favorite; a man of tremendous energy, contagious enthusiasm and convincing eloquence. When he undertook to push a railroad it was understood that it would be successful; the choicest aristocracy of England sought his presence; it was reported with delight that his empire extended over one thousand miles of railroad; his suddenly ac-

quired wealth was enormous (he made five hundred thousand dollars in one day), and his benefactions generously large. A fine mathematician, he would lean his head back on his chair, cover his eyes with his hands, and arrange expenses and calculate dividends and interest with marvellous accuracy. He had a heavy frame, a piercing gray eye, gray and scanty hair, a broad and wrinkled face, harsh and severe in expression, but lighted up at times by a winning smile. When the crash came, in the tag-end of 1845, Hudson's brief summer sun of glory set in clouds; he was called 'a stain upon the nation,' his accounts were said to show crooked transactions involving thousands of pounds. He kept no books and retained no copies of his letters, so that it is really difficult to fix the precise amount of blame to be attached to him. But the general opinion of those who have estimated his character is that he was guilty of moral obliquity and rash investments of money, although his railroads were laid in well-chosen localities, and ultimately proved successful."*

Responsibility in a wide-spread and far-reaching movement like this is hard to fix, where all must bear a portion, but a majority feel the heavier burdens imposed. The speculators, legislators, projectors, financiers and general public, were all in a common movement, in which those most con-

* 'Wonders and Curiosities of the Railway,' by William Sloane Kennedy, Chicago, 1884, p. 28.

suspicious were made the targets for their confederates and associates, when ruin and loss came, rather than the golden harvests that all had hoped to reap. In a "History of English Panics"* written near the time when the far-reaching effects of this speculative era were being defined and understood, some theories are advanced and facts stated that shed a certain measure of light just here: "This period (the panic of 1847) like all the rest, was preceded by a large accumulation of treasure in the Bank of England, a low rate of interest, and great facilities for speculation and overtrading. Speculation had previously developed itself very largely in railways. Schemes without number, and involving an outlay of countless millions of money, were eagerly taken up by all classes of the community, and bills authorizing the formation of railways in all parts of the kingdom were passed through Parliament with a rapidity calculated rather to stimulate and encourage the reckless and improvident, than to warn and dissuade the prudent and industrious. The Bank of England has been frequently charged with being the active instrument in producing panic. The embarrassment in the money market in the end of 1845 has been ascribed almost directly to the injudicious policy of the Bank of England, at the commencement of that year, in improperly reducing the rate of interest, when such reduction was quite uncalled for by the

state of the country. The immediate cause of the panic was, no doubt, the wild spirit of gambling in railways; but it was believed that the Bank of England, acting under an erroneous notion of their duties, after the act of 1844 came into operation, assisted and encouraged the railway mania, and enabled it to reach a height at which it could never otherwise have achieved; and thereby afterwards putting on the 'screw,' for the preservation of commercial interests, they produced the panic, which would not have otherwise occurred, but for their previous uncalled for reduction of the rate of interest. The act of 1844 is considered by Mr. Gilbert (*Practical Treatise on Banking*) to have tended to produce the pressure of 1847. It was the pressure, and the high rate of interest, and low prices consequent upon the pressure, that checked the efflux of gold, and turned the exchanges. During the pressure of 1847, notes to the amount of £4,000,000 were hoarded under the influence of panic; and this hoarding was occasioned by the operation of the act. A contraction of the circulation leads to a general apprehension of danger. Bankers, and others, keep large reserves of gold, and bank-notes on hand, and the evil is thereby increased.

"In the latter end of 1847, committees were appointed by both the House of Lords and the House of Commons, to 'enquire into the causes of the distress which had for some time prevailed among the commercial classes,

*Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, Vol. XXIII., December, 1850, p. 609.

and how far it has been affected by the laws for regulating the issue of bank-notes payable on demand.' The report of the Lords' committee attributed the causes of pressure to 'a sudden and unexampled demand for foreign corn, produced by a failure in many descriptions of agricultural produce throughout the United Kingdom, coincident with an unprecedented extent of speculation, produced by increased facilities of credit and a low rate of interest, which had for some time occasioned overtrading in many branches of commerce.'"

This important episode in the history of railroads can be best dismissed and the results of the over-speculation and the resultant panic understood, by the following figures and comments, quoted from the "Companion to the British Almanac" for 1849: "There has now, for three years, been an almost uninterrupted declension in the market value of railway property. It was dreaded by many cautious persons in 1845 that the then existing recklessness would bring about disastrous results. The disturbed state of political and commercial matters has undoubtedly contributed to this end; but it is indisputable that the depreciation is mainly due to the excessive absorption of capital in one particular species of enterprise; the much dreaded calls have drained away money which is legitimately required in other quarters. It may be useful to take twelve of the older companies and compare the prices of their shares in one particular

week of four successive years—say the first week in August, which was about the height of the fever in 1845; we give also the prices of a later date. As three of the companies have each called up an additional installment on their shares within this period, we will adjust the prices to 'paid-up' shares' to render the comparison a fair one:

	Aug. 1845	Aug. 1846	Aug. 1847	Aug. 1848	Oct. 1848
London & Northwestern..	£252	£210	£170	£114	£100
Great Western.....	246	165	128	92	77
South Western.....	82	75	60	41	36
Midland.....	180	140	120	94	66
South Eastern.....	47	40	33	24	21
Bristol & Exeter.....	130	110	100	67	60
Lancashire & Yorkshire..	230	135	110	94	65
Sheffield & Manchester...	135	110	90	60	40
Brighton.....	80	63	50	28	25
York & Berwick.....	55	42	36	30	21
York & North Midland...	112	97	80	63	42
Edinburgh & Glasgow....	87	73	60	37	36

"The average fall in the twelve companies has been 64 per cent. in three and one-fourth years. Prices have since rallied a little. In some of the new companies, and also in respect to some of the new shares in some of the older companies, the depreciation is still more marked. Some of the shares are now (October, 1848) worth less than nothing—they could not be given away; no one would accept them as a gift unless accompanied by a bonus in money to induce the acceptance. This occurs where there are still further 'calls' to be made on the shares; the liability to which rests with those in whose names the shares are registered. The calls made on the stock of the new companies and on the various kinds of new shares in the old companies, have been excessively heavy in the last two years. Frequently the amount has reached a mil-

lion sterling in a single week. In the first ten months (January to October, inclusive,) of 1847, the amount so called was £31,955,355 for British railways, and £5,644,000 for British shares in foreign railways—making in the whole £37,599,355. In the first ten months of 1848 the calls amounted to £26,850,709 for British railways, and £3,102,071 for British shares in foreign railways—making in the whole £29,952,770. Bringing in the calls for the last two months of 1847, we find that in twenty-two months (January 1, 1847, to October 30, 1848), there has been paid by the British shareholders no less than £75,000,000 to the railway companies, or nearly £800,000 per week. Nearly the whole of this has been expended, besides loans on debenture. The capital invested in these undertakings has reached a most astounding amount. The following, in round numbers, represents the share capital and the borrowing powers of all the British railway companies, according to the acts of Parliament which sanction them :

	Acts.	
1801 to 1840.....	299	£69,000,000
1841 to 1844.....	113	18,000,000
1845.....	120	59,000,000
1846.....	272	121,000,000
1847.....	184	35,000,000
1848.....	83	18,000,000
	1,071	£320,000,000

“As nearly all railways have cost more than the Parliamentary estimates, the share capital and the borrowing powers will together more nearly represent the probable total outlay, than the capital share alone. There has been a feature in the railway system

within the last twelve months which has been instrumental in depressing the market value of the shares, namely, the reduced rate of dividends paid by the leading companies. This reduction has been brought about by four different causes—1. The disturbed state of political and commercial affairs has considerably lessened the total amount of traffic in the country, both in passengers and merchandise. 2. By the opening of new and competing lines into particular districts, the portion of traffic which now falls to the share of the older companies is less than formerly. 3. Some of the old companies have leased or purchased particular lines on terms more lavish than the traffic has been found to warrant. 4. Some of the old companies have issued new shares to pay off loans or debentures, which shares, by receiving dividends pro rata with the older shares, lessen the rate per cent. receivable on each. From one or more of these causes combined, most of the old companies have been compelled to reduce the rate of dividend. The greatest of them all, the London & Northwestern, has suffered a severe fall in this respect. In December, 1846, the dividend was at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum ; in June, 1847, 9 per cent.; in December, 1847, 8 per cent.; and in June, 1848, 7 per cent. The fall in the Great Western has been from 8 to 7 per cent.; in the South Western, from 9 to 6; in the Midland, from 7 to 6; in the York & Berwick, from 9 to 8, in the York & N. Midland, from 10 to 8.”

AMERICAN RAILROAD IRON.

Meanwhile, affairs were fairly prosperous upon this side of the sea. Returning again to the general thread of narration, we find that the great contest than waging in America over the tariff—a question over which America seldom has been free from dispute—was causing renewed interest in the manufacture of railroad iron, and in the fall of 1844 special mention was made of the fact that a bar of railroad iron manufactured at the Mount Savage works in Maryland, had been placed in the rotunda of the Baltimore Exchange for the inspection of the public. Similar specimens had been sent for the same purpose to Philadelphia, New York and Boston. “The above mentioned rail,” explains the *Baltimore American*, “is very similar in form to that last imported from Europe by the Baltimore & Ohio railroad, called the U rail, only that the iron is thicker, and the hollow part not so high, but much stronger. The railroad leading from Mount Savage works to Cumberland, which, it is expected, will be completed by the fifteenth of next month, will be laid with rails of this description, made at the works. They have also concluded a contract with the Fall River railroad in Massachusetts for furnishing one thousand tons. The price is about fifty-nine cents per ton.” In the early days of the year following, 1845, Mr. P. Raymond, manager of the Brady’s Bend Iron Works, in Pennsylvania, addressed an interesting communication

to a member of Congress, in response to a request for information, upon the facilities for producing railroad iron in America, and the cost of the same. “These works alone,” he declares, “are capable of turning out, of finished railroad iron, one hundred and twenty-five tons per week. We are now manufacturing rails for several companies. That which has been tried of our make is found to be superior to the best article imported from England. The H and T rail, or any other pattern in use, can be manufactured at these works as perfectly as in England or any other country, and it would be esteemed a favor to receive an order for the heavy rail. H, T and U rails, or any other patterns in use, can be made for \$50 per ton. The expenses of transportation to any point on the Ohio, Mississippi, the Lakes, or east of the mountains, will be no more from the works than from Pittsburg. Cost of transportation from the works to Cincinnati, and Madison, Indiana, has been \$2.50 per ton. It can now be transported to the same points for \$2. The H, T and U rails can be made from nine to eighteen feet long, according to the weight per foot. The works can be enlarged in a short time to a capacity to make (of finished iron of any pattern required), two hundred tons per week, if a market can be found for the iron. Should the duty be repealed, or much reduced on railroad iron, the further manufacture of the article in this country will of necessity be discontinued, as the English at this time have several

hundred millions of dollars invested in iron works, all in operation or ready to go into operation whenever a market can be found for their iron, together with an overwhelming capital to operate with at the low rate of two per cent. per annum, and labor but half the price it is in this country. The effect it will have on the country to repeal the duty on railroad iron is obvious to all acquainted with the history of the lines. Railroad iron will be sold by the English manufacturers at reduced prices, until the American manufacturers are broken down; then they will put on the tariff and raise the price much above what it is now made and sold for by the manufacturers of this country."

SUGGESTING A PACIFIC RAILROAD.

The closing years of this decade of 1840-50 saw the opening of that vigorous movement in favor of a railroad to the Pacific, although suggestions in that direction had been made from time to time in years before. To whom the first dawning idea of this great and now accomplished enterprise came, it would be hard to tell, although there has been one who claims that he had conceived of a steam road to the far-western ocean, even before the railroad of the present came into being. Gen. Dodge, who had charge of the engineering department in the building of the Union Pacific, has recently* discoursed upon this point in the following words:

*In a paper read before the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, at its twenty-first annual reunion, at Toledo, Ohio, on September 15, 1888, by Major-Gen. Grenville M. Dodge.

"In Gen. Sherman's summary, referred to above, it is stated that: 'It would now be impossible to ascertain who was the first to suggest the construction of a railway to connect the eastern portion of our country with the Pacific coast. It is probable that the idea in some form occurred to several persons. Very recently, Mr. E. V. Smalley, in his 'History of the Northern Pacific Railroad,' has presented the claim of Dr. Samuel Bancroft Barlow, of Granville, Massachusetts, to this distinction, details the evidence upon which the claim is founded, and shows that as early as 1834 (possibly in 1833), Dr. Barlow advocated the construction of a railroad from New York to the mouth of the Columbia river, by direct appropriations from the treasury of the United States. But in presenting this claim to priority, is it not possible that the fact has been overlooked that Dr. Barlow's paper in the *Intelligencer*, of Westfield, Massachusetts, was called forth by a series of articles upon the same subject, published in the *Emigrant*, of Washtenaw county, Michigan territory? And is not, therefore, that unknown writer of those articles really entitled to whatever credit attaches to priority of suggestion?'

"While this statement is true, so far as we are now able to ascertain, it is a singular fact that before a mile of railroad was laid in any part of the world, a design of connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific ocean by means of steam-carriage was broached, if we can believe the following statement, which

I quote from the memorial of Robert Mills, of February 18th, 1846 (H. R. Doc. 173, 29th Congress, 1st session): 'The author has had the honor of being, perhaps, the first in the field to propose to connect the Pacific with the Atlantic by a railroad from the head navigable waters of the noble rivers disemboguing into the ocean. In 1819 he published a work on the internal improvements of Maryland, Virginia and South Carolina, connected with the intercourse of the states of the West. The following extract from this work will present the idea then formed, both of the practicability and importance of this intercourse to the nation,' etc., etc. Then follows a description of a scheme of steam locomotion between the head waters of the drainage of the Mississippi valley, and that of the valley of the Columbia, too long for repetition on an occasion like this.'

Without going farther into that line of historical inquiry, we can, in full justice to all others, devote some attention to one who worked in season and out, for the success of a measure in which he prophetically saw there was so much involved. In the early days of 1845, Mr. Asa Whitney,* an American mer-

* Asa Whitney, merchant, born in 1797, died in Washington, D. C., in August, 1872. He was in mercantile business in New York city. He recognized the necessity of a railroad to the Pacific, was the first to suggest its feasibility, and from 1846 till 1850 urged it upon Congress, the legislature of several states, and the public, by personal influence and his writings. He was finally instrumental in securing appropriations in 1853, for the first surveys of the

chant, who had recently returned from China, brought the question before the country in a very decided form, through a memorial to Congress, in which he asked for a charter authorizing the construction of a railroad from Lake Michigan, across the Rocky Mountains, to the Pacific ocean at the mouth of the Columbia river—a petition all the more sure to be listened to from the fact that Mr. Whitney was even then organizing a corps of scientific young men, with whom he proposed to make a reconnoissance of the proposed route. It was his belief then, and his claim, that the distance between the cities on the Atlantic to Lake Michigan, a distance of eight hundred and forty miles, would be overcome by railroads constructed under state authority, while the remaining distance of 2,160 miles he proposed should be constructed under the authority of Congress. He estimated the actual cost of construction at fifty million dollars, but as the road, from the nature of the country and the objects to be attained, could earn little or nothing before its completion, he estimated that a further sum of fifteen millions would be necessary to keep it in repair until ready for use.

Northern, Southern and middle routes, and lived to see communication opened from sea to sea in 1869. He was the author of "A Project for a Railroad to the Pacific" (New York, 1849), and "A Plan for a Direct Communication between the Great Centres of Population of Europe and Asia," (London, 1851.)—Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, Vol. VI., p. 488, New York, 1889.

That this ambitious project might be carried out, Mr. Whitney asked of the Government a grant of sixty miles wide of the public land from one terminus of the road to the other, "for which a full return would be made in conveying the mails, transporting ammunition, stores, soldiers, etc., free of cost." He contended that with such a railroad the distance from New York to the mouth of the Columbia river, three thousand miles, could be accomplished in eight days. "The project from first view," he declared, "though startling, from an examination finds friends and favor, and is small compared with what we have already done." In some respects his declarations seem almost prophetic: "We have now in operation more than five thousand miles of railroad, built in the last fifteen years, besides immense canals, all built from means drawn from the people. In twenty-two and one-half years more our population will be forty millions. . . . It appears to me that we now have the power and means (means which cost us nothing, and will be exchanged for a valuable consideration, an industrious, productive people) of accomplishing this great work; greater far than has been done by men or nations, the results from which must change the whole world. We are now on one side, at the extreme of the globe; build this road and we are in the centre, with Europe on the one side, and Asia and Africa on the other. You, sir, can see, you can read, what must then be our destiny. We

can then traverse the vast globe in thirty days, and bring all the vast world together as one nation, as one family, and what must be the result? It will civilize, it will harmonize, it will Christianize, it will do more than all mankind before us have done, and where is the man who will not say, let it be done? I believe that this work will bring our vast country so directly together as one family, that all the sectional jealousies, differences, and interests must subside, each state and section left to manage its own domestic or internal affairs, in its way, as was intended when our compact was formed. The scale will be so grand, and interests so diversified, that no one shall predominate."

Mr. Whitney did not leave to speculation what could be proved or disproved by investigation. On June 19, 1845, he left Milwaukee, Wisconsin, accompanied by a band of scientific young gentlemen, with whom he made a personal examination of the country lying as far west as the Missouri river, at a point five hundred miles west of the Mississippi. We have a general review of some of his labors in the carrying out of his great idea as given by himself in response to attacks made upon him by Senator Thomas H. Benton, then one of the great political and law-making powers of the land. "I believe," Mr. Whitney declares,* "it is pretty generally known that I have

* Hunt's Merchant's Magazine, Vol. XIX., November, 1848, p. 527.

devoted four years exclusively to the subject of a railroad from Lake Michigan to the Pacific Ocean, and that I devoted a part of two other years to the same subject in Asia. That I have explored and examined more than eight hundred miles of the route—explored fifteen hundred miles of the Missouri river, as also other streams, to ascertain where they could be bridged; and that a great part of the country over which I passed had never before been traversed except by savages, and those who accompanied me can attest these facts. . . . My explorations extended as far as was my first intention, and as far as was necessary. It was for my own account and at my own expense, and its results not fully published to the world. My object was to ascertain the facilities which the country might afford for, and the value of the lands, on which depended the entire work. The explorations of Col. Fremont, with accounts from many others, had satisfied me of the feasibility of the whole route. I have done all this at my own expense, and have never asked Congress to appropriate one dollar for me. In addition to all my time, I have expended a very handsome sum of money, and have never made any claim upon Congress. . . . I do hereby forever renounce any, all, and every claim upon Congress, or the people, for my efforts to get a railroad to Oregon. My motive was to benefit the country and the world. I was willing to give my life, my all to the work, which, to me, appeared so

very important. If I have failed in my object, I am happy in knowing I have not drawn one dollar from the public treasury, but have heretofore paid large sums into it. I am also happy in believing that the country at large understood and sustained me. Eighteen state legislatures (generally by unanimous vote of the two houses) passed resolutions approving and recommending the adoption of my plan; declaring it the only feasible one by which this great work could ever be accomplished, and instructing and requesting their delegates in Congress to vote for it."

Congress certainly showed its appreciation of Mr. Whitney's plan, and gave it a cordial endorsement at a time when its full meaning was hardly understood by the people at large. A committee of the Twenty-eighth Congress reported in its favor. The Senate committee on Public Lands of the Twenty-ninth Congress unanimously introduced a very full report in its favor, with a bill to carry it out—which report contained, as Mr. Whitney explained, "a full, though concise, statement, geographical, commercial and statistical, of all Asia, Japan, China, India, Polynesia, and all the islands, population, commerce, products, resources, and all, which cost me much time and labor." At the time of Mr. Whitney's communication above quoted the House had appointed a select committee of nine to examine the subject and report upon it; and their report was unanimous in its favor, with a bill to carry its intention into effect. The

Senate had also appointed a select committee of five, with the same object. A bill was unanimously reported, which, under the influence of Senator Benton, was laid upon the table.

The plan as proposed by this enterprising merchant, who had left the beaten track of trade that he might make a great highway that should unite East and West by bonds of commercial interest and personal contact, are worthy of more than a passing glance, and possess an additional interest now that so many iron highways are the fulfillment of his dream. "The bill proposes," to continue his communication above quoted, "to sell about 78,000,000 acres, good, bad and indifferent, under specified terms and conditions, all so guarded that the government could not possibly lose one dollar. So different is it from a grant to me of 100,000,000 acres (as Mr. Benton had claimed), that I have not even asked for, nor does the bill provide that I can take one acre of land until I shall have completed ten miles of road in advance, which every one of experience must know will cost, for such a road as the bill provides, \$200,000. Then, if the commissioner, the government, the people and all, are fully satisfied, I am allowed to sell five miles by sixty of land on the line of the road, and an equivalent somewhere else, for any that may have been sold out of this five miles by sixty, in all 192,000 acres; which, at the present value (72 cents) for soldiers' bounties, (and which must be the price

of the best lands until some 16,000,000 are disposed of), would amount to \$138,240, and the government holding the road as security for my continuance and faithful performance of contract, and the government also holding the other five miles by sixty, or 192,000 acres, through which the road is completed. Now, if I could not make this 192,000 acres produce enough to return the \$200,000 expended on the ten miles of road, then the work could not be continued; the government would not allow me to take one acre of land, and I should have sunken the \$200,000. But if, from the results of my energies, efforts and labor, I raise from the present value of \$138,240, the 192,000 acres to or beyond the \$200,000 expended, then the 192,000 acres, the other half, held by the government, would have imparted to it an equal increase in value from the same causes. Such would be the case for eight hundred miles through the good or available lands, or so far as the five miles by sixty, or 192,000 acres, would furnish means to construct the ten miles of the road, the government holding the road as security for all, and also holding one-half (alternate five miles by sixty) of all the lands—each and every ten miles of road being completed in advance of my being allowed to take any land—the road, with the alternate settlements, imparting benefits to and embracing the half held by the government far exceeding that taken by myself. The reserve lands would be held to furnish means for the construction

of the road through the immense distance of poor lands; where I should proceed as before, first build the ten miles of road, and when the ten miles by sixty, or 384,000 acres, could not be sold for enough for the outlay for the ten miles of road, then the reserve lands would be sold sufficient for, and applied to that purpose, and so on to the ocean, each and every ten miles of road would be finished in advance of receiving any lands or money. And until all shall have been completed and in successful operation, the Government would hold the road, the surplus lands, if any, and all as security for the payment of ten cents per acre for all the lands; and also as security that the Government should in no way be made responsible or chargeable for keeping up and in operation the said road, until its earnings could provide for that purpose—then the title to the road should vest in me, always, however, subject to the action and control of Congress in regulating and fixing the tolls, etc., and the United States mails to be transported free of charge. The reserved and all the surplus lands to be sold at auction in lots of from forty to one hundred and sixty acres.

“And should all the lands fully reimburse for the outlay for constructing the road, its machinery, etc., with the sum paid to the Government for the entire lands, then Congress would have power to regulate the tolls so as not to produce any income beyond sufficient to keep said road in repairs and oper-

ation, and for necessary superintendence, making it a national and as nearly a free road as possible, with tolls less than half what would be charged on the great and principal dividend paying roads within the states.

“With the failure of this bill”—and here Mr. Whitney again grows prophetic—“I consider the hope for a communication across our continent, which would be the route for the commerce and intercourse between Europe and Asia, as forever at an end. The seal would then have been fixed. We have looked upon the promised land, but could never possess it. The people of Oregon and California, having the same products as our own, and seeking the same markets, we could not buy from them, or they purchase from us. They could receive no benefit from a connection with us, or we from them.

. . . This is a work which can never be accomplished by individual enterprise alone, because no man would invest where he could not expect a return during his lifetime at least, and where (from the commencement to completion) the accumulation of interest would triple the cost of the road. Nor can it be accomplished by states not yet formed, and which can never be formed without the aid of the road, through a desert incapable of sustaining population, and without navigable streams suitable to communicate with civilization and markets. And I say, without fear of contradiction from anyone entitled to an opinion formed from experience and examina-

tion, that this work can never be accomplished on any other plan than that of connecting the sale and settlement of the lands on its line with the building of the road. Population must keep pace with the work and be interested with it; the labor for grading the road must pay in part for the lands, and make houses for the settlers; and the one-half of the eight hundred miles on the eastern end must furnish means for an equal distance beyond, where the land is too poor for that purpose. Any amount of capital, even under the strongest power of arbitrary Government (without connecting the settlement of the lands on its line with the work), could not accomplish it through a wilderness and desert of such vast extent; and it would be as equally impossible from any terminus where material advantages do not exist, or could not be controlled."

Mr. Whitney's ambitious project was never carried out in form, but in substance his dreams have found a

magnificent realization. Without attempting at this point a detailed record of the steps by which that first Pacific railway was created, a brief glance may be given to the immediate consequences of the agitation brought about by Mr. Whitney and other workers in the same field. The accession to our national territory caused by the Mexican war, and the discovery of gold in the new lands of California, that caused a rush to the Pacific coast, centered public attention anew upon the project of a railroad that should bind the continent from East to West, and quickened the exertions of its advocates. The surveys of the War Department showed that the scheme was practicable, Congress responded to the people's demand—the land grants were given, and the ground broken at last. The Pacific railroad was an accomplished fact, and the development of the middle and farther west has come with a greatness far beyond even Asa Whitney's wildest dreams.

J. H. KENNEDY.

(To be continued.)

THE RAILROAD MEN OF AMERICA.

CALVIN S. BRICE.

THERE are few men in America, whether in professional or business life, who, while yet upon the sunny side of fifty by a good measure of years, have accomplished more or won a wider or more honorable recognition than the lawyer, railroad projector, and political leader, whose name may be found above. Although his residence is now, from business reasons, in New York City, he is in sympathy, as in birth, an "Ohio man," where he still holds his legal habitation, and where he passes as much of his time as his numerous enterprises will allow. Mr. Brice was born in Denmark, Ohio, on September, 17, 1845, the son of William Kirkpatrick Brice, of an old Maryland and Pennsylvania family, a graduate of Hanover College and the Princeton Theological Seminary, and a Presbyterian clergyman of deserved distinction, and of Miss Elizabeth Stewart, of Carrollton, Ohio, a woman of fine education and exemplary traits of character.

The early education of the son was carefully looked after by his parents, and obtained in the common schools of his home, and in those of a higher grade at Lima, Ohio. When he was but thirteen years of age, in September, 1858, this wise parental oversight, added to his

native ability and industry, had so far advanced him that he was able to enter the preparatory department of Miami University, at Oxford, Ohio, where he remained one year, and then entered the freshman class. His progress was marked, and he was looking forward to graduation, when there came a call that his patriotic impulses and the ardor of a true-hearted American boy would not permit him to ignore. When the call of the President came, young Brice, although but fifteen years of age, relinquished his studies, enlisted as a member of Capt. Dodd's University Company, and in April, 1861, took his first lesson in military discipline at Camp Jackson, Columbus. In April, 1862, he was enrolled a member of Company A, 86th O. V. I., of which Prof. R. W. McFarland was Captain, and served with the regiment during the summer of that year in West Virginia. Returning to the University, he resumed his studies, completed the regular course, and graduated in June, 1863.

Mr. Brice took charge of one of the public schools of Lima, and while so engaged acted for some time as deputy county auditor. He had already formed the purpose of devoting himself to the profession of law, and made use of

such spare time as he could command in study, until the spring of 1864, when the old impulse to make his power effective for the good of the Union cause led him to again return to the field. He recruited a company, and went back as Captain of Company E, 180th O. V. I., and served in the first division of the Twenty-third Corps in Tennessee, Georgia, and the Carolinas, until July, 1865. While still in the field he was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel for meritorious services, but owing to the return of peace he was never mustered in under this commission.

With the return of peace, Mr. Brice again devoted himself to what he felt was the real work of his life. He applied himself, with renewed activity and interest, to the study of law, subsequently entering the law department of the University of Michigan, at Ann Arbor; and was admitted to practice by the state, and the United States District and Circuit Courts, at Cincinnati, in the spring of 1866.

It was while engaged in the successful practice of a profession in which he would certainly have won high rank, that Mr. Brice was led into a line of labor in which he has achieved remarkable success, and gained material rewards of a most magnificent character—that of railroad construction and control. In the winter of 1870-71 he went to Europe in the interest of the Lake Erie & Louisville railroad, and procured a foreign loan which secured its construction to the town of Lima.

This, the first railroad in which he had a personal interest, afterwards became the Lake Erie & Western, a line six hundred miles in length, of which he is President, and known as one of the best managed and most prosperous properties of that character in the country. Besides this connection with the Lake Erie & Western, Mr. Brice also secured the construction of the division of the Erie Railroad known as the Chicago & Atlantic, and the location in his home city of Lima of the Lake Erie & Western and the Dayton & Michigan railroad machine shops. In connection with Gen. Samuel Thomas and other well-known capitalists of Ohio and elsewhere, he engaged yet more extensively in railroad operations, showing by his financial genius, far-seeing judgment, and courage in backing his conclusions by the investment of his money, that he was a born railroad manager and projector, and sure to hold a vast influence in the railroad affairs of America. Among the many ventures of this character in which he has been or is engaged, the following may be mentioned: The conception, building, and profitable sale of the New York, Chicago & St. Louis Railway, better known as the "Nickel Plate," between Chicago and Buffalo—was in a great measure due to him. He is at present connected with the Lake Erie & Western; the Chicago & Atlantic; the Ohio Central; the Richmond & Danville; the Richmond & West Point Terminal; the East Tennessee, Vir-

ginia & Georgia; the Memphis & Charleston; the Mobile & Birmingham; the Kentucky Central; the Duluth, South Shore & Atlantic; and the Marquette, Houghton & Ontonagan. In his various connections with all these great railroad enterprises, whether official or otherwise, Mr. Brice has displayed qualities that mark him as one of the great railroad financiers and managers of the day. In commenting upon his work as a railroad man, the *Way Bill*, of a recent date, says: "In all Mr. Brice's official relations with various railroad and other corporate properties, he has never accepted a dollar of salary for his services. In the range of our acquaintance, we do not know another man of similar position of whom the same can be said."

In a brief but comprehensive review of Mr. Brice's railway work the same publication well says: "In the practice of his profession he made corporation law a specialty, and attained great distinction as a corporation lawyer. This line of practice demonstrated his excellent business judgment, and gave him opportunity to become interested in various enterprises of importance and magnitude. Finally he determined to discontinue the active practice of his profession, in order to devote himself more closely to railroad development, and to give personal supervision to his other important interests. Naturally, for the furtherance of his new aims he came to New York (in 1880), where to-day he ranks conspicuously as a man

of affairs, and is recognized as a leader in railroad and financial circles. If any one should ask the first score of Wall street habitués he chanced to meet, who is the brightest and brainiest man in that focus of enterprise and financial interests, a goodly majority would no doubt answer, 'Calvin S. Brice.'

"In that field where money and brain concentrate, he is universally acknowledged a leader. He is a very unusual man, and by an individuality of manner and speech impresses one instantly with his force of character and originality of thought. By an instantaneous mental process he strips a proposition of every encumbrance and lays it bare for inspection. His best protection against imposters is the wonderful way he has of looking at a man. His eye fairly flashes when he turns it on anyone with scrutinizing intent. His manner is not nervous, but alert. His style of talk epigrammatic. He never says 'perhaps so,' but always 'Yes' or 'No.' He takes hold of a subject by the best thought which it involves, and exhausts it in the fewest possible words. He comes as near seeing to the end from the beginning, in any negotiation of finance or plan of railroad policy, as any man we know. He has a genius for ways and means in the furtherance of enterprise and for mastering circumstances. He counts time by the minute and never allows anybody to waste his. By this it must not be inferred that he is an incessant worker. On the contrary he spends comparatively few hours at his

office, but during that time he is absorbed. One thing of importance after another is disposed of in such quick succession, that, although he comes down-town late the work he does in a day is prodigious. Physically he takes his ease, but mentally is so active and untiring, that no doubt the energy of thought pushes itself even into his sleep. He is a man of quick determination, bold in plans and aggressive in operation. He is noted for originating vast railroad combinations, and for dextrous management of enormous monetary transactions. He has acquired a large fortune, and wields the power that comes of an unlimited credit and a wide reputation for ability."

The vast railroad interests with which Mr. Brice has been and is connected, have not prevented his active labor in other fields of investment or development. He organized and became president of the gaslight company at Lima; assumed a controlling interest in the First National Bank of Lima upon its incorporation, and has been the promoter of, or a large stockholder in, many of the manufacturing interests in that thriving place. He is also identified with the Chase National Bank of New York, and a leading spirit and director of the Southern Trust Company.

Contrary to an opinion expressed, Mr. Brice does not speculate in stocks. Purely speculative profits appear to have little charm for Mr. Brice, he rather preferring the fruits of a bold enterprise in his particular field wherein his many friends can share; and

such is his prestige that the subscribers to such as are brought out by him are only limited by the amount of the subscription.

Mr. Brice has always taken a deep personal interest in political affairs, and has devoted much time and labor to the fortunes of the Democratic party, as he has ever been a firm believer in Democratic principles. He has taken a leading part in the political affairs of Ohio ever since the war, but has been too busy to accept political office. Elected a member of the National Democratic Committee, he served in the high and important position of chairman of the Campaign Committee during the Presidential campaign of 1888; and so great was the ability shown therein that upon the death of W. H. Barnum, he was, in 1889, elected to the chairmanship of the National Committee, holding that of chairman of the Executive Committee as well. These facts speak significantly of Mr. Brice's ability in the field of politics, and prefigure increased usefulness in the future. He is yet a young man for such high elevation, and the qualities that have won so much in the past are sure to secure even greater honors in the future.

As a trustee of the Miami university in Ohio, vice-president of the Ohio society in New York, vice-president of the Delta Kappa Epsilon Fraternity of New York, a member of the Manhattan, the Lotos, the Athletic, and other leading clubs, and in like positions of a public or social character, Mr. Brice



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Daniel L. Libbey

has proved himself a useful and companionable man. Although engrossed in business and social affairs, he never carries them into the quiet atmosphere of home. As soon as he turns from his office in the afternoon, by a wonderful power of self-control, he shakes off all business care, and goes happily to a home that is palatial in its appointments and restful in its luxury. There, environed by the tenderness of family ties, and delighted

by the grace of culture and the beauty of art, Mr. Brice welcomes his friends to royal hospitality and most enjoyable entertainment. There he does not talk with jealous care to save every word he can, but gives himself freely to the enjoyment of his enviable surroundings and the inspiring influence of genial companionship. He is keenly appreciative of rare paintings and other works of art, and has a genuine fondness for good books.

DANIEL L. LIBBEY.

Two hundred and fifty years ago Robert Trelawney and Moses Goodyear, of Plymouth, England, had a trading post near Cape Elizabeth, on the coast of Maine, at which one John Winter was their agent.

Among the men employed as a fisherman under John Winter as early as 1635 (as shown by accounts yet in existence), was John Libby, who was born in England in the beginning of the seventeenth century and who (as shown by the charges against his wages of five pounds a year) was a prudent man, who did not waste his substance riotously. He became afterward a farmer in the town of Scarborough, where he became a selectman, and was, according to local history, "for many years one of the town's principal planters."

He was the father of twelve children, whose descendants are so numerous that in Maine the name ranks almost with the Smiths and Browns. In the

Wars with the Indians he suffered the destruction of his home and crops, and in his old age appears to have had little left to rely upon for support but his children.

The race of his descendants does not seem to have been over ambitious for wealth or honors, but the family genealogist could write with some pride and undoubted truth, that in Maine, where they are numerous, it had been remarked to him by many "that they never knew of a criminal or a pauper named Libbey."

Among them have been many deacons and clergymen, and the list of Libbeys who served in the Civil war looks almost like the muster roll of a regiment. From the original John Libby, in the seventh generation, in a direct line, the subject of this sketch is descended: a line of farmers, mechanics and lumbermen, from whom he inherited a good physical constitution and habits of thrift.

prudence and sobriety. To the family traits he has added a degree of enterprise and energy which have wrought out a successful, honorable and very useful career. His father, Nathaniel Libbey, followed the sea in his youth, but at the age of twenty-three married and settled in Ossipee, New Hampshire. Here his son, Daniel Lord Libbey, was born October 28, 1823, the fifth of a family of eleven children.

When Daniel was about ten years old his father removed to Bethlehem, New Hampshire, where he was engaged in lumbering several years, and then in farming. He was a selectman of the town several years and represented it in the legislature of the state. When Daniel was about seventeen his father died, leaving his widowed mother with six children younger than himself and scanty means.

The situation required that he should in some way provide for himself, and at the age of eighteen he started out to make his own way in the world as best he might.

His education had been such as the common schools of New Hampshire afforded to the boys of that time, and without a very definite idea of how or where he was to begin, he went to Boston and thence to Lowell, Massachusetts, where he found employment in an iron foundry, and learned the trade of a moulder. He followed this occupation industriously, saving a little money from his earnings, until the fall of 1849.

When the discovery was made of

gold in California, and reports began to float eastward of fortunes in the gulches and runs and flats of the newly acquired territory, waiting only for the pick and shovel and pan of the gold-digger, it is not strange that a thrill ran through the hearts and minds of many muscular toilers in shops and factories and on farms, where the labor of a year showed small and unsatisfactory gains—or none at all. Nor, perhaps was it strange that in the rush and anxiety to reach and gather a share of the golden harvest, many hurried out thoughtlessly, illy-prepared, with either means or information, to reach and make available the golden opportunities of which they heard so much.

The bones of horses, cattle and men were strewn along the overland route. The fevers of the isthmus found hundreds of victims. Thousands, exhausted in body and purse before they reached the western slope of the Sierra Nevadas, succumbed and sank into nameless graves. Many returned poorer than when they set out. Some succeeded only to fall into lives of debauchery and crime. But some were successful; a few only, comparatively, more than moderately successful.

Mr. Libbey, like many other young men, heard of the rich gold diggings and resolved to try his fortune there. But to him, as to some others, the matter of going or not going was a business problem. Risks were to be taken in going at all, but to reduce the risk to a minimum, he and his compan-

ions made the adventure a legitimate business enterprise.

He became one of a company of one hundred who invested a capital of three hundred dollars each in a ship and cargo for the San Francisco market. The company was formed in December, 1849, and on the 4th day of February, 1850, they sailed from Boston; a company of genuine "Argonauts of '49." After a fairly good voyage of five months and a day, they reached San Francisco on the 5th of July. Not without some risk, of course. Not without encountering some perils which those who staid at home avoided. Thick weather between the coast of Patagonia and the Falkland Islands, in which for days the sun was not visible, rendered a shipwreck not improbable. A terrific gale of forty-eight hours off Cape Horn, threatened to terminate their voyage and their lives together. But when they reached and sailed into the Golden Gate their original capital was with them unimpaired. They sold their cargo and paid off a debt of five thousand dollars contracted in its purchase. Then they sold their ship, each took his share of the proceeds and went his way.

Mr. Libbey, with two companions, made his way to the diggings with pick pan and shovel. For three years he worked and lived the life of a miner in the early days in California—not the happy-go-lucky life evolved from the imagination of Mark Twain or Bret Harte; not by any means the life of

mingled labor, debauchery and crime which the dime-novel writers depict for the amusement and instruction of ingenuous youth. Not anything like that. But a life of hard work, of privation, of isolation from all that makes life pleasant—excepting the hope of sometime returning to the old home with the means of rising above the hard necessity of toiling *only* for daily bread.

After three years of this life, Mr. Libbey returned home, but after a visit of three or four months went back and spent two years more in California, engaged most of the time in mining.

In the spring of 1855 he returned home and was married, and in the fall of that year removed to the state of Wisconsin, with a few thousand dollars of accumulated capital, and a determination to engage in the lumbering business.

The little city of Oshkosh had shaken off its villagehood in the spring of 1853, and put on the name and assumed the airs (in a small way), of a city. With a population of about 4,000 in 1855, it was the seat of an active industry in the manufacture of lumber, and was feeling its way towards its present position as the financial and business centre of a large territory which was filling up with an enterprising population. No railroads had yet reached that point, and the business of lumbering then was subject to vicissitudes which could not be foreseen. It was only the prudent, industrious and sagacious men engaged in it who

were successful. Those who had not some previous knowledge of the business were usually unsuccessful.

In his boyhood Mr. Libbey had known something of it, his father having been engaged in lumbering at Bethlehem, New Hampshire, several years. His preparation for such a business was only that experience of his boyhood, nine years of hard work at his trade and five years of roughing it in the mining regions of California.

But by that experience he had learned to know and appreciate the value of money better than one who inherited it, or to whom it came easily.

And he had other qualifications which probably would have made him successful in any business—a good constitution, quiet, but untiring energy and sagacity to see and take the opportunities which presented themselves.

To this little Western city of Oshkosh Mr. Libbey went to engage in his chosen occupation at the age of thirty-two. His first investment was the purchase of an undivided half of a saw-mill. The other half was owned by Mr. John Chase. Instead of forming any business connection, the two men operated the mill alternately for two years (a New England idea), each running it one-half the time during the sawing season on his own account. Then Mr. Libbey purchased the interest of Mr. Chase in the mill.

For many years after that purchase Mr. Libbey went on, quietly and un-

tentatively pursuing his business of manufacturing and selling lumber. His close attention to and sagacious management of his business ensured its success, and he soon began to be known, and inspire confidence as a man fair and honorable in his dealings and true to all obligations; a *safe* man who was reasonably sure to score a success.

The details from year to year of the operations and growth of such a business as his at that time need not be enlarged upon. It would be but a continuous narrative of close application, economy, prudence and good judgment in the management; and gradual extension of his operations and investments.

The energetic character of Mr. Libbey was well illustrated in 1862. His mill and a large quantity of lumber were entirely consumed by fire. It was nearly or quite impossible at that time to procure insurance on that kind of property in Oshkosh and he had none. It was a serious blow to him but he went energetically to work to rebuild and in ninety days he had a new and better mill in operation on the site of the old one.

In a few years he began to take rank among the capitalists and solid men of the growing city. In 1871, the Union National Bank of Oshkosh was organized with \$100,000 capital. Mr. Libbey has been a director and its president from the beginning.

While he has been accumulating by his industry and sound judgment until

he stands among the wealthiest men of the city of Oshkosh, he has been foremost in aiding its growth and development by the use of his capital in aid of the skill and industry of others in various business enterprises. In this respect he might boast (but for the fact that he never boasts of anything), of the share he has borne in promoting the prosperity of the city.

He is a large stockholder in and president of the Williamson & Libbey Lumber Co., which was incorporated in 1879 to continue the business of the former firm of Williamson, Libbey & Co. This corporation has a saw-mill and extensive factory for the manufacture of sash, doors, blinds, and other finished work.

He is President of the Oshkosh Water Works Company, which supplies the city with water, and of the Maple City Chair Co., which is engaged in the manufacture which its name indicates. He is treasurer of the Thompson Carriage Co., engaged in the manufacture of carriages. In these enterprises the use of his capital creates employment for a great number of men and sustains many families.

He is also treasurer of the Oshkosh Mutual Life Insurance Co.

In addition to these home enterprises, he, in connection with Mr. Orville Beach, of Oshkosh, owns and operates a saw-mill at the state line between Wisconsin and Michigan on the Milwaukee, Lake Shore & Western railroad. He is also President of the Hintze Baker Co., of Chicago, a cor-

poration which sells to the amount of half a million dollars annually of sash, doors and other factory products.

All these enterprises receive a share of his personal attention, and it goes without saying that he is always a busy man. But he finds time also to give attention to a fine farm of three hundred acres which he owns, half a mile north of the city, on the shore of the beautiful lake Winnebago, and to take an interest in and serve as president of the Oshkosh Creamery Co., recently organized and engaged in the manufacture of creamery butter.

Many business enterprises have been aided by loans of his money on favorable terms. His willingness to assist others in that way has sometimes led him to making larger loans than the security would justify, and by reason of the failure of the plans of the borrowers he has been sometimes compelled to take the security. So he has, without intending it, become the owner of considerable real estate in the city, some of which has necessitated entries to the wrong side of profit and loss account.

Mr. Libbey has never posed as a philanthropist or public benefactor. But by the honest and honorable methods by which he has acquired a fortune, and especially by the manner in which he is using it, he is fairly entitled to be considered (as he is considered) as one who deserves the confidence and esteem of the people of the community in which he lives.

Plain and unassuming in manner,

and exceptionally modest and reticent as to his own achievements, he commands the respect alike of the poor and the rich, the toilers for daily bread and the successful and fortunate who have attained to wealth and social position. He has acquired wealth fairly and honorably, and uses it to the advantage of the community as well as his own.

Such a man becomes in a sense a public benefactor—not because of any special intention, but by reason of his very nature, which leads him to such a course of investments and dealings as will benefit his neighbors as well as himself.

Whatever Mr. Libbey does, either in his own or in public affairs, is done without any ostentation, so modestly as to indicate a shrinking from observation or notoriety. Though his name never appears prominently at the head of subscription lists, when public enterprises are discussed and organized, he is one who is always counted upon to bear his fair part in carrying them out.

It was not long ago that the writer heard his name mentioned in the presence of a poor old woman whom sickness and misfortune had involved in straits which threatened to leave her no resource but the poor-house in her old age. Her life had been in a very humble sphere and she was scarcely known to any but her near neighbors. When his name was mentioned she was effusive in her praises and expressions of gratitude for something which he

had done to relieve her necessities. There are many of the poor and lowly who are ready to join in the praise of Mr. Libbey. What he has done for them no one will learn from him, for of himself and his own deeds it is difficult to get him to speak. While always taking such interest in general and municipal affairs as marks the good citizen, he has been too busy a man to take a prominent part in public affairs. He has several times served as alderman in the City Council and also as a member of the County Board of Supervisors. His intelligent and conscientious discharge of his duties in those positions, and the influence which his sound judgment and character secured in them, are evidence that he might be a valuable representative in higher positions. But he is not only too busy but too modest a man to enter the lists for public honors. His disposition is rather to shrink from than to desire any prominence before the public. Therefore it is not because of special prominence in public affairs that Mr. Libbey has, and is justly entitled to, the respect and confidence of his fellow men. Nor is it because he has acquired wealth only, for some do that who have neither the respect nor confidence of others.

It is because in a comparatively pre-eminent degree he is a representative man of a class, to whom, more than to any other, is due the continued growth and prosperity of the many thriving cities of the West.

Preachers may preach against, poets

may deride, and social theorists may lament the general pursuit of the "Almighty Dollar." But the one purpose which our whole social system sets before the youth on the threshold of manhood as above all else, is to "get on" in the world. The dream and hope of fathers and mothers who toil and scheme and save to educate their children, is that they may give them a good start in the race for "getting on." And to "get on" in everybody's vocabulary means first to get beyond the condition of wage-workers, and next to accumulate wealth. The aspiration may be—usually is—purely selfish, taking thought for nothing beyond the prosperity of the individual or the family. But the prosperity of a nation, a state, or a city is but the sum of the prosperity of the individuals composing it. The moving force which breaks into and peoples a wilderness, fells forests, and turns boundless prairies into productive fields, is the individual ambition to "get on in the world." In some exceptional instances men may grow rich upon the adversities and prosper upon the want of prosperity of their neighbors. But usually the prosperity of the whole is essential to the prosperity of any. Most prosperous men know and act upon this fact, seeking only prosperous communities for their places of abode and investment—but only with the idea of "getting on."

It is to the honor and credit of Mr. Libbey, and men like him, that while getting on themselves they intentionally

so use their own prosperity and its results as to assist others in getting on also, and so foster and build up interests which stimulate and promote the growth and general prosperity of their city or town.

Modern civilization is presenting many serious problems for the consideration of the social and political philosopher. In the almost infinitesimal subdivision of labor, resulting from improved methods, the substitution of machinery for muscle more and more, and the strain of sharp active competition, the problem of the steady and remunerative employment of labor is becoming the most serious.

A man who, like Mr. Libbey, looks around for opportunities to embark capital in manufacturing enterprises which tend to diversify the pursuits of local industry, helps in some degree to solve that problem. Of course all accumulated capital cannot be so employed; but the man who does so employ it successfully is a benefactor.

Mr. Libbey is a plain man of business, as unostentatious as when he was younger and poorer; always genial and pleasant in manner, and still as sturdy and vigorous apparently as many men twenty years younger. He gives to his various interests the same constant and careful attention that has made him so successful hitherto.

Mr. Libbey was first married May 29, 1855, to Mary Caroline Reynolds, of Greenfield, New Hampshire. She died January 29, 1869. June 11, 1872, he was married to Laura A. Reed, of

Phillips, Maine. He has four children living. His son Frank is now in charge of his father's business at State Line. His oldest son, a young man of great promise, died several years ago.

Though the ancestor of Mr. Libbey did not come over in the historic *Mayflower*, he followed her track very soon after the landing of the pilgrims on Plymouth Rock. Though his posterity perhaps cannot be classed among the "Brahmin Caste" of New England, they have long furnished a numerous and respectable contingent of the old New England stock which has marched with the steady march of civilization to the conquest of the magnificent wilderness, upon the edge of which those

early immigrants planted the germ of those formative ideas which have permeated the constitutions and institutions of the great West. Among the numerous posterity of the early emigrant and fisherman John Libby, who are now scattered over the whole land, are many who hold honored and respected social position, not because they can trace a long line of ancestry but because of their own merits and virtues. Among those deserving and enjoying the respect and confidence of all who know them, Daniel L. Libbey is a worthy member of one of the few American families whose ancestry can be so traced. GEORGE GARY.

GEORGE GARY.

The life of George Gary is an illustration of the fact that extensive information may be acquired, and a career of varied usefulness made possible, in the face of natural obstacles, when there is a disposition to do something at least, even though the physical strength might not be equal to the full measure of a great ambition.

Mr. Gary was born on March 16, 1824, at Potsdam, St. Lawrence county, New York, the son of parents who found life a struggle in material ways, and were unable to give their son the advantages their affection would have desired and his desire for knowledge suggested. When he was but five years of age the family removed to Clinton

county, in the same state, where he passed the next nine years—most of the time in the heart of the woods, where under the benign teachings of nature he learned much that was not in books, and missed much that had to be acquired by the slow labor of later years. For a sad misfortune befell him in early childhood that carried an effect into all his after-life. When but two years of age he was attacked with a violent inflammation of the eyes from which he has never recovered. During boyhood and youth he was frequently confined to a dark room for extended periods; and when he attended school he was often compelled to sit that he should not face

a window. Yet in spite of these difficulties he acquired the rudiments of an English education in the country schools, supplemented by several terms at the Keeseville Academy.

Upon advice that a sea voyage might be beneficial to his eyes, young Gary, in the spring of 1845, and in his twenty-first year, shipped in a whaler for a voyage around Cape Horn, returning in another ship in the fall of 1847, having spent nearly two years at sea, and seven months at Callao, in Peru. He returned with his vision somewhat improved, and with the conclusion that his poor eye-sight and not very strong physical constitution did not meet the severe demands of a sailor's life.

Estopped as to an out-door life because he could not stand sunshine or dust, and by the same cause from the exercise of the natural mechanical gifts with which he was endowed—his ambition having a decided bent in that direction—Mr. Gary turned to the school-room, teaching in the winter and engaging in miscellaneous occupations during the summers until 1850. With eyes further improved by a surgical operation, he went to Wisconsin, hoping, as he once expressed to the writer of this, to meet such opportunities in the new country of the West as would at least enable him to make a living, and adding with a suggestion of sadness: "Whatever ambition I might have had was utterly quenched by the condition of my eyes before I was of age." This hope was

not only realized but much was added; and although he commenced life humbly in the new home, his abilities and high qualities of mind and character were not long in finding recognition.

Mr. Gary reached Oshkosh—which has since been his home—about June 1st, in the year above named, with no fixed profession or calling, no business experience, and with a total capital of ten dollars in cash. He engaged as a clerk and bookkeeper in a small forwarding, steamboating and commission business until the fall of 1854. He had already made so favorable an impression upon his neighbors and the community, that in 1853 he was elected a member of the Wisconsin legislature for the term of 1854, and re-elected to that of 1855, as representative in the assembly from Winnebago county; and serving as Speaker *pro tem.* during the last year of service. In 1856 and 1857 he was engaged in the forwarding and commission business; from the fall of 1857 until January 1, 1861, was clerk of the courts of Winnebago county—before and during which time he applied himself to the study of law, and was admitted to the bar in the spring of 1861. In 1862, upon the passage of the internal revenue law, Mr. Gary was appointed assessor of internal revenue for the fifth district of Wisconsin, which then included thirteen counties. He resigned from that position in the spring of 1865.

Mr. Gary was elected to the state senate from the Winnebago district in

1867, but resigned after the first session, to take the position of register in bankruptcy, to which he had been appointed. Chosen to the position of county judge, he in turn resigned the registership. While upon the bench he made a record for conspicuous honesty and ability, and was endorsed by the people by successive re-elections, covering the period from January 1, 1870, until April 1, 1882; at which latter date he voluntarily laid down the judgeship to resume the practice of his profession. He was nominated for Judge of the Third Judicial Circuit of Wisconsin in the spring of 1884 but was defeated.

Judge Gary has proven his ability and usefulness in yet other fields of labor. In 1879 he published "Gary's Probate Law," which is a standard work on the practice in the probate courts of Wisconsin and Minnesota, and is used to a wide extent in many other states in the West. From 1852 to 1868 he probably made as many political speeches as any man in Wisconsin. In politics he was a Whig until the dissolution of that party, since which he has been a Republican. Among his varied experiences was that of editor of a newspaper for a brief period. He was married in 1854 to Miss Georgiana Eney, and of four

children born to them, they have a son and daughter yet living.

The further remark has been made to the writer by Judge Gary, that if his life gave any idea, it would be that "of a man who lacks continuity of effort on predetermined lines." Whether this may or may not be a correct view, it is certainly held with good reason by those who know Judge Gary best, that he has achieved a reputation and evolved a character out of adverse circumstances, that show the possession of great natural powers, and a willingness to turn his hand to whatever of honest labor proffered itself. The works of a literary character he has essayed at various isolated periods of his career, show him the possessor of the literary faculty in a high degree; a faculty, we are sure, that would have broadly developed had not the iron-bound circumstances of life held him within a limited field. As an executive official he has been honest and faithful; as a law-maker, wise and broad-minded; as a judge, upright, and trusted the fullest by those who knew him best; and, as a citizen has fulfilled all the duties of citizenship with a faithfulness that leaves nothing to be asked. More ambitious things might be said of a man; better ones could not.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

IT was expected by the trustees of the Garfield Monument Association, that the beautiful memorial building in Lake View cemetery, Cleveland, Ohio, would be ready for dedication on the eighth anniversary of Garfield's death, but as the statue which is being prepared for the rotunda could not be ready in time, that event has been postponed until Decoration Day, 1890. The statue will be about eight feet high, and will represent Garfield as having just arisen from a chair. The chair will be cut from the same piece as the statue. Arrangements have so far progressed that it is known ex-President Hayes, president of the association, will deliver a brief opening address, while the main speech of the occasion will be delivered by Gen. J. D. Cox, ex-Governor of Ohio. He was a warm personal friend of Garfield, and served with him in the Ohio Senate. President Harrison will be invited, and in all probability will be present. The name Garfield Monument Association will be changed to the Garfield Memorial Association upon the assembling of the Ohio legislature, so that the character of the structure erected will be more properly described.

MEANWHILE the question has been again revived, as to where the mortal remains of Gen. Grant shall find permanent burial. The *Washington Post* has revived the matter by obtaining the opinions of various governors of states, whose replies are summarized as follows: Governors Wolfley, of Arizona; Stevenson, Nevada; Taylor, Tennessee; Humphrey, Kansas; Merriam, Minnesota; Fleming, Florida; Shoup, Idaho; Moore, Washington territory; White, Montana; and Larrabee, Iowa—unequivocally favor the Arlington cemetery, the Soldiers' Home, or at or near the National Capital as the proper location for the last rest-

ing place of the illustrious dead. Gov. Fifer, of Illinois, has always believed that the remains of the illustrious general should have been interred in the bosom of Illinois, his natal state; but he questions the propriety of agitating the question while Gen. Grant's family, who should be the sole judges in the matter, are living. Either Arlington or the Soldiers' Home, near Washington, he says, would, however, be preferable to the spot where the great hero now sleeps. Gov. Beaver, of Pennsylvania, says he would not have selected Riverside had the selection of a burial place devolved on him, but that place having been chosen by Gen. Grant's family, it should not be changed without urgent causes. Gov. Francis, of Missouri, favors first St. Louis, Gen. Grant's home for many years, and next to St. Louis the Arlington cemetery at Washington. Governors Luce, of Michigan, and Thomas, of Utah, while expressing preference for a sepulchre at the National Capital or upon national grounds, believe it only proper now to defer to the wishes of Gen. Grant's family. Gov. Gordon, of Georgia, thinks the disposition of Gen. Grant's body should be largely controlled by the wishes of his family.

THE *Post*, in commenting upon these responses, says: "Seventeen responses have been received, and these almost with one accord favor the removal of the remains from the neglected tomb at Riverside, New York, to the National cemetery at Arlington, or the Soldiers' Home, where a monument creditable to the Nation would be erected to the memory of the greatest hero of the age. Some of the governors naturally hesitate to express a positive opinion on the propriety of removing the remains without first understanding the wishes of Gen. Grant's family, but there is no mistaking the sentiment universally disclosed that the neglect

of the tomb at Riverside is not only a disgrace upon the city and state of New York, but upon the country as well. In but two cases were there refusals to respond to the *Post's* messages, Gov. Hill of New York, and Gov. Pennoyer, of Oregon, declining to express any views on the subject. Sixteen of the governors addressed are away from the State capitals and could not be reached by telegraph."

MR. GEORGE W. CHILDS, Gen. Grant's intimate friend, in commenting upon the proposal, said: "that he was confident that Gen. Grant's body would not be removed from the tomb at Riverside Park." As to the story that Mrs. Grant would consent to the removal, Mr. Childs said: "I receive letters constantly from Mrs. Grant. I received one this week. She has never mentioned anything about the removal of her husband's body to the cemetery at Arlington. If she favored the removal of the body, I should have heard of it. The body cannot be removed to Arlington without the consent of Mrs. Grant, and I do not believe that she will ever consent to it."

MEANWHILE the Drexel cottage at Mount McGregor in which Grant passed his last hours is kept just as it was when he died, with the exception of the removal of a few personal belongings of the family. The two big leather-covered easy chairs in which he passed so many painful days are draped in black and left in the same position they were in when he occupied them. The clock on the mantel has been silent since the moment of his death, when the doctor stopped it, and the writing tablets he used when speech was prohibited are in a case on the wall, together with his pencil and a couple of messages in writing to Mr. Drexel.

FEW veterans of the War of 1812 survive, as we are occasionally reminded by a death notice of some rugged veteran who has survived so long. A press dispatch from Marshall, Illinois, declares that on the night of August 31, Dr. J. H. Hazen died of old age. He was ninety-one years old and had spent forty years in that

county. He was born at North Hero, Vermont, in 1799. When the War of 1812 broke out he joined a company of boys organized to protect the town while the men were away at war. He went to Ohio early in 1813, fell in with Perry's company of shipbuilders, joined them, and went on board the *Lawrence*. He was said to be one of those who accompanied Perry in his perilous passage from the disabled flag-ship, the *Lawrence*, to the *Niagara* in an open boat. He was severely wounded on the *Niagara* and carried the ball in his body the remainder of his days.

THE following press dispatches show that New England is by no means through with her patriotic anniversary celebrations: YARMOUTH, Sept. 3.—The observance of the 250th anniversary of the settlement of Yarmouth has evoked a wonderful degree of enthusiasm. The whole town is aflutter with flags. On the arrival of the special train with invited guests to-day the procession, with the guests in carriages, marched to the Congregational Church. Philip H. Sears, the orator of the day, was introduced by H. C. Thatcher, the president of the day, and delivered the oration. An original hymn, written by the Rev. J. W. Dodge, was then sung. An original poem, written by Mrs. Mary M. Bray, was read by her son, Chandler M. Bray. A hymn by a choir of skilled voices closed the exercises at the church. The assembly adjourned to the dining tent, where president Thatcher delivered a brief address of welcome. The dinner followed. SANDWICH, Sept. 3.—This ancient town has put on its best attire to-day in commemoration of the 250th anniversary of its incorporation. The wandering sons and daughters of the town have come home in large numbers. A procession was formed, and, in four divisions, marched through the gayly decorated streets to the Casino, where exercises were held. After the exercises a Rhode Island clambake, with all the modern fixings, was served in a large tent. Frank H. Pope, of Leominster, a native of the town, was toastmaster. The first toast was "New England Towns." Gov. John D. Long responded.

Then followed an original poem, written by Miss Mary A. A. Conroy, of Roxbury, which was read by Dr. J. E. Pratt.

ESPECIAL attention is called to the article upon Gov. Morrow, from the pen of Hon. William Henry Smith, in this issue of the MAGAZINE. Mr. Smith does not merely assume the work of a biographer. There is a vein of philosophic reflection in his paper that is carefully commended to all readers of this generation.

WILLIAM THAW, the philanthropist and railroad magnate of Pittsburgh, died at Paris, on August 17. The full story of his life has been already recorded in these pages; sufficient to add that he died as he had lived—as one who felt his responsibility for the great gifts given him, and who endeavored to do all the good that within him lay. His will distributes a large sum of money among various worthy public institutions.

MR. KAUFMAN HAYS, of Cleveland, Ohio, while on a recent visit to the East, secured several letters written in Cleveland during its early days. The correspondence, says the *Cleveland Leader*, is the property of Abel Putnam, of Saratoga. The first letter in the series was written in 1821, and the last in 1827. Ordinary foolscap paper, unruled, and without envelopes, was used. The communications were sealed with red wafers. Postage stamps were not in use at that time, and the cost of transmitting each letter—twenty-five cents—was marked on the side of the sheet which contained the address. The letters are yellow with age, but clearly written and remarkably well preserved. The first one was written by Emerson Goodenough, of Brattleboro, Vermont, to Jessie Harris, of Newburg, Ohio, September 30, 1821. The next letter is dated Newburg, Ohio, November 7, 1824, and is from Jessie Harris to Capt. Emerson Goodenough, of Brattleboro, Vermont. The writer says that there have been but few cases of fever during the season. "I expect," he continued, "that Ariel has written to you to swap off his farm,

but I think that he is a foolish fellow. There has been a turnpike road laid out from Cleveland to the Ohio River, which goes by his door. He is about four miles from Cleveland, which is a very thriving town. There are now nine stores, and two men from New York are going to open stores this fall. There are three taverns, and six men who keep salt for sale, which they barter off for all kinds of produce. There are six vessels owned in Cleveland, which are constantly sailing the lakes. There are almost all kinds of merchandise in Cleveland, and it is thought that the canal from the Ohio River will come into the lake at Cleveland. The commissioners have run a canal line down the Cuyahoga River to Cleveland and find it to be the best route that they have run."

THE third letter is from Ahimaar Sherwin, of Cleveland, to Emerson Goodenough, of Brattleboro, Vermont, and is dated December 31, 1827. The sanitary condition of Cleveland and Newburg at that time must have been bad. The letter states: "At the time of Mr. Harris' death every one of the family was sick and no one to take care of them, for the whole of the neighborhood was in the same situation. I was under the necessity of taking all of them home, which has been extremely burdensome to me. At the same time I had sixteen children and grandchildren sick, all near by me, and lost one daughter. It is very hard times with us, as the sickness has been so general. Taxes are very high, money scarce, and property very low. Very few recovered from their sickness. In the neighborhood where your brother lived there is not one family who has not lost someone, and they are mostly heads of families. Your brother Ariel had to move and leave his place."

THE proposed Columbus celebration of 1892 has already brought to light one gentleman who claims to be a descendent of the great discoverer. P. P. D. M. Columbani writes to the Mayor of New York as follows: "It is with pleasure that I observe the general interest displayed in regard to the quadri-centennial of

1892 to celebrate the discovery of this great continent by Christopher Columbus, from whom, I believe, I may reasonably claim a lineal descent, being of the same name, born in the same town of Calvi, in the island of Corsica. I have in my possession papers signed by the Mayor of the city of Calvi and by the sub-prefect of the Arondissement de la Corse. Being familiar with the customs of that island, speaking the Corsican dialect, and very probably the only citizen of Calvi in the city, I think I can be of some assistance on this great occasion, and therefore place myself at your disposal."

EDWARD A. OLDHAM, editor of the *Durham*, North Carolina, *Globe*, has received a letter from Gen. Longstreet denying the charges recently made by a Washington correspondent, that during the war he had driven the ladies of ex President Johnson's family from their home in Tennessee, and had turned the elegant mansion into a small-pox hospital, broke into the library, and distributed books and papers among the soldiers, including a blue-back spelling book highly prized by Mr. Johnson. Gen. Longstreet says in his letter "There is not one word of truth in the assertions contained in the article. Had there been, it is hardly possible that such facts could escape notice for so many years. Union people within our lines were under the same orders and treatment as were the Confederates. Unionists who wished to go North had safe conducts, and when they asked for, escorts were sent out for military protection. There was no case of small-pox during that winter, so far as I now remember, and the Confederate inspecting surgeon reported to me that that army was healthier than any other of the Confederates."

AUGUST 1st, 1889, was a day of especial historic interest in the ancient town of Plymouth, Massachusetts, as it witnessed the dedication of the grand national monument in honor of the Pilgrims. The celebration began at sunrise with a battery salute and the ringing of bells. The morning trains brought vast num-

bers of strangers, and a great throng surrounded the new monument at 9:30, when the dedicatory services were carried out by the Masonic Grand Lodge, according to the ritual of their order. These exercises were very interesting. The band rendered a choral by John K. Paine, following which the song of praise, written by R. W. Thomas Power, was sung by the Temple Quartet. Following the song came the request of the President of the Pilgrim Society, ex-Gov. Long; the response of the Grand Master, Henry Endicott; proclamation by the Grand Marshal, George H. Rhodes; reading of the Scriptural selections by the Grand Chaplain, the Rev. Charles A. Skinner, and prayer by the Grand Chaplain. The report on the examination of the monument and libations of corn and wine by the Junior and Senior Grand Wardens respectively, and the libation of oil by Deputy Grand Master Samuel Wells were followed by the invocation by the Grand Chaplain. Grand Master Endicott then delivered an address. The assemblage sang an appropriate closing hymn, by the Rev. R. W. Thomas Power, to the tune of "America." The exercises concluded with a proclamation by the Grand Marshal, benediction by the Grand Chaplain, and the "Pilgrim Chorus" by the band. Meantime the procession had been forming, and at 11 o'clock moved over the extensive route in seven divisions. At the completion of the parade the officers and members of the Pilgrim Society, with the orator, poet, and invited guests, took their places in the great dining tent, and the feast provided for the occasion was discussed for an hour. Then Gov. Long arose and introduced the orator of the day, Congressman Breckinridge. Gov. Long, in introducing Mr. Breckinridge, said: "The celebration of the completion of the national monument to the pilgrim fathers would indeed be dwarfed in the grandeur of its purpose if every state in the Union, and every race and color that is an element of the American people were not participant in person or in interest in its dedication, for the pilgrim still lives wherever the American flag floats. He shines in every star

of its constellation, and waves in every stripe in its folds. His stock has spread wide across the republic, and his characteristics and influences molding its institutions, have spread more widely still. The great Federal Union, mightiest among the nations of the earth, is itself substantially the expansion of his compact in the cabin of the *Mayflower*. What, then, could be more fitting than that the oration of the day should be spoken by a son of a sister state? Let us call him from the South, let us call him from Kentucky, birthplace of Abraham Lincoln. Himself of Plymouth county descent, and from Kentucky, whom else shall we call than her most eloquent orator, who represents in Congress the home of Henry Clay, and who recently on the floor of the national house spoke words of graceful and tender tribute to Massachusetts. Always sustaining the high reputation of the orators of his native state, he will to-day sustain the reputation of the successive orators of Plymouth Rock. And yet when you look on his face, as I have so often looked on it with the eyes of personal friendship and esteem, you will say that it seems like the face, not of a stranger, but of a veritable descendant of the *Mayflower*. I present to you and I bid a hearty old colony welcome to the Hon. William C. P. Breckenridge, of Kentucky."

MR. BRECKENRIDGE'S speech was able, and was listened to with the closest attention. At its conclusion, John Boyle O'Reilly, the poet of the occasion, was introduced, and read his poem, "The Pilgrim Fathers." After the reading of the poem addresses were made by Lieut.-Gov. Brackett, on behalf of the state; George H. Hoar, Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge,

Hon. William Cogswell, Hon. E. A. Morse, Hon. James G. Blaine, and others.

THE project to run the locomotive to the top of Pike's Peak, contemplated for some time, may now be regarded as an almost accomplished fact. The "burro" gave way to the "carriage and four," and now the locomotive, monarch of the Rockies, succeeds the carriage and will soon surmount even that magnificent high-place of the earth. We announce this engineering feat as we find it heralded in the Denver press. It is a measure that will interest all Western tourists. Major John Hulbert, of Manitou, President of the Pike's Peak Cogwheel Railroad, has given years of study to the subject, and has spent much time abroad making investigations concerning the latest and most approved methods of applying machinery in making such ascents with absolute safety. We take the following from a recent issue of the *Rocky Mountain News*: "Major John Hulbert starts this evening on a flying trip to Chicago on business connected with the details of the Pike's Peak cogwheel railroad. A formal meeting of the company took place in Denver yesterday in the private office of David H. Moffat, and officers were elected as follows: President, John Hulbert; vice-president, R. R. Cable; treasurer, J. B. Glasser; directors, John Hulbert, Jerome B. Wheeler, J. B. Glasser, David H. Moffat and R. R. Cable. It was decided to accept the bid of Lantry & Sons, of Joliet, Illinois, on the grading work and the contracts are now being prepared and will be signed in a few days. Messrs. Lantry & Sons are among the heaviest contracting firms in the country and will rush the work through without delay. The present probabilities are that they will break ground about the 17th instant."

AMONG THE BOOKS.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON." By Henry Cabot Lodge. Vols. I. and II. Published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York. (In American Statesmen Series.)

These two volumes are welcome additions to a series of considerable value. Mr. Lodge is certainly well fitted to deal with so great a character as Washington—a personage whom Mr. Lodge feels has been dealt with heretofore almost too much as a hero and too little as a man; quoting the words of McMasters, "Gen. Washington is known to us, and President Washington. But George Washington is an unknown man." The author explains the reason for all this, and says: "Let some man arise great above the ordinary bounds of greatness, and the feeling which caused our progenitors to bow down at the shrines of our forefathers and chiefs, leads us to invest our modern hero with a mythical character, and picture him in our imagination as a being to whom a few thousand years ago, altars would have been builded and libations poured out." The works upon Washington now extant find little favor in his eyes, and of Weems' he says: "Its anecdotes and its simplicity of thought commended it to children, both at home and at school, and, after passing through edition after edition, its statements were widely spread, and it colored insensibly the ideas of hundreds of persons who had never heard even the name of the author. To Weems we owe the anecdote of the cherry tree and other tales of a similar nature. He wrote with Dr. Beattie's life of his son before him as a model, and the result is that Washington comes out in his pages a faultless prig. Whether Weems intended it or not, that is the result which he produced, and that is the Washington who was developed from the wide sale of his book. When this idea took definite and permanent shape it caused a reaction. There was a revolt against it, for the hero thus

engendered had qualities which the national sense of humor could not endure in silence. The consequence is that the Washington of Weems has afforded an endless theme for joke and burlesque. Every professional American humorist almost has tried his hand at it; and with each recurring 22d of February the hard-worked jesters of the daily newspapers take it up and make a little fun out of it, sufficient for the day that is passing over them. The opportunity is tempting because of the ease with which fun can be made when that fundamental source of humor, a violent contrast, can be employed. But there is no irreverence in it at all, for the jest is not aimed at the real Washington, but at the Washington portrayed in the Weems' biography." Mr. Lodge believes that Washington was a "strong, vigorous man, in whose veins ran warm, red blood, in whose heart were stormy passions and deep sympathy for humanity." He has made a book of unusual interest; has said much that is new upon a subject familiar to all; and, although many may challenge some of his conclusions, we have no doubt but that he will ably hold his ground.

"THE ICE AGE IN NORTH AMERICA, AND ITS BEARINGS UPON THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN." By G. Frederick Wright, D. D., LL. D., F. G. S. A., professor in Oberlin Theological Seminary, assistant on the United States Geological Survey, author of "Logic of Christian Evidences," etc. With an appendix on "The Probable Cause of Glaciation," by Warren Upham, F. G. S. A., assistant on the geological surveys of New Hampshire, Minnesota and the United States. With many new maps and illustrations. Published by D. Appleton & Co., New York.

Prof. Wright has studied the subjects upon which he here treats, not only with the thorough care of a scientist, but with a personal interest that has made a holiday of his task. It is indeed an matter of absorbing interest to all who have given it thought, for as we are

interested in a great degree in the past of which history have given voice, so we find a deeper interest in that past which can be read only in the record laid by nature upon the face of the earth. Prof. Wright has had exceptional advantages for the prosecution of the work upon which he has been so long engaged, and an examination of the book justifies *The Critic's* verdict: "The special study which Dr. Wright has made of this era, the peculiar facilities which he has enjoyed as an assistant in the United States' Geological Survey, and the habit of clear exposition which a professor in a seminary like that of Oberlin naturally acquires, have enabled him to produce a work worthy of the importance and interest of his subject. It is not always, or indeed often, that a work of pure science can be made both instructive and attractive to readers not familiar with the principles of the science involved. In this instance, however, the subject naturally lends itself to what may be styled a popular treatment; and the author has aided his explanations by a profusion of maps and pictures, the latter mostly photographic, which render his descriptions and the consequent inferences plain to any reader of ordinary intelligence. A large part of the volume is made up of extracts from published writings of the author's predecessors and contemporaries. This method, which is apt to give a scrappy and uninviting character to the book, has in this case a different effect. Dr. Wright is himself a pleasing writer, and has the tact for discerning good composition. The extracts are generally derived from the works of well-known masters of scientific description, including Lyell, Dana, Geikie, Asa Gray, Leconte, J. D. Whitney, Abbott, Clarence King, and others of like standing. They serve to give an agreeable variety to the pages, as well as a weight of authority to the opinions pronounced. The work, however, is by no means a mere compilation. A considerable portion of it is occupied by the author's own observations, which have been of an important character. He has personally traced the terminal moraine, which defines the southern border of the ice-sheet,

across the greater part of the continent; he spent a month in examining the great 'Muir Glacier' in Alaska, with scientific results of much value; and he was the first to point out the evidences of the former existence of a vast lake, now known in glacial geology as 'Lake Ohio,' which at the close of the Ice Age occupied a large portion of the Ohio Valley."

Prof. Wright is already known as one of the leading scientists of America, and this work will add to his fame. He has been over almost every foot of territory he describes, has lectured and written for years upon the theme here discussed, and has, in fact, made it the great pursuit of his life.

"THE BEGINNINGS OF NEW ENGLAND; OR THE PURITAN THEOCRACY IN ITS RELATIONS TO CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY."
By John Fiske. Published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York.

We have in the work named above a series of lectures delivered by Prof. Fiske of Washington University, of which institution he is professor of American history, and afterwards repeated in several leading cities. It was not his purpose to give an exhaustive history of the subject, such as "The Pilgrim Republic" supplied, but rather to outline such a narrative as "would indicate the principles at work in the history of New England, down to the Revolution of 1689." The ground passed over is suggested in the chapter headings: "The Roman Idea, and the English Idea," "The Puritan Exodus," "The Planting of New England," "The New England Confederacy," "King Phillip's War," and "The Tyranny of Andros." As has been well said of this special field of investigation: "The selection of such a historical subject was in itself a mark of good judgment in the author, inasmuch as there are vast numbers of readers who will be much interested in these principles, that they may better understand the nature of Puritan theocracy in its relations to civil and religious liberty. The author is almost too well known to make any comments on his work necessary, however brief in character." It is enough to say that the same calm and dignified impartiality is ob-

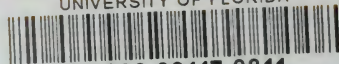
servable in his treatment of this question that has been the distinguishing mark of his other works. An instance of it is observable in the breadth of mind shown in the following summarized view of his subject: "The faults of the Puritan theocracy, which found its most complete development in Massachusetts, are so glaring that it is idle to seek to palliate them or explain them away. But if we would really understand what was going on in the Puritan world in the seventeenth century, and how a better state of things has grown out of it, we must endeavor to distinguish and define the elements of wholesome strength in that theo-

cracy no less than its elements of crudity and weakness."

MARIETTA COLLEGE ALUMNI MEMORIAL,
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This publication contains the Alumni proceedings for 1888 and 1889; the alumni poem by Prof. Beach and oration by Aaron A. Ferris, Esq.; the last address of Dr. Andrews; with memorial sketches and portraits of Israel Ward Andrews, William Parker Cutler, David Edwards Beach, Oscar Howard Mitchell, John Dean Phillips, Samuel Hower McGregor, Albert Ernest Coulter, and William Henry Frankhouser.

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